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CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 1 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 4th January 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*a*) *Police.*

1. The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 24th December, writes :—"A scandalous story about a pugilistic encounter between a swollen head Sub-Inspector of Police and the Sub-Magistrate of Chowghat is going the round. It is said that attempts are being made to hush up the very unpleasant affair, for the reason that the aggressor is alleged to possess the ears and heart of the powers that be. . . Nothing can be more dangerous to the administration of criminal justice and nothing is more calculated to shake the people's confidence in the subordinate magistracy than the impression that the latter could be insulted or ill-treated with impunity by policemen. . . We hope that there will be no attempt to burke an inquiry and that the matter will go up to the Legislative Council as did the Trichinopoly incident."

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 24th Dec. 1918.

Alleged assault by a Sub-Inspector of Police.

(*h*) *Railways.*

2. The *Commonweal*, for the week ending 27th December, remarks :—"The appointment of Sir Arthur Anderson as the President of the Railway Board in succession to Sir Robert Gillan invites public attention to a scandal of no mean order. Sir Arthur Anderson, though the semi-official announcement does not reveal it, is the ex-Agent of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, and his appointment as the Chief Adviser of the Government on Railway matters, at a time when the question of ending company management is under discussion, is to say the least an insult to public decency. . . A company official goes to the Railway Board and on giving it up is rewarded with a higher office in the same company. Need we say what will be his attitude towards that company during his term at the Railway Board ? The arrangement is of course convenient to both the company and the individual concerned, but does it not look hideous from the standpoint of public decency ? The public were under the impression that the Government of India had recognised the indecency and the injustice of such an appointment ; but we now find that the old game is to go on. . . Whatever the genesis of this scandal, the public must be acquainted with it, and we appeal to the Government of India to look into the whole question, and cancel the appointment even at the risk of rousing some resentment in the Anglo-Indian quarters."

Commonweal, Madras, 27th Dec. 1918.

The Railway Board Presidentship.

(*k*) *General.*

3. The *Hindu*, of the 23rd December, has the following :—"It is astonishing that in flagrant defiance of public opinion, which has expressed itself with such singular unanimity on the matter, the authorities responsible for holding the Park Fair should have decided to run their pet hobby, if need be, to death. . . The contemptuous disregard, moreover, of the unanimous wish of the Corporation of Madras shown by the committee, in callous indifference to the welfare of the public, is amazing and constitues a gross insult. . . With a hardihood which is appalling, the committee is, we are told, still sticking to its guns, conveying an impression in the public mind about its indifference to the health of the city which, if true, would deserve the strongest condemnation that may be passed on such an intolerable proceeding. . . What we ask, is a sacrifice of health when compared to the sacrifice of a paltry amount of money ? Such a consideration if it really had influenced the decision, cannot but arouse public indignation and such scandalous playing with a grave issue cannot be permitted in the interests of public decency and of good government. We should like to know what the Government are doing. The committee is not governing this city ; it cannot obviously be the final arbiter in this matter, and the Government cannot have abdicated their responsibility which is real and serious. . . There is an impression that His Excellency Lord Pentland desires that the Fair should be held, and it may receive

Hindu, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

The Madras Park Fair.

some confirmation from the fact that our morning contemporary announces to-day that the Governor will be present on the opening day and will preside at the sports on the 28th and distribute the prizes. If this is correct, all that we can say is that His Excellency should be grossly misled and badly advised, and it is incredible that he should not have been made aware of all the facts of this business and of the mad career of the committee. We must protest against the insolent, unrighteous and highhanded decision of the committee and call on the Government to summarily prohibit the Fair."

HINDU, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

The Indian Civil Service and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

4. In a leader under the heading 'The Civilian Revolt,' the *Hindu*, of the 23rd December, remarks:—"When our Bihar contemporary the *Searchlight* stated the other day that there was a 'strong and persistent rumour about some concerted action being shortly taken by the Civil Service of our Province—with or without the co-operation of those of the other provinces—in opposition to the proposed Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms,' we thought it better to defer reference to the topic till some more tangible proof of such action than rumours was available. Our contemporary now thoroughly justifies its reference by publishing the full text of the circular which one Mr. Milne, I.C.S., the Acting Honorary Secretary of what is styled the Bihar and Orissa Civil Service Association, has issued to the members of the Indian Civil Service in the Province. . . We doubt very much if the fears that are entertained by the service have any foundation on reason; but granting that the Civil Servants feel that they are done a grievous wrong, the way to get it remedied is not to hatch a concerted conspiracy with a view to present an organised, threatening ultimatum to Government to allow them to have their way or court the consequences of their resignation in a body, but to resort to more becoming, more manly and less peevish means. . . The way in which some of the Civilians in Bihar are reported to have behaved seems to us to be a gross breach of discipline which Government ought not to tolerate. No Civil Service in the world enjoys the power that ours does; nor is any ever likely to do. So to grumble to maintain it, unimpaired for ever, not minding the limitations of decorum and discipline, is, to say the least, sheer impudence of which we can hardly think of any other Civil Service in the world capable."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

Anglo-Indians and the army.

5. In a leader under the heading 'Unjust and Dangerous," *New India*, of the 24th December, observes:—"The Anglo-Indian press has lent its support to the unreasonable, unjust and dangerous proposal that the Eurasian section of the Indian army shall be continued even in peace times. . . During the war, when recruits were badly required, they got a chance, and the Government of India, at an unfortunate moment, consented to place them on the same footing as British soldiers, thus perpetrating a great injustice to the fighting races of India and to the poor tax-payer. . . It is monstrous that the Eurasians should be treated on the same level as English soldiers. Even by law, they are included among statutory Indians; and even the most perverse of human beings will not venture to maintain that, as a fighting unit, they are to be compared with the Gurkha or the Pathan. Moreover, in the interests of good government and public decency, the authorities must use every means in their hand to convince the Eurasians that all their airs of superiority will no longer be tolerated."

JUSTICE, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

The Indian National Congress.

6. *Justice*, of the 31st December, says:—"It is impossible now to treat what is called the Indian National Congress with anything like seriousness. The extraordinary session of it held at Bombay sufficiently exposed itself to ridicule. But it was not quite so irresponsible as the one which the ancient city of Delhi has been witnessing for the past few days. . . With the election of Mrs. Besant as President, the Congress ceased to reflect sober and responsible Indian opinion; and since then its decline has been rapid."

JUSTICE, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The new year honours.

7. *Justice*, of the 2nd January, writes:—"In the distribution of titles the Government, it will be noted, has preserved the traditional practice, at any rate, so far as this Province is concerned, of reserving, as a rule, the higher honours for European ladies and gentlemen, official and non-official. . . Is there another in the

Presidency who holds a higher position or whose merits and public services deserve better recognition than those of Mr. P. Tyagaraya Chetti, and yet he has been honored only with a Diwan Bahadurship, a title which was his due about a generation ago. . . A further instance of the lack of this sense is furnished in the honour bestowed on Professor Ramunni Menon of the Presidency College. A man of the highest attainments, one whom the Cambridge University delighted to honour, a distinguished educationist and a source of strength not merely to the profession to which he belongs but also to the Madras University of which he is a Fellow and a Syndic, Professor Ramunni Menon might in fairness have been spared the humiliation of being brought to the level of a reporter to an Anglo-Indian newspaper by being given the title of Rao Bahadur. . . Madras has not fared well in the distribution of even minor titles, and it would be hoping against hope that it would fare better on the next occasion."

The Indian Defence Force.

8. The following appears in the *Hindu* of the 2nd January :—"In presenting colours to the Indian Defence Force at Calcutta, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford is reported to have observed, according to a Calcutta message, that it had to be considered how best to modify the service in the Indian Defence Force to suit the needs of peace, '*subject* to the paramount obligation that it is the bounden duty of *everyone of British birth* in this country to bear arms in its defence.' It is a most objectionable doctrine that His Excellency, if he has been rightly reported, has laid down in these words, a flagrant violation of the solemn pledges of equality of treatment made to India. . . The proposal is capable of being interpreted as an insult to those who are not of British birth, the sons of the soil, and as an unwarranted suspicion cast on their loyalty or on their capacity of undertaking the defence of the country which is primarily the task of those whose permanent and beloved home it is. It raises issues far more serious and far-reaching than volunteering and we have no doubt it will be examined carefully by the Indian public."

HINDU, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The Park Fair fire.

9. In a leader under the heading "Wanted a public inquiry," *New India*, of the 2nd January, observes:—"The Madras public have been shocked by the details of the horrible scene that occurred last night at the Park Fair. A few thatched sheds caught fire, and in the indescribable confusion and panic that followed, there was even loss of life. . . So stupefying are some of the stories that one demurs to publish them without complete verification, but we have no hesitation in saying that, bereft of all possible exaggeration, the bare facts themselves would unfold revelations of a most discreditable nature. . . We have here an instance of the most astounding autocratic way, and the public must take the necessary action to root out such forces from our national life. For this purpose, they must know the very individuals who encouraged the holding of the Fair in spite of the Corporation's protest, so that even if the British Rulers should fail to punish them, the relatives of the dead girl and of the seriously injured, or of the women and hildren who were robbed and roughly handled, may at least know whom to bless for their unique and benevolent protection. . . These are only some of the serious allegations which a public inquiry must thresh out. Of course, the autocrats responsible for the Fair will strive their level best to avoid such an investigation. At least now, we hope, they are conscious of their guilt. . . The Fair, we admit, is not an entirely official undertaking, but since high officials were connected with it, the Government cannot escape the blame, specially if the inquiry should be refused."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

Writing further on this subject in 'On the line' columns, *New India*, of the 2nd January, says :—"Several rumours reach us from people present at the disastrous Park Fair fire that His Excellency the Governor, after being informed of the fire, made some sort of a speech and then went off in his motor-car without waiting to see what would happen. . . We remember the wonderful heroism of the Duchesse d'Alencon in the Charity Bazaar fire at Paris many years ago, and we feel sure His Excellency would be equally true to the rule of his order—*noblesse oblige*. Still the people have to be convinced. We therefore think it would be expedient and gracious of Lord Pentland, if, by an official denial, he put an end once for all to the scandalous rumours that have attached themselves to him over yesterday's unfortunate affair."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

The Empire and the war.

10. Quoting an extract from a recent speech of His Majesty the King Emperor to the effect that the theory that the whole world can be governed by might has been exploded as a false one and that administrations should, in future, be based on justice and mutual fair-play between the different countries, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd December, observes that these words are certain to be recorded in the pages of history, and adds that it is needless to point out that the British and other Governments should pay heed to this warning.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

The conditian of Indians in the colonies.

11. In a leader under this heading the *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th December, refers to the hardships suffered by the Sikhs in Canada by the rule which is said to have obtained there prohibiting their getting their wives and children from India and which is said to have been cancelled now, and to the fact that these Sikhs have been an ornament to the Indian army and that they came forward to sacrifice their body and soul to safeguard the interests of the Empire in the European war in spite of the pain the old restrictions in Canada should have naturally caused to them and, remarking that a large number of Indians have settled in South Africa, dwells upon their condition in the following strain :— As these Indians first went over there as labourers but subsequently took to trade and other pursuits. this created the envy of the Colonists and led to many restrictions being imposed on them. The first is that Indians desirous of carrying on trade there should obtain a licence for it, and the second is that it is often refused. The third restriction is that an appeal will lie in this matter only with regard to the legality or otherwise of the procedure and not about the facts. If, overthrowing all these obstacles, one tries to begin business, one is not able to do so in important places but has to choose a remote corner. No one can deny that the object of all these restrictions is only to prevent the trade of the Indians. Then again the title of the Indians to property is not recognised there and they have to register the properties purchased by them in the name of Europeans. What an anomaly is this? Even in railway travel there is a difference of treatment based on caste and colour. What is the harm done by the Indians to merit all these hardships? They have increased the fertility of the places in which they had settled and have thereby secured large profits to the Europeans there. As a reward for this they are afflicted in several ways. What will be the feelings of the Indians here when they think of this seriously? Will the other classes realise at least hereafter, that the Indians also belong to the human species? When will the day dawn when the Indians, as British subjects, will acquire equal rights and privileges throughout the Empire? As remarked by *India*, this is not possible as long as India continues a dependent country. So what is the remedy? We should obtain *Swaraj* like the colonies.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 18th Dec. 1918.

Freedom of the seas.

12. Referring to Mr. Roosevelt's interpretation of the phrase "freedom of the seas," the *Andhrapatrika* (weekly) of the 18th December, remarks:— . . . It is understood from a New York cable that Mr. Roosevelt has stated that England should have the strongest navy while the navy of the United States should occupy a second place and that there should be no freedom of the seas. But it must be said that the opinion expressed by Mr. Roosevelt does not show the way for the mitigation of the world scare. . .

Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, Madras, 18th Dec. 1918.

Britain and Turkey.

13. The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 18th December, writes:—The participation of the Turkish Empire in the war against the greatest Mussalman power in the world was a source of grief and sorrow to the Muhammadans of India especially; therefore, the joy and delight of the community knew no bounds when they learnt that the old

friendship between the British and the Turkish Governments had been re-established. To celebrate this happy issue His Exalted Highness the Nizam, the ruler of the premier Muslim State in India, granted a public holiday, gave two and a half lakhs to be distributed among the poor and needy, and commanded that thanks-giving services should be held throughout his dominions. The Turkish Empire itself is conscious of its error. The editor has a translation of the telegraphic report of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan's sentiment expressed to an interviewer.

14. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 27th December, writes :—Now that the dreadful European war has come to an end and the Allies have humbled Germany, and the greatest Islamic power in the world, Ottoman Empire, has re-established its relations with the Allies. There are, however, still some short-sighted people who doubt the veracity of these reports.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 27th Dec. 1918.

The final triumph.

Some do not hesitate to openly express their doubts in plain terms while others refrain from doing so, and consider they are acting with freedom not wishing people to think them sceptical. It is not, however, the practice of the wise to *camonflage* their thoughts, but rather to free them from all nebulosity.

Those people are aware that the war lasted for a very long period and this is the fifth year of the struggle and the chief reason they assign for doubting is this: If the allied forces had been more powerful, more skilled in war and stronger than the Germans the war would not have gone on for such a long time. On the contrary, they would have speedily subdued the Germans and this perplexing war would have ended much sooner. As the Allies were not able to defeat the Germans even after four and a half years' fighting, they think that the war is not yet over and the Allies have not conquered the Germans.

As regards the interference with the navigation between England and India, they believe that as the German destroyers are afloat and are destroying merchant vessels navigation has stopped.

People are also considering the question of the daily rise in the prices of rice and other grains and attribute the high rates for cloth to restriction on imports from England, and they assign the chief cause of such dearness solely to the reverses which the British forces are suffering.

After accepting such false deductions when people (generally simple-minded folk) read newspapers and hear that the British have defeated the Germans and their confederates, they are inclined to discredit the information and say we will never rely on the news, for the papers publish false reports under the orders of the Government.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(*d*) *Education.*

15. In commenting upon the proceedings of this conference the *Lokopakari*, of the 23rd December, observes :—Improvement of the vernaculars is possible only, if they are made compulsory subjects in the University examinations. They should have the support of the Government in a large measure. Our youths are learning the English language only for obtaining a living, and the vernaculars are neglected. On account of this, our youths deteriorate both in secular and religious habits and ruin themselves. The education imparted in colleges is devoid of all spirit or morals. Industrial, commercial and other scientific education, calculated to improve the economic resources is not given, nor instruction on patriotism and politics. The system of instruction obtaining in colleges is only such as befits one to slavish work.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

A conference of Tamil Pandits at Trichinopoly.

16. In its leading article on the medical inspection of schools, the *Malayali*, of the 21st December, referring to a recent order of the Madras Government on the subject, suggests that teachers should also be subjected to an annual medical examination for health certificates, that special medical officers should be appointed for conducting medical inspection of schools and if that be not possible, the medical officers who

MALAYALI, Quilon, 21st Dec. 1918.

Medical inspection of schools.

are now in charge of hospitals should be required to conduct such inspection regularly in the schools within their districts. It also suggests that the Travancore Government should also do the needful in this important matter.

(*e*) *Local and Municipal.*

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 20th Dec. 1918.

The control of local boards.

17. Commenting on the discussion at a meeting of the Malabar District Board regarding the establishment of an industrial school in the district, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 20th December, writes:—The tact displayed by the President of the District Board was quite in keeping with the methods of the bureaucracy. The President dropped the discussion on the subject before the meeting by raising the subject of agriculture. The Industries Commission is making suggestions on the one hand, and Presidents of District Boards like Mr. Evans begin to speak of local disabilities on the other. These are strange times, indeed. Incidents of this type cannot but produce a feeling of impatience among the people regarding the complete withdrawal of the powers of officials concerning the local boards. It is true that the Reform Scheme is likely to entrust this branch of the administration entirely to the people. Nevertheless we must observe that the sooner the Government do this, the better.

(*h*) *Railways.*

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

Railway grievances.

18. Referring to the notification by the Railway Board that no improvement in transport facilities can be expected for some time more, as the Railway Companies in India have still some work to attend to, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd December, remarks that, even before the war, the Indians had not received even half the facilities available from the railways and that those afforded, especially by the South Indian Railway Company, were very few and adds:—A little consideration of the condition of the railways will show that it is on account of our helplessness that the companies have been making immense profits. The Indians have not the least voice in the administration of railways and they have to put up with any changes introduced by the Railway Companies. These Companies act as they like. Their selection of candidates for employment is not based on the qualifications of these candidates. The salary paid to Indian clerks hardly suffices for their living. In some cases, many find it difficult to get above Rs. 25 even after a service of ten years. The companies have an eye only on their profits and do not care even for efficiency in work. The public should represent to the authorities that these companies should increase the transport facilities.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Dec. 1918.

The South Indian Railway.

19. Remarking that the authorities pay no attention to the hardships suffered by the people during their travel on this railway, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th December, observes:—The arrangements made by this Railway Company were very irksome to passengers even before the war and now it can be said that no convenience at all is afforded to passengers. When even passengers by the Ceylon boat mail are put to much hardship, there is no question about others. Sometimes 100 tickets are issued for this mail, while, at other times, even 20 tickets are not available. As most of the passengers to Madura and other places have to travel only by this train, their misery needs no description. The profits of this company are only increasing year by year. It is regrettable that, in spite of this, they should be so indifferent to the conveniences of the passengers. We hope the Government will interfere and do the needful.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

The Delhi Congress trip and the Home Rule train.

20. Under this heading a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th December, writes:—. . . Like a herd of sheep, the third-class passengers will be shoved into the third-class compartments. Nobody would care to see whether they sit or stand. It is condemnable that the authorities should not take steps to provide for their convenience, though they contribute a third of the income on railways. . .

(*j*) *Salt and Abkāri.*

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

21. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th December, expresses its approval of the opinion of the *Abkari* that this department should be a 'transferred' subject, under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of administration, and that it can be reformed in such a manner as to suit the nature of the Indians, only if it is under the supervision of the popular representatives, and asks whether the Government will pay heed to this view.

The Abkāri Department.

(*k*) *General.*

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 31st Oct. 1918.

22. Remarking that the responsibility for providing for the fiscal development of India has been left by the framers of the Montagu-Chelmsford report to an Imperial Conference to be convened after the conclusion of peace, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 31st October, observes:—The progress of a country depends more on its economic condition than its political privileges and it is not satisfactory on the part of those, who came forward to introduce reforms in view of the progress of India, to have evinced a lack of responsibility in not paying attention to the economic development of the country. No sincere man can deny that the demand of the Indians that they should retain in their own hands the control of the Indian finances is quite compatible with the responsibilities they have undertaken in this war. This demand is made only for the purpose of reviving many industries that have been ruined and safeguarding many industries, which are now in their infant stage, from being ruined by the foreign industries, which have become well rooted and which are protected by means of duties and rewards. This will foster the industries of India and improve her economic condition. If India is to become wealthy and, standing on her own legs, should prove to be the central pillar of the Empire, her fiscal control should be in the hands of the Indians. If, otherwise, India is judged from any other standpoint, she will have always to look to others for everything, and this will lead to foreigners availing themselves of all the facilities here. Eventually, the economic condition of India, instead of depending on England, will depend upon the whole world. Will England like it? While the framers of the reforms have been indifferent in this matter, some selfish Lords in England have started an Empire Resources Development Committee for the purpose of utilising the resources and men of the hotter parts of the Empire to improve the income of the Empire and the profits of private companies. Though they have announced that India is not within their purview, they do not seem to have excluded the raw products and labourers of India from their scope. There seems to be no difference between India and other parts of the Empire, except in the method, as far as the intention of the English capitalists to exploit the Empire is concerned. This is why the English capitalists and merchants try to prevent the control of the Indian finances passing into the hands of the Indians. If, therefore, the Governments in India and England yield to the devices of this committee, the responsibility they profess to have in connexion with the people of this country and their economic improvement should be deemed to be a false one. We may guage which way the wind blows, from the views expressed by Lord Islington in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Though this Lord is taking an interest in the economic progress of India, he might have unwittingly been caught in the trammels of the Indo-British Association. Lord Islington says that it would be advantageous to India if matters connected with her trade and industries are in the hands of the Secretary of State for India, who is in a position to understand the trend of the commerce of the world. But we know from our own experience how much the industries and trade of India have been improved by men in England, having an experience of the trade and industries of the world, and how much we have been benefited by our association with Europeans. That is why it is urged that the Indians and the Government of India should have the right of handling the raw products of this country and supervising its industries. Though it is admitted by all that India should be represented in the Imperial Preference Committee, the Indians want that they should be allowed to represent their

The fiscal development of India.

country, as the Secretary of State for India, though having an eye upon the progress of India, may have to act at times in view of the economic improvement of the British.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 14th Nov. 1918.

The report of the Indian Industries Commission.

23. Remarking that the dissenting minute of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya to this report, though welcomed by every one having the interests of India at heart, has not satisfied the majority of the European merchants and Editors, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 14th November, observes:— The fact that this commission was asked to inquire about everything else but the question of export and import duties resembles a marriage being arranged without the bride. No one can deny that the support of the Government is necessary for the advancement of industries. But no one has bestowed any thought over what kind of support is required. We do not know what benefit the inquiry of this commission can result in, if it merely ascertains the places where industries can be started in India, the way in which particular industries have been carried on till now and the localities where particular articles are available, without inquiring about what obstacles are thrown in the way of the Indian industries by foreign imports and what measures can remove such obstacles. Thus the inquiry of this commission will be of no practical value.

The same paper continues its comments on this subject in its issue of the 21st November 1918 and refuting the observations made by the *Madras Mail* in criticising the remarks of the Honourable Pandit in his dissenting minute, says:— The *Mail* compares the statement of Mr. Brooks Adams, quoted by the Pandit, that an enormous amount of money was taken from India to England after the battle of Plassey to the plunder of Delhi by Nadar Shah. But Nadar Shaw plundered Delhi with the object of plundering and not for the purpose of conquering the country or introducing here the trade of his country, which was not the case with the East India Company. The aim of the English rule has been to improve English trade in India and take the raw products of India to England. We would compare the analogy drawn by the *Mail* to the action of one in taking a cup of water from a big pot and being content with that and of another boring a small hole below the pot and draining it gradually. The condition of India within the last 150 years has been similar to that of the water in the pot.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 20th Dec. 1918.

Probationary Deputy Tahsildars.

24. Referring to the nomination of nine persons for the posts of probationary Deputy Tahsildars this year, the *Dravidan*, of the 20th December, wonders at the remark of the selection committee that they did not attach any consideration to caste, class or language in making this selection and observes:— We have been repeatedly pointing out that, for the progress of the non-Brahmans, they should be granted communal representation in all offices and associations and that it is not fair for the Government to grant all privileges to other communities. We very much regret that, while it is the duty of the Government, who are interested in the progress of the country, to improve the condition of the backward classes, they are neglecting this duty. Let the Government understand that this is not the time for conferring Government appointments on persons, irrespective of class, caste or language, and that, if no attention is paid to this, India will have to occupy a very low position in these days, when all the countries of the world are acquiring liberty. We wish the Government publish promptly the particular class, caste and language of the different nominees for the posts of Deputy Tahsildars this year. It is wrong on the part of the Government to hold that only people with higher educational qualifications should be chosen. The knowledge that is generally required for the post should be deemed to be sufficient qualification. Whatever higher examinations the progressive classes may have passed above this, they should not be given appointments on this account, as it will make it impossible for the other classes to make any speedy progress. We hope the Madras Government will consider over this matter and take proper steps.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 20th Dec. 1918.

Petrol.

25. Reporting that petrol is still selling at the same rate, at which it was sold during the period of the war, on account of its supply to the public having been restricted by the

Imperial Government so as to meet the demands of the war, the *Dravidan*, of the 20th December, says that there is no justification for it, seeing that the war has stopped and the Government have recently cancelled the restrictions they had imposed and hopes that the Government will also cancel the new duties that were levied on this commodity and thereby bring about a great reduction in its price.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 21st Dec. 1918.

The moderates and the reforms.

26. Referring to a letter addressed by Doctor Clarke, the President of the British Congress Committee in London, to Sir D. E. Wacha, finding fault with the moderates for having seceded from the Special Congress, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 21st December, says:—After crying for certain privileges for the people for the last 35 years, how can the country be benefited by keeping quiet, when the bureaucracy contemplate the withdrawal of even the existing privileges? The authorities have already begun to embody the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee in a Bill. Will the moderates come forward to help the Congress in safeguarding our privileges now? Judging of the situation in England as described by Doctor Clarke, we can be sure that the Parliament will not agree to this legislation, if we stand united. Doctor Clarke says that the new Parliament will represent two crores of voters and will such a Parliament agree to the essential privileges of the people of India being wrested from them? It is quite natural for the British, who acquired their independence by struggling for it with kings, who exercised absolute sway, should sympathise with us in our struggle with a class of officials wielding absolute powers. So, if we act with the necessary precautions, we can see that the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee are not adopted and also that the resolutions of the Special Congress are approved. It is only the opinion expressed by Doctor Clarke, that it is vain to talk of accepting or rejecting the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals until they are scrutinised by a Committee, constituted for the purpose, that the nationalists have also been voicing forth. We have no power either to accept or to reject these proposals. That power rests with the British voters. We shall represent our case in full and leave it to these voters to act as they think just.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 21st Dec. 1918.

House accommodation.

27. Referring to the universally accepted fact that the healthy condition of a country mainly depends on the facilities available therein for house accommodation and to the active steps that are being taken in England to relieve congestion by empowering local bodies to construct new houses, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 21st December, remarks:—The necessity for building new houses is greater in India than in England, and yet not even a portion of the care that is bestowed on this subject in England, is devoted to this matter here. Each Provincial Government should evince an interest in this and the Central Government also should render the necessary assistance. It is needless for us to point out that the best way of getting satisfactory work done in this connexion is for the Government to take steps to establish Co-operative Building Societies and help them by rendering proper pecuniary assistance and acquiring lands for them.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st Dec. 1918.

The condition of Home Rulers.

28. In a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st December, remarks that Indian patriots are considered to be rioters by the bureaucrats, the Anglo-Indians and the traitors to the country that help them, and observes:—Whatever work is started by the Home Rulers, the Anglo-Indian papers misrepresent matters and create mischief, and this is done by them purposely with the object of creating a bad impression on the bureaucrats and the British public about the Home Rulers. These papers are repeatedly stating that the labour movement has been organised by the Home Rulers and we learn that attempts are being secretly made by some capitalists to block this movement. If labourers get their grievances redressed in a particular locality, the labourers in other places also will endeavour to get their grievances redressed, which may lead to the Government appointing a committee of inquiry. This committee may issue a report like that of the Rowlatt Committee, basing their opinions on the false statements of the Anglo-Indian papers, and it will stand as an authority for the Government. By adopting this system, the Government fail to understand the truth about many things in India and eventually suspect the Home Rulers to be rioters. What is to be done for this?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st Dec. 1918.

The Viceroy and the Congress.

29. Observing that, according to the tour programme of His Excellency the Viceroy, he will not return to Delhi before the beginning of January next, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st December, asks whether he wants to be away because the Congress meets there and says:—Last year both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India were at Bombay when the Congress met at Calcutta. Why should the Viceroy avoid the place where the Congress meets?

SWADESAMITRAN Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

30. Adverting to a circular addressed by one Mr. Millne of Bihar to the Civil Servants stating that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform proposals are highly prejudicial to the interests of the Civil Servants and that it is necessary for all of them to make a joint protest, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 23rd December, says:—While carrying out reforms for the welfare of India, even granting that the interests of the Civil Service actually suffer, which is of greater importance,—the welfare of India or that of the Civil Service? No other evidence is needed to show that they are selfish. It is quite natural for these, that have been till now wielding unlimited powers, to be disinclined to surrender them.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 27th Dec. 1918.

Montagu-Chelmsford report.

Adverting to the fact that an interpellation by an Honourable Member at a recent meeting of the Madras Legislative Council disclosed that the Madras Ati Dravida Jana Sabha was one of the associations invited to offer an opinion on this report, and to a copy of the original letter of invitation alleged to have been sent to this Sabha which has now been forwarded to its Secretary, the *Dravidan*, of the 27th December, observes:—It passes our comprehension how the first letter sent by the Government did not reach the Sabha. Do not the Government satisfy themselves whether communications sent by them reach the addresees or not? It is not known whether, in this case, it was due to the wantonness or carelessness of the officials. We trust that the Government will publish without delay the details of the inquiry instituted by them in this matter.

Referring then to the opinion furnished by this Sabha on the reform proposals, the paper observes:—The Sabha's objection to entrust education to the 'ministers' as suggested in these proposals is noteworthy. Even now the Government are not attentive to the interests of the depressed classes and seek the welfare of only a few that agitate. The establishment of the Brahman widows' home is an instance of this. It is not at all fair that public funds should be spent on the education of the Brahman widows without being utilized for that of the helpless depressed classes. The observations of the Sabha as regards sanitation are quite true. We trust that the Government will pay special attention to the fact that while all the other communities are agitating for political privileges, this community is complaining of want of a good water-supply, absence of lights in streets occupied by them and insanitary surroundings. If the Government are really interested in uplifting the non-Brahman community, who form the bulk of the population and who are in a very backward condition, the only way is to give them communal representation. We will assert that, without communal representation, any reform will prove quite useless and hamper the progress of the country.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918

Release of political prisoners.

31. Referring to the reply given by the Government, to a question asked in the House of Commons about the steps proposed to be taken to release political prisoners on account of the close of the war, that the matter is under consideration, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 23rd December, observes:—While the question of releasing political prisoners is under contemplation even in England, it is regrettable that the Government here have not made any arrangements for the release of such prisoners, excepting a few who were let off in Rangoon and Colombo by the respective Provincial Governments, in spite of the entreaties of the public. It is admitted on all hands that anarchical deeds are committed in India only by a few eccentric people and that they are not at all countenanced by the public. So there is little doubt that the Government will be increasing the love of the people for, and confidence in, them by evincing a liberal spirit and releasing the political prisoners.

32. Remarking that the decision of the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar, who is hostile to the Congress-League scheme of reforms, to attend the Congress at Delhi, is not above suspicion, as Mr. Sastri is always interested in furthering the bureaucratic system of Government, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd December, asks the Delhi Congress to abandon the resolution of the Special Congress, as it is neither the Congress-League proposals, made before the war, nor the resolution of the Special Congress, made during the progress of the war, but complete Home Rule that the Indians want and remarks:—The future of India depends on the results of the Peace Conference. As President Wilson has stated that America entered into the war, not on account of its hatred against Germany, but for securing the liberty of the world, India may perhaps be granted complete liberty. So it will be stupid on our part to decide ourselves to curtail our liberty. Let us demand complete Home Rule and leave it to the Conference to decide it in any way it likes. By our demanding only a few reforms, we will be disgracing those who wish to advocate the grant of complete liberty to us in the Conference. There may be some philanthropists who may like to expouse our cause and why should we gag them? The Delhi Congress should not prove faithless to Mother Bharata, because the unexpected moderates attend this session. The world will undergo a mighty change on account of the war. The European war has brought to the world a civilisation, which, in the usual course, should have dawned only 200 years later. So it is incumbent on us to attempt to acquire now that liberty which will be our due 100 years hence. This will be true manliness.

The ensuing Congress at Delhi.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd December, reproduces in Tamil a telegram sent by Mrs. Annie Besant from Delhi communicating the public indignation aroused by the order prohibiting the route of the procession of the President of the Congress. This telegram appears in *New India* of the same date.

The ensuing Congress at Delhi.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th December, characterises the action of the authorities at Delhi as a reminder to the people of the existence of the police and the fact that they frequently lose their head and act highhandedly, and remarks: Would the skies have come down if Mr. Malaviya had been taken by the route arranged by the Reception Committee? Those conducting the Congress have as much responsibility in this matter as the police. While so we do not know why the police should act in a crooked way.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th December, is surprised at the action of the authorities in Delhi and remarks:—We fail to understand how it will belittle the prestige of the bureaucracy in any way, if the procession of the Congress President should pass through the main streets of the city.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

33. The *Lokopakari*, of the 23rd December, observes:—Though the war has stopped, the hardships consequent on the rise of prices continue and there seems to be no chance of their removal in the near future. The people are saying that it is only the expenses connected with the officials appointed to control the foodstuffs that have gone high, without any corresponding benefit. We are of opinion that, if patriotic people, with practical experience of life, had been appointed for this work, much benefit would have resulted therefrom.

The food situation.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

Referring to the precautionary measures taken by the Government of Bombay realizing that famine has broken out in that Presidency and also to the starting of Government depots for the sale of food-grains and cloths to the poor in Bengal, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th December, observes:—We have often pointed out the arrangements made in connexion with foodstuffs in Native States such as Mysore and Travancore which are not under the administration of the Indian Civil Service officers. The public are too well aware of the arrangements made by the Government of Madras for relieving the hardships of the poor, caused by the scarcity of foodstuffs and the high prices of cloth. Though it is the opinion of many, that this Government had not the required ability or facility to relieve the sufferings of the poor and understand the real attitude of the public, we affirm that they are endowed with the capacity of attributing all unrest and dissensions caused by the economic situation

The food situation.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Dec. 1918.

to political agitators. We trust that the Government of Madras will note what arrangements have been made by the Native States and other provinces in connexion with foodstuffs.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

The next meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

34. Referring to the announcement of the Government of India, that no resolution brought forward by the Honourable Members, except those relating to the budget, will be considered at the next meeting of this Council, as much time would be required in connexion with the reform proposals and for the consideration of many important matters that have cropped up as a result of the close of the war, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd December, observes:—While we concede the importance of the matters referred to by the Government, it does not appear to us to be fair to plead want of time to consider the resolutions relating to the welfare of the public, brought forward by the non-official members. If necessary, the interpellations of members may be disallowed; but it is not just to deprive the members of their privileges. Every year, meetings of this Council are very few, while many are the public questions that are to be considered. It is not too much to ask whether the Government have realised the importance of these matters. Further, we hold that the Honourable Members are entitled to consider the very questions which the Government of India propose to consider. The Report of the Reforms Committees may be published before the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council. The Government of India cannot deny the right of the Honourable Members to discuss this report in the Council. Then again there are many important subjects on which the Honourable Members have to move resolutions, as for example the recommendations of the Industries Commission. Have not these to be discussed in Council, before they are adopted and do not the Government consider them to be important? Then there are numerous repressive laws like the Defence of India Act, and it is stated that it is under consideration to introduce new repressive measures. Is it not necessary to afford opportunities for the popular representatives to ascertain the views of the Government on these points? It is wrong on the part of the Government of India to say that these are not matters concerning public welfare. The Government should note that it is not sound statesmanship to refuse permission to discuss matters relating to the welfare of the Indians at a time, when such matters have necessarily to be discussed. The Government have been conducting the administration all along, without understanding the attitude of the Indians. What more can we say than that it will not do for the Government of India to carry on the administration on the old lines? We trust that they will recognise the erroneous nature of their decision and reconsider it.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

Registration of births and deaths.

35. The *Dravidan*, of the 24th December, publishes in Tamil the substance of the comments of *Justice* of the 21st idem under this heading.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

The Muhammadans and the principle of self-determination.

36. Expressing its approval of the resolutions passed at the annual meeting of the Madras Presidency Moslem League that the British should again be friendly with the Sultan of Turkey and that a separate Muhammadan representative should be sent to the Peace Conference, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th December, observes:—Their main request is that Turkey, the greatest of all the Muhammadan kingdoms in the world, should be saved from ruin. England and Turkey should be on friendly terms in the interests of both, for the European powers are waiting for an opportunity to devour Turkey and, if any Power should capture Turkey, it will prove harmful to England itself. Then again as there are thousands of Moslem subjects in the British administration, the Britishers have to be friendly with Turkey in order to please these. The reason why the Madras Moslem League wants that, though Armenia and other countries wish to have Home Rule, no other country should be empowered to supervise their administration, is that an alien administration of a country gradually leads to many difficulties. The request of the League that a Moslem representative should be present at the Peace Conference may be taken to have been already granted by the Government by the nomination of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali to be one of the

representatives of the British in the Conference. Mr. Amir Ali was a faithful representative of the Moslems till he was appointed to the Privy Council; but his enthusiasm waned after this appointment, though he has on many occasions come forward to help the Moslems. If persons with better experience had been selected it would have been more beneficial to the Moslems in India. If the British had not nominated Mr. Amir Ali as a Moslem representative, we request that another representative may be selected without delay.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th December, also comments in the same strain on the resolutions of the Madras Moslem League, with this difference that it takes it that the nomination of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali has been made by the Government only to secure Muhammadan representation in the Peace Conference. This paper adds one more ground to the necessity of friendly relations between England and Turkey, viz., that it ensures a safe passage from Europe to Asia, in that the easiest route adjoins Turkey.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

Influenza.

37. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th December, refers to the estimate of one that this fell disease has claimed roughly about 70 lakhs of people in India till now and remarking that the loss sustained by this country on account of this appalling death-rate can be clearly gauged by intelligent people, asks what precautionary measures the Government intend adopting in this matter hereafer.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

Popular responsibility in India.

38. In the course of a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th December, observes:—During the last 160 years of British administration in India, popular responsibility has only been going down day by day. It is no doubt the opinion of the British that the administration should be conducted in accordance with the wishes of the people; but the bureaucrats in India have always been acting against this opinion. During these 160 years a number of laws have been passed which are calculated to hamper the liberty of man. Though the bureaucrats refrained from resorting to repressive measures in the beginning, they have gradually gone in for such measures without any limit. The cruelty of the bureaucrats in India has increased since the time of Lord Curzon. It has become an ordinary matter to keep one in custody without any inquiry. The bureaucrats will never consent to rule the country in accordance with the popular wishes and numerous instances can be quoted to prove this. One is the opening of the Park Fair by His Excellency quite against the unanimous protest of the Corporation with a European President and at a time when the people are suffering from poverty, famine and pestilence. We very much regret that the bureaucrats should act without realising the importance of popular responsibility even when a huge war has been waged for the very purpose. The action of the bureaucrats at Delhi in having prohibited the route of the procession of the Congress President is another instance. We very much feel for the action of the Reception Committee in having stopped the procession, without resorting to passive resistance and sticking to the route originally proposed by them.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

The Ali brothers.

39. Appreciating the action of the authorities in having allowed the brothers Muhammad Ali and Shukat Ali, at least after there have been many deaths in their family, to proceed to Rampur, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th December, prays that the Government will cease to afflict them hereafter and allow them to reside in Rampur alone.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th December, also echoes the same view.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th Dec. 1918.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th December, reverts to this subject and observes:—We hope the Government will not send these brothers again to Chindwara. They have been sufficiently long in custody. The war has closed and every one is immersed in pleasure. So it is not fair to keep these brothers in solitude any longer. We hope that they will be set at liberty soon.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd December, publishes in Telugu a letter from Mr. O. B. Gati, describing the reverses that have befallen the interned brothers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

40. The following are extracts from a contribution under this heading by a correspondent to the *Desabhaktan* of the 24th December :—O son of Bharata ! Many tumble at the very mention of the word *Swaraj*. *Swaraj* is the abode of happiness, a foundation to social progress, an aid to attain one's object and a means of reaching the heavenly goal. Are they not eunuchs who get perturbed at the mere mention of this word ? Dear child ! The virtuous people, who raise the noble cry of *Swaraj*, will be surrounded on all sides by a wretched class of people who may cause endless trouble. It is essential to work with a definite end in view without caring for the series of troubles thus caused. Though the whole world may get confused, walk about with a resolute mind. By the superiority of your soul force, you are sure to attain your object. . . Is there in existence now an excellent administration conducted on the lines laid down in the *Vedas ?* No. This is the cause of your emasculation, the waning of your intelligence and a fall in your character. . . This is the reason for the poverty of your community, for its suffering from famine and pestilence, and for its having lost all strength and relying upon others for everything.

The preachings of mother Bharata.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Dec. 1918.

The correspondent continues this article in the *Desabhaktan* of the 25th December, in which the following sentiments find place :—O child ! The administration now obtaining is one carried on by an unsympathetic and irresponsible foreign bureaucracy. The sons of India suffer in a crippled condition. If the administration of India had not been brought under these bureaucrats, the children of your mother Bharata would not have been reduced to such a sorry plight. As a result of their selfish rule, the very traces of the excellent industrialists, able artists, heroic warriors, pandits and experts of your country have all disappeared. This is why the people of India have lost all living, and indigenous trade, industry and agriculture have perished. The liberty of the Indian born, bred up and residing in India has become the property of another. Having lost his liberty, he had to forego his fraternity and equality. . . The bureaucrats have come into existence only for the benefit of the people but not the latter for the benefit of the former. The authority of the bureaucrat can never result in good to the people. To endeavour to do away with this is neither disloyalty nor treason to the country. It is loyalty of the noblest type.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Dec. 1918.

41. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th December, takes exception to the Government of India having granted, in view of the large demand for soldiers in the war, an equal status to the Eurasians in the army with the British soldiers and remarks :—By this act the Government have insulted the Indian soldiers and tax-payers and yet the Indians did not demur to this, considering this to be a war measure. Now the Anglo-Indian papers want that the Eurasians should be continued in service even in times of peace. Will the Indians consent to this ? Can the Eurasians equal the Pathan or the Ghurka soldiers ? How can they equal the British soldiers ? On the day the Moore Market was set on fire, it was the Eurasian soldiers that were on guard at the place. Who could have been the cause of the fire without their knowledge ? Who can tolerate the proposal to grant to such irresponsible soldiers the rank of a British soldier ?

The Eurasians in the army.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th Dec. 1918.

42. Adverting to the fact that the Civil Servants in Behar and Orissa have formed an association for safeguarding the interests of this class, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th December, presumes that similar associations of Civil Servants may have been secretly formed in other Provinces also and referring to the decision of the association in Behar to protest against the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms observes :—The Civil Servants apprehend that the proposal to increase the powers of the people according to the Reforms Scheme should necessarily curtail theirs, and will be a humiliation to them who were till now the uncrowned kings in their respective jurisdictions. If the people should participate in administrative matters, it necessarily follows that there should be a corresponding curtailment of the powers of the Civil Servants. Every one may be willing to wield unlimited powers for ever ; but will the subjects relish the idea to be under this kind of subjection for all time to come ? According to the covenant entered into by these Civil Servants at the time of

The Indian Civil Service.

their appointment, they are not permitted to make such a joint representation as is said to be contemplated now. So we hope the Government will lose no time to advise them not to do so. Can the very officers appointed to carry out the wishes of the Government think of condemning those wishes? The Government should point out that their duty is only to obey but not to criticise. Further, it is rather curious that they should intimidate the Government by saying that they will resign their posts if their wishes are not granted. We are compelled to remark that they are acting against rules here.

The Censors.

43. Expressing its wonder at the delay in the message of His Majesty the King Emperor to his subjects reaching India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th December, observes:—It is well known that Censors have been appointed for examining telegraphic and postal communications from foreign countries. When the war has ended, the work of these officers has also come to an end. Perhaps they wish to show before getting out of office that even His Majesty is subject to their authority. How long will they continue to hold office like this?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Dec. 1918.

The Hindu-Moslem entente.

44. Approving of the suggestion made by the Secretary of the All-India Hindu Association that the Congress and the Moslem League should appoint a joint commission to devise means for preventing the rupture that frequently occurs between the Hindus and the Muhammadans during the *Bakr-id* and other festivities, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th December, observes:—The Anglo-Indian Press and the bureaucrats make much of the slight disturbances on trivial matters that occur between some ignorant Hindus and Muhammadans and give out to the world that there is a lack of unity between these two communities. Many say that some of the riots between the Hindus and the Muhammadans had the support of the bureaucrats, and to quote an instance it is stated that the riot in Arra in Behar was caused by a bureaucrat. Every one knows that of late the affinity between the Hindus and the Muhammadans is getting stronger. In spite of this the Anglo-Indians are proclaiming, quite against their conscience, that the differences between these two communities will never disappear. It is our ardent desire that the Hindus and the Muhammadans should so conduct themselves as not to give room for such silly remarks.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Dec. 1918.

Sir Sankaran Nayar.

45. Anent the statement made by a correspondent in the *Searchlight* that there is a rumour that Sir Sankaran Nayar proposes to resign his post shortly, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th December, observes:—When in the ordinary course he has to continue in office for two years more, who is responsible for his resigning it within that period? Unless the situation has become unbearable and detestable, there is no reason for his doing so. Who has brought about such a situation? We need not say that, though he is not supported in the Executive Council, he has the support of the 35 crores of the Indian population. The *Searchlight* has rightly asked the authorities concerned to bestow a thought over how the people will take such a resignation. Were not the bureaucrats aware of Sir Sankaran Nayar's nature at the time he was appointed Member of the Executive Council? Lord Chelmsford is well fitted to gauge beforehand the effects of his resignation. So we hope that he will try to see that no untoward events occur.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 25th Dec. 1918.

Cheap supply of clothing.

46. Appreciating the action of the Government of Behar in having purchased plenty of clothing and arranged to sell it to the poor at rates reduced by 20 to 50 per cent of the market price, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th December, observes:—In our Province also people are suffering from want of clothing. Why should not our Government act similarly? What is feasible in the other Government cannot but be so here also. Where there is a will there is a way.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 25th Dec. 1918.

A sane advice.

47. Referring to a recent speech of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, an Irish member of the House of Commons, in which he is reported to have stated that a country, whether big or small, should be given complete liberty to form her own government, that, even in internal administration, a community should not be subjected to an irresponsible form of

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

Government against its wishes, that for removing the prevailing discontent and unrest in Ireland, she should he granted Home Rule without delay, and that the best medicine for discontent and unrest is self-determination, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th December, asks whether the British will pay heed to these words and adds:—It is our opinion that the medicine suggested by Mr. O'Connor will apply equally to India. Day by day discontent and unrest are gradually taking root here on account of the mean acts of the bureaucrats. Without knowing the remedy for this, the British Government are doing all manner of things. India is suffering from the very same ailment which is troubling Ireland. We wish the Government to note that the remedy suggested by O'Connor for Ireland is applicable to India also.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

The Publicity Boards.

48. Referring to the opinion for and against the retention of these Boards after the close of the war, the *Dravidan*, of the 26th December, observes:—It is needless for us to say that such Boards will do a lot of good to the general public. They can, by means of the issue of bulletins now and again, acquaint the people with sanitary rules, and matters relating to the improvement of agriculture and industry. No final orders appear to have been passed in regard to these Boards. We urge that these should continue to work though not in the present form.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

The Park Fair.

49. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th December, is not satisfied with the explanation given by His Excellency for running the Fair this year against the opinion of the public and the Corporation and observes:—There is no room to say that plague has not spread in the city. Two new cases have occurred in the neighbourhood of Kuppam. The death-rate in the city is increasing owing to other causes as well and the strain caused by high prices. His Excellency said that one with great experience told him that the Fair could be held. No one knows who this experienced person is. What was such a person doing all these days when the people were undergoing sufferings?

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

The *Dravidan*, of the 26th December, however, thinks that the speech of His Excellency on the occasion of the opening of the Park Fair is a proper reply to all those who were not in favour of this Fair and remarks that, if the Fair had been stopped this year, it would have created much disappointment as many persons were expecting special festivities this time.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

The Park Fair and the public health.

Referring to the holding of the Park Fair this year by the Committee in spite of the resolution of the Corporation to the contrary, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd December, remarks:— . . . This is a matter connected with the life and death of the people. Even under such circumstances, popular opinion counts for nothing. This one fact will suffice to show the value attached to popular opinion in India. This matter reminds one of the incidents that Nero was dancing while Rome was on fire. . . The Committee cannot give up the Park Fair, however, seriously the health of the public may be affected thereby.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 19th Dec. 1918.

The Park Fair.

The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 19th December, refers approvingly to the resolution of the Madras Corporation against the celebration of the Park Fair this year, and recommends to the authorities the closing of the Cinema and the Dramatic theatres also for some time.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 21st Dec. 1918.

The Park Fair.

Referring to the decision to celebrate the Park Fair this year in spite of the Madras Corporation's resolution, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 21st December, observes:—. . . If it be true that His Excellency the Governor has issued an order to celebrate the Park Fair, it can be said without doubt that he has not carefully considered the popular opinion and the interests of public health. We say beyond all fear of contradiction that in view of the prevalence of plague, cholera and smallpox in the city, the celebration of the Park Fair is very undesirable. If His Excellency has erred in the matter as reported above, he will do well to rescind his order. . .

The Park Fair.

Referring to the celebration of the Park Fair, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th December, says:— . . . In opening the Fair, the Governor said that there was no room for any more plague scare. But Doctor Raghavendra Rao, the Health Officer, reports that it has not yet subsided. It need hardly be said that it is quite improper on the part of the committee to hold the Fair under these circumstances setting at nought the resolution of the Corporation in disregard of public health.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

Indian tanning industry.

50. The *Dravidan*, of the 26th December, republishes in Tamil a leader under this heading in the *Justice*, of the 24th idem.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

The Reforms Committees.

51. Adverting to the appointment of four additional members to advise these committees on matters connected with the Government of India, two of whom are Indian Civil Service men, while the other two are Indians, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th December, refers specially to the latter and observes:—It is not apparent what knowledge these two gentlemen have about the Government of India. We ask whether Mr. Shaffi was the only one available, if the Government wanted to have a Moslem representative to advise the committees. Many say that the views of Mr. Pattani will not agree with those seeking the progress of India. We need not say what will be the attitude of the other two Indian Civil Service officers. We are at a loss to know how the nominees of the Government of India are better than those of the Government of Madras.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Dec. 1918.

The India Council and Indian money.

52. Remarking that the India Council in London is controlling the expenditure of a large portion of the revenues of India, in that they purchase in England all the articles needed by the Government of India and lend the balance of money in their hands to the companies there for interest, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 27th December, cites figure for 1917-18 under this head to be £146,703,318 and observes:—Need we point out that, though they handle such a large amount of Indian money, the Indians have not a shred of power or influence in that connexion? The amount of interest, that accrued last year from the sums lent by them for interest there, comes up to £225,000, and the amount of the capital lent out can be guessed from this. They have lent this amount only at easy rates of interest, while in India both the Government and the Companies have to pay heavy rates of interest for raising loans. So, unless the Indians gain sufficient influence and voice in the matter of spending the amounts now handled by the India Council, the former can never be satisfied with the situation.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 27th Dec. 1918.

The ravings of the *Englishman*.

53. Referring to the argument of the *Englishman* that the Indians are not fit for Home Rule, judged from the fiasco in which the meeting held at Bombay in connexion with a memorial to Lord Willingdon terminated, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 27th December, observes:—As remarked in the *Bengalee* is it not usual in England, when party feeling runs high in meetings, for eggs and soda bottles to be thrown at each other? What reply has the *Englishman* to say to this?

It used to be stated that in 1899, when Mr. Lloyd George, the present prime minister of England, was making a speech in a meeting at Manchester ,expressing certain views opposed to popular opinion, the audience became impatient and attempted to sack him and that he had to save himself by getting out in the guise of a policeman. Did anybody pronounce then that the Englishman who caused such a terror to Mr. Lloyd George were unfit for Home Rule? Has the *Englishman* forgotton that even prior to that time the English were not only enjoying Home Rule but were also holding sway over many other countries?

Landowners and the reforms.

54. The *Dravidan*, of the 27th December, has a leader amplifying the sentiments contained in an article appearing in *Justice* of the 20th idem under this heading.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 20th Dec. 1918.

Imperial progress and Indian industries.

55. The *Vartakamitran*, of the 21st November, says that one of the results of this war is to disclose to the world the extent to which raw products and manufactured articles were supplied by the different countries before the war

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 21st Nov. 1918.

and to make each country strive to manufacture within itself the articles required by it and adds:—The cry of the Indians about the poverty of their country and about thousands of them dying of starvation was, before the war, deemed by the European countries and especially by England, to be a lie, for the latter was not acquainted with the way in which India was being governed. As England advanced in her industries, there was a reduction in the quantity of foodstuffs produced there and this necessitated her bringing in foodstuffs from elsewhere. This again explains the reason for the formation of the Empire Resources Development Committee. Of all the countries in the empire, India is the most extensive and as her raw products are required by all the countries, they want that India should continue always to be an agricultural country. England was depending for long on her Colonies for the foodstuffs required by her. But ever since the United States of America attained liberty, all the Colonies had to be allowed to take care of their own advancement by means of protective provisions. Therefore, both England and the Colonies have had to rely upon India and Egypt for raw products. We do not object to our country being a purely agricultural one. But steps should be taken to increase the foodstuffs produced by her. The Indians consider every non-Indian to be a foreigner, whether he be within or outside the British Empire. So it is quite natural for them to ask why they should help foreigners, when they are suffering from starvation. Therefore, if England wishes to keep India always as an agricultural country, both general and agricultural education should be made compulsory for the Indians. The Government should also regulate assessment, etc., in such a manner as to provide a sufficient supply of provisions for the Indians and render adequate pecuniary assistance for improving agriculture. There is no use of making much of their having started co-operative credit societies and granting loans to agriculturists, nor is it proper to remark that the agriculturists are not taking advantage of these things. When the Indians demand political privileges, it is stated that they are still children in politics and that they cannot be granted any until they become fit for them. How can these children be expected to understand the value of these concessions of their own accord? In addition to starting societies to help the people, associations should be formed in every village to instruct the agriculturists on progressive methods. Waste lands should be reclaimed and agriculture improved thereby. Unless the Government take an active interest in this matter, other methods will not be of any use. In brief, unless education and agricultural improvement are fostered side by side, not only will there be a dearth of foodstuffs in India, but it will also injure the industrial advancement of England. We do not mean by this that India should not progress in industries. Of course, our object is that, while some classes in India are engaged in improving agriculture, others should devote their attention to industries, so that India can soon become self-contained and cease to rely upon others for anything. But the question is whether England and the British Empire will allow India at this juncture to manufacture everything she wants and that with love and sincerity.

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th and 27th Dec. 1918.

The session of the Congress at Delhi.

56. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan* publish in Tamil in their issues of the 26th and the 27th December the addresses of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President of this Congress, while the *Hindu Nesan* and the *Dravidan*, of the 27th, 28th and 30th idem, publish the presidential address serially in bits to be continued. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 27th idem, also contains an abstract of the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

The Delhi Congress.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th December, publishes in Telugu the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and in the course of its comment thereon observes:—

. . . This address is pregnant with thought. . . When the power of self-determination is being granted even to the very small nations of Europe, the Chairman asks why it should not be accorded to India which has sacrificed its all in the great war for the sake of liberty. . . As even the changes proposed in the Scheme of Reforms are likely to be rendered ineffectual by the creation of

the Council of State, he said that it would be highly desirable to introduce self-government in the Government of India also just now and transfer the Government Departments to the Indians. . . There will be immense joy among the people, if the Government release the political internees, and annul the Press Act and the Defence of India Act as has been suggested by him.

The National Congress.

With reference to the Delhi Congress, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 28th December, says:—. . . Mr. Muhammad Ajmal Khan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, has put the following question from the platform: "When this principle of self-determination is going to be applied even to the smallest nations of Europe, why will it not apply to India which has rendered every help in the war and sacrificed her blood and money for the cause of freedom and justice?" Really it is neither Mr. Ajmal Khan nor India that puts this question. It is the very deities who are watching the course of the world's evolution with their ever-vigilant eyes that are asking this question. The voice of history is inviolable. We may be deaf and may not heed that voice. But how long? The more we resist it, the more will it roar like the deep thunder of the clouds. Should we not heed it even then? The cloud that has thundered is not going to end in nothing. . .

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 28th Dec. 1918.

The National Congress.

The issues of the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th and 30th December, give in English and Telugu the proceedings of the National Congress.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 28th and 30th Dec. 1918.

Communal representation.

57. The *Dravidan*, of the 28th December, reproduces in Tamil the leader of *Justice* of the 26th idem under this heading.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

The 'Montford' report in the Lords.

58. The *Dravidan*, of the 28th December, publishes in Tamil a contribution by Doctor Nayar under this heading to the *London Spectator*, which appears in full in *Justice* of the 23rd December.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

The hard lot of ryots in the Kistna district.

59. Referring to the G.O. No. 99 published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 7th November 1918, a correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th December, writes that ryots will have to face endless difficulties, if the Government do not allay the strong discontent among them by cancelling orders Nos. 345 and 99.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 17th Dec. 1918.

Temples.

60. Under this heading a correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th December, prays that the Government may be pleased to protect the rights of archakas (temple priests) who look to them as their guardians, and save them from suits for enforcing schemes for the management of temple endowments.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 17th Dec. 1918.

The second Ayurvedic Conference at Cocanada.

61. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th December, publishes in Telugu the speech of the President of the Second Ayurvedic Conference held at Cocanada, which contains observations such as—. . . Such a great authority on western medicine as Sir P. D. Lukis has said that Ayurveda is in keeping with scientific principles, that the western medical science is still ignorant of some truths found by Aryans in the past and that the western physicians do not know even the fact that common salt is bad for dropsy patients. It is very regrettable in these circumstances the Government should speak lightly of Ayurveda being only a catalogue of medicines and not a science. . . While the majority of the people enjoy the benefits of the Ayurvedic system of medicine and are crying loudly for that treatment only, it is highly regrettable that the Government should prohibit the utilisation of the money paid by them for the improvement of that system. . . The Government have said that the appointment of Doctor Koman for the study of the Ayurvedic system is only to add to the English Pharmacopœia such drugs as may be found effective in that system and not to improve it. . . From the appointment of a person versed only in the western system, it may be inferred that the Government have no mind to afford any facility for the improvement of the indigenous system. . . The choice of the Government seems to be unsatisfactory in view of the fact that only the appointment

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th Dec. 1918.

of men acquainted with both the systems can be of any practical use. It is, therefore, necessary that the Government should have the advice of proper men in the matter. . . I repeat that the indifference of the Government towards such a popular and cheap system as the Ayurvedic system is a matter to be greatly regretted. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Dec. 1918.

Scientific books by Mr. K. Sitaramayya Sastri.

62. Referring to the replies given on behalf of the Government to the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. T. Ranga Achariyar requesting State patronage to publishers of scientific books in Vernaculars, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th December, observes:—. . . When the honourable mover referred to the books published by Mr. K. Sitaramayya as an example of the publications which deserve the encouragement of the Government, the Hon'ble Mr. Stone and the Hon'ble Mr. Pittendrig had both praised the attempt of Mr. Sitaramayya. But the Hon'ble Mr. Stone expressed inability on behalf of the Government in the matter of rendering any help to the publisher in question. Expressing sympathy in words while showing disinclination to do anything when it comes to be a matter of rendering practical help is the nature of the Government. There is nothing new in it. Though the argument of Mr. Stone that the burden of publication rests on the publishers concerned and not on the Government is plausible, it is not calculated to facilitate the publication of the books in question. The Government will do well to understand that there is no chance of publishing scientific books in vernaculars, if they do not give suitable encouragement to the publishers concerned. . .

Madras, 19th Dec. 1918.

The scheme of Sir Reginald Craddock.

63. Referring to the scheme of Reforms prepared by Sir Reginald Craddock for Burma, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th December, remarks:—. . . In the scheme of Mr. Montagu, we see at least an attempt to train the Indian people in the art of self-government. But in this scheme (Sir Reginald Craddock's), there is not even that. We hope that the Burmans will show their disapproval of Sir Craddock's scheme and defeat his aims at creating disunion between the Burmans and the Indians.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Dec. 1918.

The Madras Corporation meeting and the health of the city.

64. Referring to the resolution moved by Mr. G. A. Natesan at a Corporation meeting, requesting the establishment of three more dispensaries, one for Mylapore, one for Triplicane and another for Georgetown, and the amendment to it proposed by Rao Bahadur P. Tyagaraya Chetti, that only one of them should be allopathic, while the other two should be Ayurvedic and Unani, respectively, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th December, observes:—. . . The amendment of Mr. Tyagaraya Chetti is quite appropriate. The Ayurvedic and Unani systems will be not only as beneficial as but also cheaper than the western system. What seems to have prevented the Corporation from passing the resolution is the fear that the Government will cancel it. But as it is the people who pay taxes, they must have the power of deciding the number of dispensaries required for the upkeep of their health and the system of treatment best suited to them. By rejecting the suggestion of Mr. Tyagaraya Chetti, the Corporation failed to do its duty.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Dec. 1918.

A strange matter.

65. Referring to the question why the King's message to the Empire has not been communicated to the Indian people the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st December, publishes in Telugu an extract from the *Leader* on the subject, which contains:—. . . It appears that the message was read at Lahore by the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. . . If so, why should it be published at Lahore alone and not in the rest of India? Having given the above extract, the paper remarks that the Government of India will do well to clear this doubt.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th Dec. 1918.

The Sanitary Commissioner's report.

66. Reviewing in its leader under this heading, the Sanitary Commissioner's report for 1917, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th December, observes:—. . . The health of the people was very bad last year. The figures given in the report are alarming. Diseases like cholera, fever and plague have been more

widespread than in 1916. . . When the death rate in western countries is becoming smaller and smaller with a corresponding improvement in public health, it will be worthwhile to ascertain the reason why diseases should spread, health should suffer and deaths should increase in India. . . It will be seen from the review made by the Government on the report that the rise in the prices of foodstuffs has a close connexion with the increase of ill-health. It is clear that the people will suffer in health when they cannot get nutritious food at a fair price. As pointed out by such eminent men as the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, poverty is the main cause of the country's misery—a fact which is now practically realised more than ever before. It cannot be imagined how poor people will manage to live, when rice is selling at two measures a rupee. When men do not get nutritious food, their bodies will be liable to be easily attacked by all sorts of epidemics; and it is no wonder, if the death-rate among them is increasing. . . Unless the people appeal to the Government and find, with their help, a solution for the poverty problem, there is no chance of this unbearable condition coming to an end. . . Since correct figures of deaths have not been given as stated in the report, there is room to fear that the actual number of deaths is more than what it has been represented to be. It is of great importance that the Government should endeavour to give correct figures. . . One of the reasons advanced for the increase in the death-rate is lack of the requisite medical aid. When the number of allopathic physicians is not enough, it is not understood why the services of Ayurvedic and Unani practitioners found in such numbers cannot be availed of. The solution of the health problem will be practicable only when the Government are prepared to utilise the services of Ayurvedic and Unani Doctors along with western physicians, make nutritious food easily available for the masses, and enable them to know the principles of health by giving them elementary education. They must adopt these three measures simultaneously. Otherwise, there is no reason to hope that the problem can be easily solved by meagre attempts.

67. Referring to the manifesto of questions circulated by Mr. Milney among the Indian Civil Servants in the Bihar Province, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th December, remarks :—. . . It will be far from the truth to say that the Indian Civil Servants will greatly suffer by the reforms. If in the interests of the people they have to give up some of their powers, it behoves them to do so gladly. The powers of a minorty should not be a menace to the well-being of the majority. The fact that the Indian Civil Servants are not willing to give up even this little only shows their unfavourable attitude towards the advancement of the people. And it is exactly at the hands of these very people that Mr. Montagu wants Indians to receive their political training. . . Milney's manifesto gives ground for the doubts of the Indians about the desirability of this course. The British Government will do well to understand this and grant India the reforms demanded by the Congress.

Political reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th Dec. 1918.

68. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd December, observes :—. . . At a time when peace is being restored to the whole world, it would be but just to release those who are suffering internment without trial under the Defence of India Act, as the necessity for that Act is clearly over when once the war has come to an end. . . The long expected release of Mr. D. Chenchayya, and Messrs. Muhammed Ali and Shaukat Ali has not yet come off. . . Should the Government, however, feel unable to release them for any reason it would be just on their part to frame charges against them and have them tried in open courts. . . As the people have already expressed their firm opinion in the matter, the Government are requested to act up to it at once.

Internments.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

69. Adverting to the request of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce to allow a representative at the Peace Conference on behalf of Indian commercial community, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd December, says :— . . . As it is Indian merchants alone who will be in a position to know whether the commercial policy to be advocated at the Peace Conference by England will or

The Peace Conference and a commercial representative.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

will not suit India, it will be but just to consult them before committing the country to any policy. Similarly, it will be proper to allow one representative for the Congress and another for the Muhammadan community. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd Dec. 1918.

The Fourth Kistna District Ryots' Conference.

70. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd December, publishes in Telugu the speech of Rao Bahadur K. V. Reddi Nayudu, the President of the Fourth Kistna District Ryots' Conference, which contains among others :—. . . Though the Government are in need of additional money, to throw that burden on ryots, in these circumstances, is unjust, and illegal and will create discontent. . . If English engineers unconnected with those in our Presidency are constituted as a committee of inquiry, I am quite sure that they will declare the four-inch pipes as too narrow to let out water and that the 90 duty which has superseded the 60 duty as quite unjust. Even some of the engineering officers in our district have admitted this fact in private conversation. . . As ill-luck would have it, from the very beginning, our rulers seem to have been particular about higher education without paying any attention to the elementary education which conduces to the amelioration of the condition of the ryots and the masses. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

The Kistna District Ryots' Conference.

Referring to the Fourth Kistna District Ryots' Conference held at Pulla, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th December, remarks: —. . . In his able speech, Rao Bahadur K. V. Reddi Nayudu, the President of the Conference, explained clearly how the difficulties of ryots would be multiplied beyond limit by enhancing the water-rate. The ryots of the Gōdāvari, Kistna and Guntūr districts have unanimously declared that the proposed enhancement is fraught with evil consequences. The authorities who profess sympathy for the masses are, therefore, requested to give up the proposed enhancement and thus avert any occasion for strong agitation.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 19th & 20th Dec. 1918.

The Fourth Kistna District Conference.

The *Andhraprakasika* publishes in Telugu the speech of Rao Bahadur K. V. Reddi Nayudu Garu, the President of the Fourth Kistna District Ryots' Conference, in its issues of the 19th and 20th December, and, with reference to it in the issue for the 19th December, requests the Government to peruse the speech carefully, give up their proposal to enhance the water-rate, and thus earn the gratitude of the ryot-population.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

The procession of the President-elect of the Congress.

71. Referring to the order of the authorities in Delhi, regarding the procession of the President-elect of the Congress, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th December, remarks :— . . . From the manner in which the Delhi authorities are trying to create troubles in small matters, it will be clear that their angle of vision has undergone no change. It would be well if His Excellency the Viceroy will at once put an end to the arbitrary acts of these officers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

Officers and memorials.

72. Referring with disapproval to the attempt of the people to set up memorials for Lord Willingdon and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th December, observes:— . . . There seems to be no necessity for memorials to provincial rulers, as there is nothing great in their discharging the duties attached to their respective offices, which they are bound to do. . . While no memorials are set up in honour of even our great patriots, that they should be erected for those holding temporary offices and cherishing no sympathy for this country cannot but be insulting to the self-respect of the people. . . The good which Provincial Governors are capable of doing independently is very little. They are parts of an administrative machine the limits of which it will be too difficult for them to transgress. . . They can thus have little chance of doing much good to the national progress, setting at defiance the advice of the Members of their Executive Councils.

The cause for the arbitrariness of the present bureaucratic party is to be found in the very system of administration which should, therefore, be changed first before there can be any improvement in the situation. To ignore this fact and set up memorials to officers on the ground that they have done some

beneficial acts or others is ridiculous. . . There cannot be anything objectionable in the friends of officers presenting addresses and giving dinners privately. But to hold such demonstration on behalf of the people is very improper.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

73. Referring to the order of the Delhi authorities regarding the procession of the Hon'ble Mr. Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, the President of the Delhi Congress, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th December, remarks:— . . . If the authorities resort to arbitrary measures even in such small matters, it will serve no other useful purpose than rousing the feelings of the people. It is regrettable that the Magistrate of Delhi does not possess this much foresight. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

The National Congress and the presidential address.

74. The issues of the *Andhrapatriku*, of the 27th and 28th, publish in English and Telugu the address of the President of the Delhi Congress. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th December, writes:— . . . As Pandit M. Malavya has observed, England carried on wars for the acquisition of territory in Asia and Africa, though she had never interfered with the freedom of European States. . . The primary object of President Wilson is to avert any occasion for war in the future by affording equal facilities to all nations for free development and by creating an international league so that brute-force may have no place hereafter. . . India also wants to help in the process of the world re-construction to the best of her ability but she has not been given a proper opportunity to express her opinion in this matter.

Though Sir S. P. Sinha goes to the Peace Conference as a representative on behalf of India, he will be in a position to express the Government view rather than the people's view. . . While Canada is sending six popular representatives, it is not proper that India which may be called the Crown of the British Empire should be allowed only one or two. If the British Government had invited the Congress and the Moslem League representatives, it would have been very gratifying to the Indians. It behoves the Government to heed the appeal of the Congress President and invite them now at least. . . Though, in the beginning, it was proclaimed that the British Government was established for the good of the people, by and by, the well-being of the people has not been so cared for. . . The Indians had substantially shown their fitness for self-government before the advent of the war. It is undoubtedly a lie that taking advantage of the war they have inaugurated the Home Rule agitation to annoy England. . . The narrow spirit imbedded in the announcement of the 20th August has been reflected in the Scheme of Reforms, dissatisfaction about which has become general among all the Indians. . . The Congress at its previous session urged the grant of Provincial autonomy excluding the departments of law, justice and police. Mr. Malavya proposes that the Delhi Congress should ask for complete provincial autonomy. . . He asks whether the speeches of British leaders will all end in mere praise or whether they will result in any practical good to India. From the speeches of Mr. Lloyd George, it is to be hoped that India will have a fitting reward. . . Since the British Government are prepared to concede the right of self-determination to Syria and Mesopotamia, Mr. Malavya wants that India also may be shown the same concession. . . The capacity of Indians for self-government was well demonstrated by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. One-third of India is under the rule of the Native chiefs. In these circumstances there cannot be anything more absurd and ridiculous than to say that the people of British India, who have been trained under the British Government for the last 150 years and who can boast of such eminent men as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. J. C. Bose, are unfit for self-government. It is the Indians that should determine the stages by which they have to attain their self-government. This is the right of self-determination which they want. Mr. Malavya appeals to the British Government to grant that right to them and earn their gratitude. . . It is hoped that the Congress will soon get for the Indian people the right of self-determination and self-government.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th & 28th Dec. 1918.

A new danger.

75. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th December, writes:— . . . At a time when the whole world is glad on account of the restoration

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

of peace, a new danger in the shape of Russian 'Bolshevism' has raised its head in place of the German 'Militarism' and is fast spreading. . . Aiming at universal equality, the Bolsheviks are only creating another despotic system. . . Bolshevism has not only spread to Germany, but, from the cables received to-day, it also appears that Bolsheviks are trying to overthrow the Ebert Government and establish the Lebnecht Government in its stead. . . It has also spread to Roumania. . . It is similarly understood that its principles have been taught to some Chinese who are expected to propagate the revolutionary movement in China.

The Bolsheviks are threatening to spread their principles among the British soldiers and create a revolution among them as has been done among the German soldiers, should they occupy the Baltic provinces. The trend of events shows that the danger of Bolsheviks is great and is increasing day by day. There is not the least doubt that their principles are detrimental to peace and order. . . The Allies are realizing the necessity for putting an end to this Bolshevism before it spreads. In any country, the masses will always be inclined in favour of peace and order and not of Bolshevism. . . Equal opportunities should be given to all nations; for the progress of liberty and reconstruction should be undertaken on the basis of self-determination. If the Allies work without swerving in the least from this position, Bolshevism will dare not step into the Allied countries. If on the other hand the Allied countries do not give up their desire for conquest, do not grant equal rights to dependent nations, and violate the objects of the war, the Bolsheviks may receive encouragement . . The *Justice* in its characteristic strain advocates the perpetuation in India of the war measures which have effectively prevented the German intrigues. . . It is such writings that afford room for unnecessary unrest. . . If the Government at the present grant self-determination and self-government to Indians without heeding the advice of the opponents of self-government, there is not the slightest chance for the appearance of Bolshevism in India. . . We hope that the British Government will display a statesmanship that will be equal to the times.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

The Fourteenth Indian Industrial Conference.

76. Reviewing in its leader the speech of the President of the Fourteenth Indian Industrial Conference held at Delhi, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th December, observes:— . . . Though the Industrial Commission have made certain general recommendations showing the several ways in which the Government can help our industrial progress, it is regrettable that instead of settling just now such matters as the establishment of industrial banks and research institutes, they should leave them for the consideration of special committees. There is one subject which should have received their special attention. They have not decided the question of commercial independence for India, which is the most important of all our problems, as it was excluded from the scope of their inquiry by the Government. It is impossible for such a poor country as India to compete with western countries and develop her industries by her own exertions. It is not true to say that money is hidden in the country. The Government should encourage the formation of industrial banks and give them loans without interest or at low interest. The President said that if at least a part of the Indian gold reserve in England, which is now used entirely to the benefit of foreign merchants, is utilized for the industrial progress of India, the country would make rapid advancement. Without commercial independence, no country can improve her industries. When protection is necessary for such countries as Japan, Germany and the British colonies, there is not the least doubt that India, yet in an infant stage, is in urgent need of it. It is understood that Imperial preference will be introduced in the British Empire. . . But India will lose immensely by this policy, and the President emphasizes that it is quite unsuited to this country. What India wants is commercial independence which confers on her the power to impose duties on foreign articles for the development of her indigenous industries. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

The All-India Moslem League Conference.

77. Referring to the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Moslem League at Delhi, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th December, says:— . . . The Chairman of the Reception Committee spoke at length

on the problems which are now agitating the Moslem world. The Muhammadans are particularly anxious about the dismemberment of Turkey. It is but just that the British Government should respect their opinions and make such arrangements as will not wound their religious sentiments. . . Though the Muhammadans of India have maintained a commendable attitude throughout the war, such acts of the Governnfent, as the internment of some prominent Moslem leaders, have caused unrest among them. . . The Congress and the Moslem League are unanimous in their demands. It behoves the British Government to note this union of the two communities and grant the wishes of the Indians. . .

78. Referring to the removal of the prohibition against the Congress deputation proceeding to England, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th December, remarks:— . . . It is stated that the Government are not prepared to create special facilities in the matter of voyages, since a deputation to England at the present juncture is not, in their opinion, a national necessity. For this reason, it is to be feared that the difficulties in the matter of voyage would be the same as before. We fail to see a more urgent national necessity than that of an Indian deputation proceeding to England to represent their views at a time when elections are taking place and the question of imperial reconstruction is being considered. . .

The prohibition against the Congress deputation.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

79. Under this heading the *Andhrapatrika* (weekly), of the 18th December, writes:— . . . The seeds of the great European war are to be found in Africa and Asia and not in Europe. There cannot be an end of jealousy among the European States and they will be making wars, blinded by ambition, so long as there are countries in a condition of dependence in Asia and Africa. A lasting peace can only be possible, when the European powers recognize at the Peace Conference the independence of the Asiatic and the African peoples. The British statesmen will have to realize the fact that the establishment of self-government in India which is a continent with a population of 300 millions is necessary for the permanent peace and well-being of the world. The Indian members appointed as representatives at the Peace Conference have reached England and it will be but proper that the Cabinet should proceed to appoint a popular representative in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Last week.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Dec. 1918.

80. Under this heading the *Andhrapatrika* (weekly), of the 18th December, writes:— . . . When England with a population of 45 millions has an electorate of 21 millions, it will be ridiculous that the Madras Presidency with a population of 41 millions should have an electorate of only 250 thousands. If this is to be the broad electorate proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, God only knows what shape the reforms will take. Having slept till now, the Madras Government issued an order on the 14th instant to the several bodies for the submission of their respective views before the 25th instant. This belated order speaks volumes of the weakness of the bureaucracy. . .

The Franchise Committee.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Dec. 1918.

81. The *Arya Vysya*, of the 12th December, publishes the Telugu tract drawn up by the Guntūr District Association in regard to G.O. No. 363 relating to water-rate.

Water-rate.

ARYA VYSYA, Guntur, 12th Dec. 1918.

82. Referring to the transfer of Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, Collector of the Kistna district, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 21st December, observes:—. . . His administration has passed off very smoothly without troubles. There is a talk that he has been somewhat hard in the matter of penal taxes. Though he has not displayed much ability and independent judgment in administrative matters like his predecessors, Mr. Scott and Mr. Turing, there is no doubt that he has set an example to the I.C.S. men in point of politeness and courtesy. As regards the district board administration, it does not appear that he has helped on measures calculated to benefit the people. On the whole, we can say that his administration has not given any occasion either for much praise or criticism. . .

The Kistna District Collector.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 21st Dec. 1918.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 28th Dec. 1918.

The International League.

83. The *Kistnapatrika*, of the 28th December, writes under this heading :—From the echoes which are breaking out now and then amidst the peace negotiations, there is room to fear that the International League conceived by President Wilson may not come to be. If that be the case, this terrible war has only occurred for the destruction of men. . .

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 28th Dec. 1918.

The Kistna District Board.

84. Under this heading the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 28th December, writes :—We hear that this Board wants to contract all at once a loan of 13 lahks of rupees in order to improve the trunk roads in the district and to construct big bridges required in that connexion. . . The Board is realizing much profit out of the Bezwada-Masula Branch Railway line. It will be proper to utilize a part at least of this profit for village roads which are in a much neglected condition. The Board will do well to give up its project of building bridges on trunk roads and undertake works ministering to the convenience of people living in villages.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 28th Dec. 1918.

The Masulipatam municipality.

85. Under this heading the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 28th December, writes :—. . . We hear that the acts of this municipality have, of late, become very arbitrary. There is nothing strange in such perverse acts taking place, so long as Mr. Maiden continues to be the Chairman. The suit filed by Kaja Krishna Rao Garu, the successful candidate in the first election, in the Munsif's Court upon the order of the Collector cancelling the first election, praying for injunction to put in abeyance the second election until his suit is disposed of is an instance in point. Mr. Venkatrayudu opposed the grant of injunction on behalf of the municipality. Who gave him the vakalat ? When Mr Kattamudi Chidambara Rao has been appointed as the standing counsel of the municipality, has Mr. Maiden the power to set aside that arrangement of his own accord and give the vakalat to anybody he likes ? We trust that the Municipal Council will inquire into this matter. . . Has the Municipal Council passed a resolution to oppose the grant of injunction ? We should like to know why the Chairman is so particular in the absence of such a resolution.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th Dec. 1918.

The Guntūr District Village Officers' Conference.

86. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th December, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the Guntūr District Village Officers' Conference, the resolutions passed thereat and the President's speech.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

An English soldier's rowdyism.

87. Under this heading a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th December, writes :—Last evening, at the Karlekar Circus, an English soldier unjustly struck an Indian spectator on the mouth with his fist, causing a wound one inch deep. It may be said that blood flowed freely in a stream. . . In this city, the rowdyism of English soldiers is passing all bounds day by day. Whether on account of racial pride or on account of the arrogance that they belong to the ruling class, they are behaving recklessly and annoying people. Unless the Government mete out to these offenders severe punishment which will be an example to the rest, the people cannot pass along convenient routes nor witness amusements and their (the soldiers') rowdyism will increase all the more.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

Moslem League.

88. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th December, publishes in Telugu the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Eleventh All-India Moslem League Conference.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 21st Dec. 1918.

Freedom.

89. A correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 21st December, writes under this heading :—Mr. Lloyd George and Doctor Wilson have vowed themselves to the establishment of peace and freedom, not only in their own countries but also in every country in the world. . . Is it possible, under these circumstances, that our rulers can forget India, the crestjewel of their Empire ? Are the English so ungrateful as to forget India which has sacrificed life and money in the defence of the Empire ? Will Doctor Wilson who, when constitutional government, such as has long been promised to India, was offered to Hungary by Austria, urged that complete independence without any interference whatever should be conceded to

her (Hungary), fail to counsel his allies, and render this measure of help to India? . . . It is stupid to declare that our country, which is the mother renowned statesmen, philosophers, poets, artists, scientists and persons of genius, is unfit for freedom. We cannot have salvation or happiness, so long as we are dependent. O, leaders! Is not the sacred blood of *Maharishis* coursing through your veins? . . . Proceed to the Peace Conference. . . When our rulers and allies demand that the enemy countries and the neutral countries should liberate their dependencies, they will not fail to ask "why do you not grant freedom to India?" May our rulers not afford room for such a question from the enemies!

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 24th Dec. 1918.

The Congress deputation.

90. In a lengthy article contributed to the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 24th December, the writer in opposing the proposal to send a Congress deputation to England, observes:—Our codes of law have laid down that the dispensers of justice should hold the balance even, and that those who are unjust will bring ruin on their own heads and on their whole race as will nevertheless, a large section of the authorities abandon truth and justice, give room for autocracy and are full of duplicity. Their number is daily increasing. It is scarcely possible that such people as these can get political liberties such as Home Rule. Our people merely boast of their patriotism but seldom carry it into practice. We cannot affirm that even one for every crore of our population is a true patriot. Where, then, is the good of sending a deputation of such a people to England? When, some years ago, Babu Surendranath went to England to represent the grievances arising from autocratic methods in India, a British workman, on hearing his interesting lecture, told him that these representations were a mere cry in the wilderness, that unless the people displayed unity among themselves and made the autocratic officials fear that their autocratic methods might endanger the safety of the empire, it was useless to expect any change in the state of things. He further added that if the people of India became all truthful, just and so patriotic as to even lay down their lives in the cause of their country if necessary, their efforts will be sure to bear fruit. It is to be regretted that our statesmen have not the discernment of even that workman. Why do we want Home Rule and such privileges when men who have passed high examinations, who are placed in high office and have the good fortune to wield enormous power, are guilty of caste and religious hatred, and oppress the good and protect the wicked? Those who quarrel like dogs had better been born as dogs.

SATHYANADAM, Ernakulam, 20th Dec. 1918.

The famine and our Governments.

91. In a long editorial note the *Sathyanadam*, of the 20th December, states that "none of our Governments"—i.e., British Malabar, Travancore or Cochin—bestowed any timely thought on the subject of the prevention or cure of famine. They did not pay sufficient heed at first to the warnings and lamentations of the press and the people about the approach of impending famine. It was only when the crisis was reached that the Governments opened their eyes. And then? How long did those eyes keep staring on!—probably by the stupifaction of bewilderment at the intensity of the famine they witnessed. Travancore stands first among those that began to do at least something in the matter, though late, and Malabar comes last having done nothing at all noteworthy. Cochin occupies the middle position being saved from the last place by British Malabar which appropriated that rank to itself. The authorities of Malabar did not fail to discover and warn the people that if food grains are not stocked, famine will follow. What a discovery! But when the Municipal Council asked, not for a free grant but for a loan on interest of a lakh of rupees for stocking food grains, the Government ungraciously rejected the application. Nobody seems to be even aware that it is the requisitioning of ships and railway for Government purposes and the consequent reduction of transport facilities that intensified the famine so much. Travancore, though late, has started to do many good things. That Government has sanctioned a grant of ten lakhs of rupees for the import of rice and paddy from Burma. It has also begun to give advances to municipal towns for combating famine. It has undertaken to defray a portion of the loss that will be suffered by Town Improvement Committees by the sale of food grains at specially cheap rates to the poor. The Travancore Government has also sanctioned three

lakhs of rupees for the purchase of kerosene oil required by the 'kol' cultivators. This is the difference in the picture of the administration of Malabar and of Travancore. Cochin has the praise that it has said nothing so ungracious as the authorities did in the case of Malabar. The Darbar began to think too late and have not yet carried out successfully any famine measure of importance. When Travancore forbade export of paddy and rice from the State it had the sisterly feeling to allow export to the Cochin State. But when Cochin promulgated a similar order, by want of foresight she did not remember Travancore at all. Travancore, therefore, in a later order had to withdraw the concession which was previously allowed in favour of Cochin. The net result is that Cochin has to suffer most.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 20th Dec. 1918.

India and war indemnity.

92. Referring in detail to an article published in the *London Times* about India's contribution in money and material for the war, a note in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 20th December, inquires :—Now that accounts are being made out for claiming war indemnity from Germany, will arrangements be made for the return to India of the amount spent by her in various ways for the war?

MALAYALI, Quilon, 11th Dec. 1918.

The industrial outlook.

93. The *Malayali*, of the 11th December, in its leading article on the industrial outlook, remarks that the reforms that will result throughout the world from the re-establishment of peace are likely to be mostly of a political nature but social reform and economic progress are likely to follow in the wake of administrative reforms. All Indians know by experience that as long as the management of the affairs of any country is entirely in the hands of a foreign bureaucracy, they attend first and foremost to their own interests and then to the interests of their compatriots. The people who are governed by them may enjoy just that measure of opportunity which is incidental to securing the progress and efficiency of plans worked out by the rulers for the advancement of their own interests. But this is undoubtedly insufficient for sustaining the prosperity of the people of the land. Though the raw products and the labour belong to the people of the land, all the profits are snatched away by the administrators and their comrades and the wealth of the latter's country is gradually increased. It is on this account that patriots of several foreign countries clamour for increased freedom to administer their own countries. . . The fact that noble-hearted Englishmen and Americans desire to see all countries and nations throughout the world increase in a sense of equality, self-help, and self-respect augurs a bright future after the gloomy war. India, too, will derive some benefits along with other countries. In India and Africa the labour required in industries and agriculture is controlled entirely by foreigners who benefit by the labour of the natives. All the coolie labour in the factories of India and Africa is contributed by natives as Europeans have not the convenience to work in the tropics. It is a matter of experience that native coolies suffer great hardship at the hands of foreign capitalists who control their labour. It cannot be forgotten that sometimes the poor coloured labourers in the plantations and factories of India, without regard to age or sex, are subjected by the Europeans (white people) to severe sufferings. In addition to this it is also seen that since the commencement of the war Indians who were dependent on foreign manufactures for all their needs have begun to suffer and famine has begun to scourge the people with extraordinary severity. All this is due to the absence of self-reliance on the part of Indians. The article concludes by exhorting the people of India to equip themselves by practical education and co-operation for securing the industrial and economic advancement of the country.

MUKHBIR-I-DAKHAN Madras, 18th Dec. 1918.

Plague in Madras.

94. The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 18th December, in a leading article refers to the Health Officer's opinion in which he strongly urges the public to get themselves inoculated in addition to taking other precautionary measures, and observes :—The public is well aware as to how the observance of the sanitary laws and conservancy rules affect the spread of the epidemic. Hence the people of Madras should not be indifferent but rather do all they can by taking preventive measures. In addition to physical cleanliness there is the urgent necessity for purity of heart, for the advent of this disease is a result of our own acts.

95. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 19th December, referring to the rejection of the resolution moved at the meeting of the Corporation held yesterday regarding the opening of Unani and Ayurvedic dispensaries in Georgtown, Triplicane and Mylapore, observes :—Mr. Tyagaraya has very rightly said that 95 per cent of the Hindus and Muhammadans prefer Unani and Ayurvedic treatment, but what remedy is to be found for dread of the Government ?

The rejection of the Unani and Ayurvedic medicines.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 19th Dec. 1918.

96. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 22nd December, in a leader on the marginally-noted subject, writes :—Rumour has it that the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nayar, an ordinary member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, desires to resign. Certain papers suggest the name of Sir Visweswarayya, ex-Diwan of Mysore, for the appointment which will fall vacant, should the rumour prove to be true. The local papers—*New India*, *Indian Patriot*, the *Hindu*, the *Times*—both explicitly and implicitly support the suggestion, and thus turn the Mussalmans down.

Mussalman's rights.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 22nd Dec. 1918.

We are sure that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's Government will not deprive and disappoint Muslims of their rights, but nominate a capable Mussalman to succeed Sir Sankaran Nayar. We are bound to inform the Government that if Muhammadan interests be ignored in this fashion, the community will fall far behind in political training and experience and will be unable to undertake the responsibility connected with authority. Mussalmans need more political training than Hindus, and it is essential that they should be appointed to every branch of the public service in order that they may acquire practical knowledge, otherwise it is feared that their mental powers become useless, and they will lose heart in their efforts to acquire knowledge.

All we ask for is the recognition of national right and the need for equal treatment. We do not seek any special favour. In the length and breadth of India there will be found Muhammadans who are capable of holding the highest office under the Government.

III.—Legislation.

97. The *Vartakamitran*, of the 28th November, thinks that this tax will affect only the poor, in spite of the assurance that it will not and, remarking that those, who are well versed in economics, will echo this view, observes :—All the taxes levied on trade should be taken to be levied on the poor. Though the merchant paying the tax may be a big capitalist, carrying on trade on a large scale, a close analysis of his business will disclose that his commodities eventually come into the hands of the poor. The profit that is placed on a commodity at every stage in which it changes hands, during its transit from the producing centre to the consumer, eventually comes down heavily upon the head of the consumer. It is only the consumer that has to pay all the taxes imposed and other transport charges. At a time when famine is impending and it is therefore incumbent on the Government to relieve the distress of the poor by reducing the merchants' profits and transport charges, it cannot conduce to the interests of the public to impose an excess profits tax. Not stopping with the levy of this tax this year, they propose to continue it even in the next. Once this tax is imposed, it will be a herculian task to get it repealed. Prevention is better than cure.

The Excess Profits Tax Bill.

Vartakamitran, Tanjore, 28th Nov. 1918.

The *Dravidabhimani*, of the 20th December, says that this tax will be welcomed by the poor and that it illustrates only the working of Nemesis against the merchants, who sold their stuffs on hand at exorbitant prices.

Dravidabhimani, Salem, 20th Dec. 1918.

The *Mahavikata Dutan*, of the 21st December, also echoes the same view and remarks that the merchants who made huge profits on account of the war, not by the sweat of their brows but almost as a highway robbery, have no reason to grudge to pay this tax.

Mahavikata Dutan, Madras, 21st Dec. 1918.

The *Dravidan*, of the 24th December, reproduces in Tamil that portion of the leader of the *Justice* of the 16th idem, which refers to this subject.

Dravidan, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

98. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 22nd December, has a letter from Vekar Nawaz Jung of Hyderabad against the Bill in which the writer discusses the subject quoting the Koran

The Registration Bill.

Jaridah-i-Rozgar, Madras, 22nd Dec. 1918.

and traditions and observes:—If the Bill be passed into law, it will interfere with religion which will be opposed to the non-interference policy of the Government and will tend to cause general dissatisfaction.

IV.—Native States.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 24th Dec. 1918.

A Department of Industries in Travancore.

99. Referring to the Travancore Darbar having formed a 'Department of Industries' for the State, with Doctor Barker as the Director, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th December, observes:—There is no doubt that this State will make great progress in industries hereafter. But we do not see why an Englishman should be appointed as the head of this department in a Native State? Is there no Indian industrial expert available in Travancore?

Sathyanadam, Ernakulam, 20th Dec. 1918.

The Cochin Diwanship.

100. A correspondent writing in the *Sathyanadam*, of the 20th December, points out that the naturalised foreign Brahmans residing in the Cochin State wish to have anyone but a Nayar to be Diwan, while the Nayars will have none but a Nayar. The rest of the population will certainly prefer to have an officer of merit from British service preferably a European as he will be free from all bias and prejudice.

Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 19th Dec. 1918.

The struggle for equality of citizen rights.

101. A correspondent, writing in the *Malayala Manorama*, of the 19th December, points out that those who struggle to secure equality of privileges of citizenship in Travancore are not, as some people think, scrambling for a few appointments in Government service. The civilized world has acknowledged the principle that every man, irrespective of caste or creed, should be allowed in his own native land, opportunities for the full development and exercise of his natural powers. No unnatural restraint should be allowed to militate against this principle. No self-respecting man will put up with such restraints and it is not manly to continue to suffer them. . . It is well known that in Travancore unnatural restraints are allowed to obstruct the legitimate claims of several sections of the subjects of the State. A Christian or Muhammadan or Ezhuva is ipso facto kept out of the Revenue Department. Similarly an Ezhuva or Pulaya or Paraya is kept out of the temple as he is not a high caste Hindu. The present struggle is against these unnatural and degrading barriers.

An editorial note on the same subject points out that the forces that obstruct the realization by 26 lakhs out of the 34 lakhs of people in the State, of several important privileges of citizenship, are undoubtedly harmful in the extreme to the State. As long as the communities concerned were asleep, there was not much danger; but at a time when the whole world is shaken out by the war and inequalities are being done away with everywhere, the impropriety of administering the State in a manner offensive and degrading to several important communities, will, it is trusted, be a matter for serious consideration by the Darbar.

[Issued, 7th January 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 2 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 11th January 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

1. The *Wednesday Review*, for the week ending 1st January, says:—"The Congress was not representative in any sense of the term. The responsible leaders of the country refused to attend. The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri was, of course, there. But his presence or absence does not matter one way or the other. For one thing he is not the moderate party any more than Mrs. Besant is India and he is an undefined entity in Indian politics. He claims to be everything and it is difficult to say what he is at any given time. With the exception of Mr. Sastri, no leader of any position was present and the Delhi Congress would be regarded as but another instance of the extremist attempt to hoodwink the outside world into the belief that the extremists are the accredited leaders of India. . . Pandit Malavya's metamorphosis from a responsible leader into an irresponsible politician has been as startling as it has been rapid. Without going over the history of the last four years, one may reasonably conclude that but for the presence of certain agitators whom we need not name here, whose violent propagandist work has been suffered to go on unchecked, India would not be to-day in the unhappy position which the Pandit accurately described in his address. In this sorry work politicians like the Pandit have had their share, and it does not lie in their mouths to charge anyone else with driving India into a state of unhappiness. If the Pandit and his friends are earnest in helping the country out of her present unhappiness and if they would profit by the lessons of the Delhi Congress, they should free themselves of the grip of foreign agitators and do their own thinking and work for the advancement of India not by giving the British Government notice to quit in a period of ten or fifteen years but by so strengthening the bonds between England and India that their comradeship will bring out the best in them. and conduce to their mutual advancement and prosperity. India cannot advance by a policy of hatred to Britain and that is a lesson which the Delhi Congress has failed to teach."

The Indian National Congress.

Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly, 1st Jan. 1919.

2. The following appears in the *West Coast Spectator* of the 4th January:—"Indian suffragettes under the lead of Mrs. Besant have presented a memorial to Lord Southborough demanding votes for their ilk. They are at perfect liberty to demand votes but when they put forth palpable untruths and barefaced exaggerations we have to question their 'political honesty'. The memorial mentions that Indian politicians demand women's franchise! For every man or woman Mrs. Besant produces in support of her demand, we will produce ten against it. Here is the challenge which we offer her and her followers:

"Home Rule Theosophists think, perhaps, that they are the 'people' and what they think and feel is thought and felt by the country as a whole. This is unmitigated impudence. The fact that Mrs. Half Crack Ayyar and Mrs. Verumchor set up by their husbands, who worship at the Besantine shrine, demand the vote does not show that Indian women are after it. We have no doubt that the Franchise Committee will unceremoniously put into the waste paper basket the precious memorandum made in Adyar prompted by a few blue stockings and inspired by the high priestess of the cult of Theosophy. . . We suppose that the anti-suffragette Theosophists do not protest, bound as they are by a sort of allegiance to Her Theosophical Majesty. Nobody outside her camp takes Mrs. Besant, seriously when she beats her newest drum, but if she continues, we can promise her a very heated opposition."

Mrs. Besant and Indian suffragettes.

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 4th Jan. 1919.

3. In a leader under the heading 'The *Times* to the Rescue', *Justice*, of the 6th January, observes:—"When, on the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Montagu was appointed to succeed him as Secretary of State for India, the London *Times* for reasons which it did not fully disclose disapproved of it. As, however, Mr. Lloyd George was its hero without whose co-operation Mr. Asquith

Mr. Montagu and the London *Times*.

Justice, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

could not be demolished and as the appointment was made by Mr. Lloyd George, the *Times* held its peace. Later on, as has been usual with that paper, it has been an active supporter of Mr. Montagu. . . We have been led into these reflections by a *Reuter's* message which we publish elsewhere and which is a brief summary of an article in the *Times*, in which that paper argues in favour of the retention by Mr. Montagu of the office of Secretary of State for India. . . Does the *Times* really think that Mr. Montagu is as necessary in the India Office as Mr. Fisher is as the head of the Department of Education? Mr. Fisher is a distinguished expert who has given satisfaction to all parties. He has been improving the existing system of education in Great Britain, and his great work is not yet completed. Mr. Montagu, on the contrary, is no expert. Nor is his knowledge of India and its affairs at all sound and accurate. . . Has he not given a real impetus to irresponsible agitation in India? Is it not a fact that in framing his scheme of reforms he has practically ignored responsible Indian opinion and India's natural leaders, not to speak of the masses? Why, have we not heard of priggish politicians for whom nobody in India who is somebody cares, going about the country saying that they are in the confidence of Mr. Montagu? . . . No, Mr. Montagu is not indispensable to the India Office where, we fear, he will be a source of weakness to Mr. Lloyd George's Government. . . We are not in fact keen about Mr. Montagu being retained in the India Office, and we are sorry indeed that the *Times* has failed to grasp the real facts of the situation in this matter."

New India, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

Europeans and the Indian Defence Force.

4. Writing under the heading 'an Unnatural Demand' *New India*, of the 6th January, says:—"Speaking recently at Calcutta, His Excellency the Viceroy announced the intention of the Government of India to reconsider the terms of service of the European section of the Indian Defence Ferce, subject, however, to one condition, viz., 'to the paramount obligation that it is the bounden duty of every one of British birth in this country to bear arms in its defence'. The principle here enunciated is indeed staggering, and we have in it, from the military standpoint, an entire negation of the Nationalist demand. Who indeed is to defend India—her people or outsiders? . . . To the British community itself, the Viceroy's statement has been very unpleasant. The continuance of the Defence Force naturally interferes with their commercial activities; and it is now a matter of common knowledge that their loss, so far, has been severe—not so much by the actual diminution of profits but by the advance of other competitors. A considerable section of the trade which in Calcutta was in British hands before the war, is reported to have passed steadily into Japanese hands; and that is an unpleasant development from the standpoint both of India and England. . . Considering all aspects of the question, one is driven to the conclusion that the continuance of the European Defence Force is not only a needless burden on the country, but a standing insult to the self-respect of the Indian Nation. While almost useless from the military standpoint against external dangers, its operations in internal matters will accentuate and embitter the racial problem; and in addition, it will act as a serious handicap to British commercial life, thus endangering the undue expansion of other foreign commercial interests, the ultimate effect of which on our National life may be disastrously painful both to England and to India."

Justice, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

Newspapers as political weapons.

5. The *Justice*, of the 9th January, observes:—"In the course of an article this morning on 'newspapers as political weapons' the *Madras Times* refers thus to the Home Rule movement:—" 'It is an urban, and principally a newspaper, movement, and while a tribute to the enormous influence that can be exerted by a vigorously conducted press, has little other influence.' This is absolutely true, so far as the people of India are concerned. In India far more than in most other countries the nation lives in the villages, and the Home Rule propagandists who are most of them Brahmans are not heard of there. . . Artificial agitations they turn against with scorn and as the demand for Home Rule is purely an artificial demand, the rural population in India have taken no interest in it. There is yet another reason. Between the agitators and the real people there is nothing common, but the British

Government above them. An impassable gulf separates them, and, further, the rural population of India have nothing but contempt for a movement led by an irresponsible foreign adventuress; for they are not only a self-respecting people but a people who are intensely conservative and who, both by tradition and instinct, are loyal and faithful people to their benefactors. . . Take the Montagu-Chelmsford report and all that has followed it! Is there not sufficient evidence to prove that both Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have been taken in by the hollow cry raised by the Home Rulers? Mrs. Besant says that cock-a-doodle do is the highest wisdom, and the entire Home Rule fraternity raise the same cry. . . If the Home Rule movement has been anything more substantial than an empty volume of sound, Mr. Montagu, Lord Chelmsford and some of the various Local Governments in India must be held responsible for it. . . A few opportunists, taking advantage of the situation created by the war and anxious to seize the reins of power for themselves from the British rulers, started the movement which had for its only two pillars, the tongue and the pen of the Home Ruler and nothing else, and but for the recognition of it by the Government it would have been a newspaper movement and nothing better."

The Madras Administration Report.

6. In reviewing this report under the heading "an amazing performance" the *Hindu*, for the 9th January, says:—"Taken as the despairing shriek of a bureaucracy which finds its position threatened, the introduction to the Administration Report may excite a certain amount of commiseration, but when a Government descends to the methods of mud-slinging much favoured of the baser kind of controversialist, it is time for the public to enter an emphatic protest and demand that those in authority, if they cannot avoid making a muddle of administration, should at least do their muddling through with some spark of self-respect. . . It requires hardihood of a particularly brazen kind to expect that a presentation which bears a strong family resemblance to the lurid penny dreadfuls issued by the Indo-British Association for Home consumption, could be accepted by the public as a judicially impartial summing up of the events of a stormy period. . . In a statement choked with the rank growth of misstatements and half-truths it is so surprising to come across an acknowledgment, however grudging, of possible good in a Home Ruler that we hasten to give it conspicuous mention. It is stated and for the diligent student of such publications it is there plain to read, that 'the Indian branch of the (Indian Defence) Force undoubtedly owed much, in the initial stages of its inauguration, to the advocacy of Mrs. Besant.' While on this subject of the mentality that could be responsible for this amazing production which with unconscious humour calls itself the Madras Administration Report, we may refer briefly to a reference to ourselves wherein the charitable suggestion is made that Indian newspapers, the *Hindu* being the example, vary their opinions and methods of comment with a sole eye to their circulation list. To so amazing a suggestion there is no possible reply except to ignore it and we draw attention to it only as it throws an illuminating light on the frame of mind of the author of the Report. . . The Report throws a lurid light on the mentality behind actions hitherto inexplicably inept. Now the public have not only the experience of the mistakes of its rulers, but also some knowledge of their psychology and will learn what to expect. But after all, 'I told you so' is scant consolation for a sufferer and it is time to inquire how much longer a state of things is to be tolerated in which the Government is openly partisan, covertly mutinous of superior control and fiercely resentful of criticism when it errs. In other words how much longer are we to be ruled by the Welbys and the Hunters, for undoubtedly theirs is the mentality which the Government has had superimposed on its own? . . . The people of this unhappy Presidency may not in reason always hanker after a member of the Peerage, and an ex-Cabinet Minister and an ex-Radical to rule over them, but surely they deserve something better than a cabal of arrogant merchants?"

Hindu, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919

Justice, of the 10th January, has the following:—"In the last Administration Report of the Madras Presidency which, by the way, has not yet reached us,—another instance of official backing we believe,—the activities of the Home Rulers and their organs are reviewed, and we are told by a local Brahman

Justice, Madras, 10th Jan. 1919.

prophet that it is 'the despairing shriek of a bureaucracy which finds its position threatened. . . In another place the question is asked, 'how much longer are we to be ruled by the Welbys and the Hunters.' Of course, the answer is suggested in the qestion. May we ask in turn how long are we to be ruled by the Ayyars, the Achariyars, the Ayyangars and the Raojis? If the existence of the present bureaucracy is actually threatened, so also is the rule of this Indian species which ought to go back to its old trade. But this is not all. Here is a fling at us: 'On the genesis of the non-Brahman movement the Government is admittedly better informed than a mystified public'. This is the usual trick employed by the self-seeking Brahman to retain all the power he has seized and to exclude the non-Brahman from his share of it. But for the hundreth time we fling back this Brahmanical lie at the face of him who has uttered it. Verily, the pampered Brahman has been running amuck like an infuriated Billingsgate heroine."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

7. Referring to the news received that the party of Lloyd George has been returned to power in the House of Commons as a result of the general election, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 1st January, observes:—It is his party that made the pronouncement of the 20th August 1917, and now that it has come to power, we may trust that that pronouncement will be given effect to. But that pronouncement has been worded very carefully by experienced persons and India's future reforms will greatly depend on the interpretations likely to be put on it. Among the adherents of Mr. Lloyd George there are a larger number of Conservatives than Liberals, and therefore the interpretation of that pronouncement cannot be very liberal. We are not satisfied even with its interpretation by Mr. Montagu, who belongs to Liberal party. It remains to be seen what the future interpretation of it is to be. Whatever it may be, what we demand is nothing but our rights and we trust that Mr. Lloyd George and others, who have been proclaiming that the object of the war was only to safeguard the rights of every people, will not neglect our rights.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 1st Jan. 1919.

The general election in England.

8. Remarking that the victory of the coalitionists at the general election in England was not expected by many here and that the object of Mr. Lloyd George in hurrying the election, for fear that a delay might lead to other parties gaining power, has been accomplished, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 6th January, observes:—If the Labour Party had gained a victory, it would have been beneficial to India. It is surprising indeed that they failed and that Mr. Asquith, who was for a long period the Prime Minister of England before Mr. Lloyd George, was not returned to the House of Commons. The one favourable item for us is that Mr. Montagu has been elected again. From the fact that it was the Coalition Ministers, who have now come back to power, that made the announcement of August 1917, we may think that the reforms in the Indian administration will be carried out easily. But we cannot be too sure of this as though the principle of the announcement is admitted by all parties, each party puts its own interpretation on it. So the interpretation of the announcement by the new ministry will depend on which party is influential in it.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

The new ministry.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th January, thinks that, though Mr. Lloyd George may have good influence in the new Parliament, it may not benefit India and agreeing with the view expressed by the London correspondent of an English paper that there is a likelihood of the new Parliament postponing the consideration of the question of Home Rule for India and Ireland, adds:—Mr. Bonar Law has 384 supporters in the new Parliament, and he is a Conservative and is not in favour of Home Rule for India and Ireland. His supporters are, therefore, sure to vote only against the liberal proposals of Mr. Lloyd George. So the latter will have to act according to the wishes of Mr. Bonar Law, in order to safeguard his position. Mr. Lloyd George declared that the aspirations of India would be considered after the conclusion of the peace. It remains to be seen how far these words will prove true.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

Referring to the results of the general election, the *Lokopakari*, of the 6th January, says that, if Mr. Lloyd George had not decided to form a Coalition Government, the Unionists would have come to power and remarks:—It is not known how long this Coalition Government will continue in power, and it is doubtful whether it can satisfactorily solve the problems that have arisen in England and the British Empire as a result of the war. As the narrow-minded Unionists form the majority in the new Government, it will be very difficult for the ideals of India to be gained under it.

Lokopakari, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

The Irish situation.

9. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd January, writes:—It is true that the future of Ireland is gloomy. . . Regarding the Irish situation the *Madras Mail* observes that instead of working with firmness the Government has shown a too lenient attitude in Ireland, and that if it repeats the blunder in India, the result will be disastrous. . . Anglo-Indian papers like the *Mail* see no other remedy than repressive measures which should be but rarely resorted to for the preservation of order. If they are constantly used, the people will lose their respect for them and unrest may grow in an astonishing manner. To solve the Irish problem even now, the Irish people should at once be granted self-government within the empire and the right of self-determination. . . The Sinn Fein party, for want of support, will then die a natural death. . .

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(*a*) *Police.*

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

The pay of the Police.

10. Anent the news that the Government of India have addressed a letter to the Secretary of State for India, suggesting an increase of the pay of the Imperial Police Service, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th January, expresses itself against an increase of the salary of the higher officials in this department and would recommend an increase in the pay of the constabulary. It says that many remark that a large amount of expenditure is incurred only on this department in India, and points out that it is the duty of the Government to remove this defect.

(*b*) *Courts.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

Trial by jury.

11. Referring to the opinion said to have been expressed by a Judge in England that the Government are trusting too much responsibility upon a Judge to make him decide questions affecting the lifetime of a man, without the assistance of persons of judicial experience or a jury, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 6th January, observes:—Though the Congress has been urging from the very start that the system of trial by jury should be widened in India, it has not yet been done and some bureaucrats have also expressed themselves against it. But the above observation will prove the necessity of a jury in trials. There is also another reason for widening the jury system in India and that is that, while, in England, the Judge and the accused belong to the same race, and have the same customs and habits, the majority of the Judges in India are Anglo-Indians and have not a good idea of the customs and habits of the Indian accused brought before them. Will the Government introduce the necessary reform in this matter promptly, at least hereafter?

(*d*) *Education.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

Defective education.

12. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th December, writes:—Those conversant with the nature of the people of this country know full well that all classes of the Indians have a taste for education and would have freely resorted to it, if they had the required facilities and had not to spend therefor. It is owing to lack of education that the people do not observe the rules of sanitation and succumb to many preventable diseases. Then, again, one with education does any work better than one who has it not. So, it is the duty of the Government, which is interested in the welfare of its people, to educate all of them, and all the civilized countries in the world have realized this as their foremost duty. It is rare to find a single uneducated man in Japan, which started progress only recently. But, in our country, it is rare to find educated persons. Though our cries in this direction have not been heeded by the Government till now, we hope they will note at least the remark of the Industries Commission that one of the causes for the backward condition of industries in India is the want of education among the labouring classes, and take prompt steps in accordance therewith. The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya describes in his dissenting minute how the industrial advancement

of England was materially helped by the spread of education, both general and scientific. Apart from the duty of the Government to spend money on education, the amount so spent is sure to be returned tenfold. So irrespective of the cost involved, education should be made compulsory for a period necessary to obtain substantial knowledge. If India is to become prosperous, primary education should be made compulsory until a certain age, secondary education imparted mostly in the vernaculars, and prompt arrangements made for imparting industrial, scientific and mechanical education.

13. While appreciating the observations of the President of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference held recently at Surat urging the necessity of imparting spiritual instruction to the Moslems, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th December, is surprised at his statement that the Government cannot render pecuniary assistance for such instruction in public schools and remarks :—Perhaps he voiced only the opinion of the Government here. In the face of the united demand of the leaders of all communities for the imparting of religious instruction in public schools and their opinion that State aid is indispensable for it, we do not know if the Government intend pleading the old policy of 'non-interference' still in the matter.

The education of the Moslems.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

14. Referring to the statement of a correspondent in the *Times* that a Jesuit College will be shortly opened in Madras, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th December, observes :—We know by experience what benefits the students attending such colleges derive. As they have a strong attachment to their professors, they take the views of the latter as gospel and discard the tenets of Hinduism. Further, as the students that associate with Jesuit missionaries hold fast to the end to the views imbibed by them in their early days, their patriotism also wanes. Considering all this, we cannot but apprehend a new danger by the establishment of this college.

A new Jesuit College in Madras.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

15. Referring to the outbreak of plague in Guntūr, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 30th December, urges that the Government should help the Guntūr Municipality with funds in its efforts to stamp out the disease, and suggests the appointment in Guntūr of two or three more doctors to combat the disease.

Plague in Guntūr.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

16. A correspondent writing in the special new year supplement of the *Manorama*, of the 3rd January, on the subject of village panchayats, refers to the charm of self-government to man and beast and to the need of guiding the administration along the track of public opinion. Adverting to Local Boards "which are falsely designated institutions of 'local self-government'", the correspondent says :—These are neither 'local' nor 'self-governing'. It is mere political blindness to think that a taluk board or district board with a majority consisting of those who sing the praises of a foreign Head of the district and those who dance to the tune set by a foreign Government, is in any way a symbol of self-government. . . Even village panchayats are a delusion. . . To call them panchayats is mere perversion of language.

Village panchayats.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 3rd Jan. 1919.

(f) *Salt and Abkāri.*

17. Adverting to a hand bill issued by the Madras Temperance League detailing the evils of drink, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th January, says that this league should not stop with issuing hand bills on this subject, but should set up an agitation to invite the attention of the Local Government to the evils of drink and observes :—Though it may not be possible to get rid of drink altogether, it is necessary for the Government to assist at least in reducing it. It is quite natural for them to be disinclined to give up a portion of the large income they derive every year from the sale of intoxicants. But it is the duty of the Government to care for the welfare of the people. The Licensing Boards were brought into existence only to reduce the consumption of liquor, etc., and this object has been gained in

The evils of drink.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

the city by reducing the hours for the sale of intoxicants and the number of shops and increasing the powers of the aforesaid Boards. Greater benefits will result, if the sale of liquor to youths is prohibited legally. It is youths that should be protected in this matter more than old men; for the former, in addition to spoiling themselves, also spoil those with whom they associate. If the Government had controlled the consumption of liquor on account of the war itself, they could have ascertained the public opinion on this matter. They have done this in England, and it behoves the authorities here too to devise means to reduce the consumption of liquor.

(*k*) *General.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

The *Pioneer* on Mr. Malaviya.

18. Referring to the remark of the *Pioneer* that, though Mr. Malaviya dwelt at length on the services rendered by India in the war, he made no mention at all about his opposition to the proposal that India should give a hundred million pounds to England, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th December, writes:—It is well known to all that Pandid Malaviya did oppose the proposal, and his view is that, considering the abject poverty of India, she cannot bear that burden. Leaving this alone, has that paper forgotten that many European companies, which have amassed huge profits during the war, are opposing the levy of the Excess Profits Tax? It does not see again the lame excuses offered by many Europeans here to escape compulsory military service, when it was enforced in this country. When people, who make enormous profits and enjoy benefits, are refusing to render services which are within their means, is it wrong for the Hon'ble Pandit to have said that India should not be burdened with a weight too heavy for her to bear?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

Exorbitant salaries of officials.

19. Remarking that the scale of salaries paid to officials in this country is far higher than that obtaining in other countries, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th December, says:—The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms will further increase the number of officials. Besides this, it is proposed to entrust all costly departments, such as those relating to education and sanitation, to the people, for which sufficient funds will not be available. So to meet the increased demand, a fresh tax will have to be imposed. The people are already complaining that the burden of taxation is too heavy for them, and how can they pay the new taxes? As remarked by the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, the salaries of all officials from the Governor downwards should be reduced. In addition to this, if the industries of the country are also improved, the economic condition of the people will become better.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

Indigenous medicinal drugs.

20. Quoting an observation of a Commission appointed as early as 1870 to investigate and report on the indigenous medicinal drugs of India, that India need not feel handicapped on occasions when, either on account of war or high prices, medicinal drugs could not be obtained from England, as the ingredients for preparing drugs are available in plenty in India, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th December, says:—It is now fifty years since this observation was made. Apart from the rise in the price of certain drugs during the period of the great war, some of them could not be obtained at all. None can deny that not only the people, but the authorities also, were put to serious loss by this and yet what has been done? To what extent have the bureaucrats cared for the warning given to them fifty years back?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

The Reforms Committees.

21. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th December, says:—The attitude of the bureaucrats in the matter of the reforms is anything but satisfactory. Looking at the constitution of the Reforms Committees, it is reported that Sir William Vincent was very particular about nominating only those that were keeping aloof from the Congress, as members thereof. Even as regards the witnesses selected to give evidence before these Committees, it is associations recently started and those who are hostile to the reform proposals that have been asked to give evidence.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

The Reforms Committees.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 30th December, raises its voice against the enquiry of these committees being conducted confidentially, and against the members of the Home Rule party

having been excluded from these committees and remarks:—The main object of political reform in India is to set right the bureaucratic method of administration. What advantage can then be gained if such bureaucrats are to appoint the members of the Reforms Committees according to their sweet will and pleasure?

The last session of the Congress at Delhi.

22. Referring to the question raised in the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress, as to why the principle of self-determination should not be applied to India, which freely rendered help during the war in the shape of men and money, when it is decided to apply it to Ireland, which had negotiations with the enemy and even threw obstacles in the way of recruitment for the war, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th December, observes:—Let the English people note the disloyalty of Ireland and the loyalty of India. The former is about to win Home Rule, while it is doubtful whether the latter will get it at least in name. We concur with the view of the Chairman when he clearly points out that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform proposals contain features which are prejudicial to complete liberty, and that the liberty now enjoyed by India in local self-government is a false one, and when he refers to the absurdity about the inquiries conducted by "Commissions".

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Dec. 1918.

In commenting on the presidential speech, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 27th December, refers to his observation that it is not proper to make crores of people forfeit their rights on account of the mischief of a few revoulutionists, in the face of the admission by the Rowlatt Committee themselves that the Government have been putting down these revolutionists only by means of the loyalty of the Indians, and observes:—Are these few revolutionists themselves responsible for their actions? For how many years have the Indians been demanding certain reforms? If these reforms had been introduced then and there, how could have any discontent been caused to the people? Let the Anglo-Indians who, in their selfishness, are blind to the interests of the Empire and are trying to prevent any benefits being conferred upon India, consider calmly about the words of the President to the effect that, if the wishes of the people are carried out at least now, India will become contented and will prove to be a strong support to the British Empire.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 27th Dec. 1918.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th December, also refers to the presidential speech and says:—Our readers are aware that Pandit Malaviya is occupying a position which should have been held by Mr. Tilak. If the latter had presided, his speech would have been in a different strain. Though the address of the Honourable Pandit is bristling with ideas, it is to be noted that he has slyly introduced his moderate views in many places. The moderate principle of relying upon others is still raising its head in the Congress. The omission of the name of Mr. Tilak from the list of notable men, mentioned by the Pandit in the beginning of his speech, is noteworthy. Though Mr. Tilak is not appreciated in these days of bureaucratic preponderance in the administration, he is sure to be worshipped as God when Home Rule comes to be established.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

The *Dravidan*, of the 31st December, reproduces in Tamil the concluding portion of the presidential address of this session, while the remaining proceedings of the session are similarly reproduced by the following papers, some *in extenso* and some in abstract, in the issues noted against each:—

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

The last session of the Congress at Delhi.

The *Desabhaktan*—The 27th, 30th and 31st December 1918, and the 1st and 2nd January 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*—The 30th and 31st December 1918, and the 1st and 2nd January 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*—The 31st December 1918, and the 2nd and 3rd January 1919.

The Indian National Congress.

Reviewing the proceedings of the Indian National Congress held at Delhi and referring to the principle of 'self-determination', the *Kerala Bharati*, of the 3rd January, points out that it is only fifty thousand Indians that demand Home Rule, and only twelve thousand of these were represented at the Congress. The rest among the thirty crores of the population of India do not advance any such claim. It

KERALA BHARATI, Kottayam 3rd Jan. 1919.

may therefore be contended that the 'will of the people' is in favour of administration with a British tone and against one dominated by the higher classes of the people of India. No one is against the granting of such progressive self-government as will provide for the peculiar conditions of India with its conflicting castes and creeds and with 80 per cent of its population absolutely illiterate. The authorities can only adopt a *via media* between conflicting demands advanced by the various sections.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 1st Jan. 1919. & MANORAMA, Calicut, 24th Dec. 1918.

The *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 1st January, in its leading article on the Congress considers that the prohibition by Government of the presidential procession to pass through certain streets of Delhi was unprecedented, improper and unreasonable.

Referring to the same prohibition, a note in the *Manorama*, of the 24th December, ascribes the action of the Government in the matter to want of knowledge and tact.

The *Kerala Sanchari* concurs with the President in his opinion that, in view of the fact that a third of India is efficiently administered by Indian Princes, and the land has produced eminent men in all walks of life (names mentioned), it cannot be contended that India is not yet fit for self-government.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 4th Jan. 1919.

The Delhi Congress.

Referring to the last Delhi Congress, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 4th January, observes:—. . . Having failed to drink the nectar of their national language which is purifying the whole of India from the Himalayas to the Vindiya mountain, our young men are running into hysterics of joy over the saline foam that has come to them over the crest western seas, as if it were the very elixir of life. . . This resolution about the declaration of our rights is the most important of all resolutions. Indians must get these rights, at least to deserve the name of men. These rights have not been created by man, nor are they the gift of Kings; they are the birth-rights of man and have been deeprooted in human nature itself from time immemorial. . . To grant any number of reforms, without conceding these, is like decorating a corpse. This declaration of rights echoing from the mouth of Khaparde has given the Delhi Congress an unprecedented prominence. . . The resolution passed at the Bombay Congress demanding complete self-government within 15 years is also harsh to Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's ear. Mr. Sastri argues that there should be no such time limit. Let him wish that the grant of self-government should be entirely left to the descretion of the British Parliament! In the face of the resolution asking for self-determination, to leave the grant of all future reforms to the mercy of the British merchants is absurd and unjust. Mr. Sastri's two wishes are attempts to swim against the current. That the Delhi Congress should reject them is but just and natural. . . Grant complete provincial autonomy immediately and full responsible government within six years. This request is causing panic among the Anglo-Indian journals and those newspapers which follow in their footsteps, as if the whole world is going to be upset . . . The courage of the bureaucracy and our Anglo-Indians to oppose the movement of freedom is unparallelled. We do not know what to say of the observation of the *Mail*, that to request the grant of full responsible government within six years is "Russian Bolshevism" . . . It is necessary to send some eminent men who will be able to create some stir in England at the present juncture. It remains to be seen whom the committee will select. We hope that it will be practical enough to include at least Mrs. Besant among those to be sent.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 28th Dec. 1918.

The Congress.

Referring to the attempt made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the President-elect of the Congress to secure the co-operation of the moderates, a note in the *Samadarsi*, of the 28th December, forecasts that even if the moderates stand aloof, the Congress has nothing to lose and that at this time when the advocates of freedom have increased in number throughout India the Session will certainly terminate successfully by the increased number of representatives attending the Congress and by the importance of the resolutions they will pass. This year's Congress will again proclaim that patriotism and attention to administrative matters are steadily increasing among Indians.

The fulfilment of this last observation is recorded in the next issue of the paper, dated 4th January 1919.

The *Yogakshemam*, of the 3rd January, approves of the presidential addresS and the resolutions passed at the Congress as most opportune.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 3rd Jan. 1919.

The *Malayala Manorama*, of the 31st December, observes that (President) Wilson's 'self-determination' is the chorus of all the speeches at the Delhi Congress. The different races of Europe are going to have separate and independent governments. If the principle be applied to India, several kingdoms will have to be formed in India. Wilson will have to establish separate governments for the Mahrattas, the Bengalis, the Punjabis; the Dravidas, the Brahmans, the adi-Dravidas, etc. How this will be possible, no one seems to have explained.

The Congress.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 31st Dec. 1918.

The *Malayala Manorama*, of the 4th January, reviews the course of the Indian National Congress from its establishment to the conclusion of the last session at Delhi. It notices the extremist resolutions passed at the last session and observes:—"If all these things are considered, it is evident that the Congress has made up its mind to fight with all its might against the British Government. But it remains to be seen whether the result of such a fight will be what is expected by them or just the opposite."

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 4th Jan. 1919.

23. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th and 31st December 1918 and 3rd January 1919 and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 30th December 1918 and 3rd January 1919, publish in Tamil the speeches of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President of this session, while the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 4th January, publishes an abstract of the presidential address alone.

The last session of the All-India Moslem League at Delhi.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th & 31st Dec. 1918 & 3rd Jan. 1919.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918 & 3rd Jan. 1919.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

In commenting on the presidential address, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 6th January, says:—The statement in this address that the British administration in India has been conducted for the last 150 years without taking into consideration popular consent and benefit and that the Indians deem this to be cruel, should be taken to be true in a way. It is difficult to refute the observation of the President again that the economic condition of India has been reduced under this administration, on account of the Government not having developed the economic resources of the country and all money available here being sent out of it. Many European capitalists are doing good business in India and boast of having improved Indian trade and industries. But what they do is only to use the Indians for acquiring enormous profits and send these to their country, without allowing the Indians to have any portion thereof. The Indians have only to work for wages and eke out a living therefrom. Not finding enough work here even for wages, they have had to proceed to foreign countries in search of living and suffer all kinds of hardships there, which no European can bear even for a day.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 6th Jan. 191 9

Referring to the proceedings of this session, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 31st December, observes:—It behoves all British statesmen and authorities to consider carefully the matters that are ranking at present in the minds of our Muhammadan brethren, because the bulk of the Muhammadan population live only in the British Empire, and their sacred shrines are in Turkey, the Sultan of Turkey being deemed to be their religious head. The Muhammadans are very anxious about the future of Turkey and of the Calipha and it is the primary duty of the British to allay this anxiety. Time there was when Muhammadan States had achieved much distinction in Europe, but latterly all these have unfortunately disappeared one by one and Turkey and Persia are the only relics of the former glory. It remains to be seen what action the authorities are going to take on Doctor Ansari's remarks about the revolt of the Sheriff of Mecca against the Sultan. None can easily forget that the Muhammadans are the most pertinacious and bigoted in their religious views. So it is needless for us to urge the importance of the authorities and others paying special consideration for their religious feelings

The session of the All-India Moslem League at Delhi.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

and acting in a satisfactory manner. We strongly urge on those, who are hostile to our inspirations and who want to create a split among us, to note the words of the Hon'ble Mr. Fajlul Huq, the President of the session, that if he refrained from declaring that the bureaucratic system of administration should cease at once, he would not be acting according to his conscience and what he saw personally and would prove false to his country and the traditions of the Muslim League.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

The Madras tramways.

24. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th December, remarks that the passengers by the tramways in Madras are subjected to great hardships, though the profits made by the Madras Tramway Company are enormous, and instancing the inconvenience caused by the company insisting upon five persons sitting on a bench which can conveniently accommodate only four fairly big-sized persons, the irregular running of the cars, and the consequent inconveniences caused to those going to schools and offices, requests the company to pay a little attention to the conveniences of the public in the same way in which they are mindful about their gain and to see that the Tramway Inspectors feel it their duty to arrange for the proper running of cars, besides checking the tickets.

The same paper refers, in its issue of the 30th December 1918, to the increase in the fares for certain journeys from the 1st January 1919 and remarks:—It is regrettable that the company should have raised the charges, without devising means to remove the inconveniences of the public. Further, it is a fact to be noted that it is the three tickets in respect of which the fares have been raised that have the largest sale and therefore this will surely enhance the company's profits. The difficulty caused to the public by this at this period of high prices is indescribable.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

A correspondent to the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 31st December, also raises his voice against the increase of fares, and remarks that before taking this step the company should have, in all fairness, consulted the convenience of the public, and that as they did not do so it is the duty of the Government to interfere at once and safeguard the welfare of the public.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 31st December, also objects to this increase of fares and, pointing out that the Tramway Company cannot even plead a war as an excuse for their action, observes:—They may say that the increase is after all only by a quarter of an anna, which is a very paltry sum. But who can deny that this will be a burden on the common people travelling by tram every day?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

The Madras tramways.

While appreciating the action of the Tramway authorities in reserving the front seat in every car for women, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 4th January, thinks that this is not enough and that the back seat also should be so reserved. It adds that, as by sitting in the first and last seats, women and children with them will be exposed to sun and rain and also to danger, it will be preferable to reserve the last two seats inside the car for women.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th Dec. 1918.

Curious nominations of officials.

25. The *Swadesamitran*, in its supplement of the 29th December, publishes in Tamil an extract from Ditcher's notes in the *Capital* reproduced in *New India* of the 28th idem.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

The Congress deputation.

26. Referring to the announcement made in the Congress that the Government of India have relaxed the order prohibiting the Congress deputation from going to England, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 30th December, observes:—We have to say that this relaxation has been made only half-heartedly. The Government order seems to say that the time has not yet arrived to necessitate any deputation to visit England and so it is not possible to afford the deputation all the special facilities promised before, and that only a limited number of persons should form the deputation. Is any additional evidence needed to show how far the authorities respect the opinion of the Indian public?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

The right of taxation.

27. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 30th December, writes:—The welfare of India has been prejudicially affected for a long time, on account of the Government of India not having the power to impose taxes as they like. England was able to improve her industries

only by imposing export, import and counter duties in accordance with the exigencies of the times. When the weaving industry was at its infancy in England, and when cloths of Indian manufacture were in great demand on account of their nicety of texture, the Parliament raised the import duty on cloths to 81 per cent of their value, in order to further the sale of English-made goods. So, unless the Government of India are empowered to levy the aforesaid three taxes, their attempts to improve the industries of the country will not prove completely successful. When this matter was brought up before the Imperial Legislative Council in 1916, the Hon'ble Sir William Clarke stated that it was the wish of the British Government that the question in regard to the power of taxation should be considered only after the close of the war, and also argued at length that this power alone could not affect any improvement in industries. Though the latter argument is true enough, if this power of taxation is not given to the Government of India, foreign countries can render any steps taken to improve the industries in India ineffective. To quote an example, a large quantity of sugar is now received in India from Java. Jaggery is obtainable in plenty here and the Industries Commission have recommended that the Government of India should do all that is necessary to manufacture sugar therefrom and also to improve the quality of the sugarcane produced in this country. If the Government take any steps in this direction, they will certainly affect the people of Java, and if they join together, it may not be possible to carry on the Indian trades profitably without imposing an import duty. Instances of such compact among the Americans are very common, whereby they have succeeded in making it impossible for others to compete with them. Just as England saved her industries in those days by levying import duties, if we are also empowered to strengthen Indian industries, then we will also be in a stage when we can allow free-trade. Stress is laid on this point by the President of the Industrial Conference at Delhi. We had to write at such length only to prove that, without political freedom, all efforts to improve industries will prove futile, and it is an admitted fact that the right of imposing taxes should be the first that India should obtain. We trust that this indispensible right will be granted to India by the British Government, who wanted to settle this matter after the close of the war and are going to determine the relationship between Britain and other countries. The Industries Commission has stated that the industrial condition of India is such as to cause danger both to herself and to the Empire during a war. If India is to be saved from such a danger, it is quite necessary to accord to her the right to impose taxes so that foreign countries might be incapacitated from putting obstacles in the way of the improvement of indigenous industries.

How to obtain *swaraj*.

28. The following is an extract from a long article contributed by a correspondent to the *Desabhaktan* of the 28th December :—It is well known that our leaders are toiling hard in various ways with a sincere desire that our people should attain liberty and lead a glorious life like other nations, and that the bureaucrats and the Anglo-Indians are throwing innumerable obstacles in the way of these efforts proving successful. But I seriously doubt whether our country will attain *swaraj* as a result of these efforts of our leaders. It is my firm belief that our country cannot at all attain liberty, so long as our leaders have no self-confidence and self-effort and adopt a begging policy of relying upon others. A careful scrutiny of the world's history shows that, so far, no country ruled by a foreign nation has been able to attain liberty through the favour and broad-mindedness of those foreign rulers. Can we believe that, for the mere asking, the bureaucrats, who are carrying on the administration in an arrogant spirit, wielding unlimited powers, will surrender all their powers to the public? It is but an empty dream. But in view of the welfare of crores of people and to establish the glory of the land of Bharata which has been, from the very beginning, imparting knowledge, providing sustenance and preaching civilisation to the whole world, the obstinacy of the bureaucrats should be crushed. It is only then that they will entrust their powers to the people. Some of our leaders have begun to appeal to President Wilson of America to plead with England for granting liberty to India. But there is no room to believe that he will intercede on our behalf. At the outset,

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

it will not at all be edifying for the ruler of a State, however much he may be intimate and influential with the ruler of another State, to interfere in matters relating to the internal administration of the latter. A third of the population of the United States happens to be Irish and yet President Wilson's suggestion on behalf of Ireland has not been taken by England. How, then, can his interference be useful for India? So we should give up the idea that President Wilson has incarnated to espouse our cause and get us salvation. Then again certain leaders believe that India may be benefited if the labour party in England gets into power. This view is quite erroneous, because the representatives and leaders of the Labour Party in England are bound to protect the industries of England and not those of India. If India is granted liberty, the first thing we will do is to impose heavy import duties on all the foreign articles that are brought in here and that are unnecessary for us, so as to prevent their competing with our industries and crushing them. By our doing this, the English articles, which form the bulk of the imports now, will not find a sale in India. We should remember that the articles of England are purchased only in India, and that, as all the other countries of the world depend on their own indigenous industries, the trade of England with them is very meagre. So if English articles are not sold in India, the industrialists in England will have no work to do and will lose their living. Will the Labour Party in England do anything which will lead to this result? So we should also give up the hope of getting any assistance from the Labour Party in England. Therefore if we are to progress and obtain liberty, we should toil for it ourselves, without dependiug on others. The one common lesson taught to us by the histories of the various countries of the world is 'self-reliance'. It is not in this country alone that the bureaucrats are a stumbling block to popular opinion. In every country they have acted similarly, and thrown obstacles in the way of the people acquiring liberty. They have the extraordinary influence obtained from their powers and also the support of the military. They will use all these in such a manner as to curb as much as possible the thirst for liberty among the people. They have already started this work in our country. We do not know what all things will happen before we obtain our rights. Young brethren: The mother calls you for help. Do you hear her plaintive tone? Will you come forward to help her to get out of the deep pit into which she has fallen? Come, come in large numbers, and secure salvation for your mother land. Awake from slumber. The mother who gave you life and food is wailing. You will be the worst of sinners, if you remain indifferent at this time of danger. Are you not the descendants of holy *Rishis*, and have you not inherited their passive force? Exhibit that force. Do not agitate wildly. Do not flinch. This is not the time for hesitation. Come, come to work to enable India to obtain *Swaraj* and live happily.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

The next meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council.

29. Referring to the order of the Government refusing permission for the members to move a resolution or make a speech on any subject at the next meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, unconnected with those introduced by the official members, the *Lokopakari*, of the 30th December, observes:—Legislative Councils exist only for the purpose of enabling the people to acquaint the Government with their grievances, through their representatives. What is the purpose served by these councils if, at their meetings held from time to time, opportunities are not afforded for the consideration of their grievances? If want of time is pleaded as an excuse for the inability of the Government to consider the resolutions of the people's representatives, when is the time to dawn for the authorities to realize that nothing is more important than the question of considering the people's grievances?

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 27th Dec. 1918.

The Imperial Legislative Council.

The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 27th December, writes:—While the Hon'ble Pandit Malavya has been urging that the meetings of the Council should be held more frequently, the Government of India have now announced that during the budget session no resolutions will be allowed on other subjects! The reason is that the Government are very busy with the questions connected with the Reform Scheme and the post-war problems! What weighty reason indeed!

Perhaps the Government thinks that the popular representatives in the Council need have no share in the consideration of post-war problems. It would, perhaps, be found troublesome if the popular representatives should confront the Government with some interpellation or resolution on matters, such as the trade policy, which will come up for discussion at the Peace Conference! To tighten the grip on the throat is a sure method of curing cough. So, too, the preclusion of discussion on other subjects is a means of keeping out unpleasant topics.

30. Referring to the presidential speech of Mr. Jehangir Petit at this conference, in which he is said to have complained of the inequal treatment given to the Indians and the British by the Government and cited as an illustration the fact that, out of about 250 officers on the Munitions Board, only three are Indians and that even these hold only posts below the rank of Assistant Controller, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st December, says:—Are the Government aware that it is this difference in treatment that is at the botton of all the unrest and discontent among the Indians? Where is it laid down that the Indians should patiently put up with such a treatment in the land of their birth? If the offices in England are made to be held by the people of Japan instead of by the English themselves, will the English people keep quiet?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

The Industrial Conference at Delhi.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th and 31st December 1918, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 30th idem, and the *Dravidan*, of the 2nd and 3rd January, reproduce in Tamil the speech of the President of this Conference.

DESABHAKTAN Madras, 30th & 31st Dec. 1918.
SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.
DRAVIDAN, Madras. 2nd & 3rd Jan. 1919.

The Industrial Conference at Delhi.

31. In the course of a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st December, says that three parties have now sprung up in the Congress, viz., the moderates, the nationalists and those that try to bring the two together, and makes the following observations among others:—The majority of the moderates being in favour of the bureaucrats are disliked by the people. We do not think the efforts of the compromising party will succeed and so they will do well to join the nationalists. . . The two amendments moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastriar are detrimental to the country's progress. It is really surprising that even in these days, when the atmosphere of the whole world is ringing with the cry of liberty, Mr. Sastriar should cling to his old moderate views.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

A split in the Congress.

32. Referring to the hue and cry raised by the London merchants against the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 1st January, observes:—It is but natural for those, who were till now solely enjoying all profits, to raise this cry, but are these aware of the mental pain caused to the Indians by their interests and rights not having received due consideration till now? How can people who are intent only on self-interest have any idea of the welfare of others or be inclined to know it? However much these merchants may cry out, they cannot monopolize the profits any longer. That time is long past. If they want to make a profit in the ordinary course, they cannot do so, unless they co-operate heartily with the Indians.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1st Jan. 1919.

India and foreign merchants.

The same paper invites attention to a speech of the Secretary of the Department of Commerce in the United States of America, in which he is reported to have warned the Americans against yielding to the natural inclination to strengthen their export trade, until the countries whose industries have been crippled in the war have had time to rebuild the same, and observes:—The Indian Industries Commission has made it quite clear that the once famous Indian trade and industries have perished on account of heaps of foreign articles flooding the Indian market, and they have also indicated the lines on which Indian industries can be improved. The Viceroy has also signified in a recent speech his readiness to give effect to their recommendations soon. We hope that, if Indian industries

are to improve, the Government will make the necessary arangements to prevent foreign articles from being brought into India in large quantities and competing with the Indian articles.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Jan. 1919.

The new year.

33. In a leader under this heading, welcoming the new year, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st January, observes:—The new year witnesses the downfall of tyranny and the supremacy of a benevolent government. It hears the sound of responsible government, smells the sweet fragrance of liberty, tastes the pleasure of fraternity and touches equality. It wears the crown of righteousness, holds justice in its hands and, clothed with patience, stands on the two legs of impartiality and truth. We therefore welcome the new year.

Dame Germany, who was till now bound by the chain called Kaiser, welcomes the new year with pleasure. It is not the British that broke her chains? The land of Bharata ruled over by the same British is being burned by the heat of the bureaucratic cruelty. Who else should put down this heat but the British? We trust that this new year will witness the decline of this cruelty and the establishment of British justice in India.

O Mother Bharata! You have taken the new year of your rulers to be a new year for you. Did you not think that your true sons who toiled for you, entered the prison for you and are suffering for you, will be liberated to-day? Did it happen?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Jan. 1919.

The new year honours.

34. Remarking that titles are now generally conferred only on those that seek the favour of the Government, and that they have therefore lost their value now, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st January, refers to the new year honours list this time and observes:—We are glad that the title of 'Diwan Bahadur' has been conferred on Rao Bahadur P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar, a venerable old gentleman, who was the originator of the split between the Brahmans and non-Brahmans in this Presidency, and who is the right hand of the *Justice* party. The Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao and the Hon'ble Mr. T. Ranga Achariyar have toiled hard for the benefit of the country and are deserving of the titles conferred on them. We are, however, surprised at the title of 'Rao Bahadur' conferred on Mr. O. Kandaswami Chettiyar.

HINDU NESAN. Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The new year honours.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 2nd January, remarks that the acceptance of titles conferred by Government is deemed by many to be equivalent to the acceptance of a bribe, and that the new year honours list this time contains the names of many persons, who were working against the interests of the Indians. It says that nothing else is known of the zamindar of Chunampet, who gets the title of Diwan Bahadur than that he is a zamindar and observes that the efforts of Mr. O. Kandaswami Chettiyar, as an anti-Brahman teacher, have not gone in vain, for they have secured him the title of Rao Bahadur.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 2nd January, however, thinks that titles have as usual been conferred this year on those who have been seeking the good of the public and, appreciating specially the title of Diwan Bahadur conferred upon Mr. P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar, remarks that this is not quite an adequate recognition of the services rendered by him to the country.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

Referring to the news that Mr. Justice Rowlatt has been granted the title of K.C.S.I., in recognition of his meritorious work in India, the *Desabhakatan*, of the 3rd January, says:—We do not know what meritorious work he did in India. Perhaps he has been conferred this title merely because he was the president of a committee which inquired about seditious movements! A grand title for a meritorious work!

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 3rd Jan. 1919.

The New Year Honours.

While congratulating the Malayali recipients of the New Year Honours, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 3rd January, notes that there are only a few in the Madras Presidency who have received important honours. It points out that four or five men of the non-Brahman movement have been simultaneously honoured but Doctor Nayar, their leader, gets nothing.

The *Manorama*, of the 3rd January, states that some who thrust themselves forward in season and out of season with the sole object of winning honours have been again disappointed this time. MANORAMA, Calicut, 3rd Jan. 1919.

The *Malayala Manorama*, of the 4th January, expresses surprise that not even a single person belonging to Travancore has been found worthy of inclusion in the Honours list. MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 4th Jan. 1919.

The *Samadarsi*, of the 4th January, thinks that it may be on account of the gratitude of the bureaucracy towards the leaders of the non-Brahman movement for exerting themselves to strengthen foreign rule by proclaiming that India is surcharged with class hatred that Messrs. Tyagaraya Chetti and Kandaswami Chetti have been honoured with titles. SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 4th Jan. 1919.

The new year honour's list.

The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 1st January, in giving an extract from the list of recipients of honours which includes the names of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Azizuddin Husain Sahib, C.I.E., I.S.O., Second Member of the Board of Revenue, and Muhammad Sibgatulla Sahib Bahadur, Chida, who have received the titles of the Order of the British Empire, and Khan Bahadur, respectively, congratulates the recipients, tenders its thanks to the Government and hopes that other deserving persons will be similarly decorated in future. JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 1st Jan. 1919.

India's aid to the war.

35. Referring to the fact that the strength of the Indian army, which was only 3 lakhs at the commencement of the war, was 12 lakhs at the end, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 1st January, remarks :—Considering the total population of India, the authorities might have raised an army, not 12 *lakhs*, but 12 *crores* strong. But, in the beginning, they had neither the inclination to do so nor faith in the Indians. It was only after there arose a necessity for increasing the manpower available from India, that they began to seek the aid of the Indians. Even then if they had reposed full confidence in the Indians, they could have raised a far larger number of men. SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1st Jan. 1919.

Eurasians in the army.

36. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st January, refers to the claim of the Eurasians to be permanently raised to the rank of British soldiers in the army, and says :—We say that as, under the law, the Eurasians are also Indians, to give them a higher status than the Indians in the army, is not only unjust but also against the Queen's Proclamation. Further, if the Eurasians are allowed to think that they are superior to the Indians, the internal peace of India will be at stake. Our wish is that they should also be considered as equal to the Indians without any class distinction. DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Jan. 1919.

All-India Medical Commission.

37. Referring to the proposal of the Government of India to appoint a Special Commission shortly to inquire about the existing medical posts in India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd January, observes :—It has become usual in India to appoint a Commission for everything, but no material benefit is derived from such commissions, as will be testified to by political experts. The object of appointing such commissions and spending the money of the Indians, therefore, is not easily discernible. It is Europeans that are mostly appointed as members of such commissions on large salaries, and every one knows how much of money is being spent in this direction. The frequent condemnation of this by the Indians has had no effect. The Public Services Commission has already made some inquiry in regard to the Indian Medical services, and so we do not see the necessity for a fresh commission now. DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The tour programme of the Governor.

38. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd January, takes exception to the tour of His Excellency the Governor of Madras to Parlakimedi, Chatrapur and other places, on the ground that it entails a huge expenditure and that His Excellency can well pass through these places when he will have to go to Delhi to be present at the Conference of Provincial heads to be held there this month. DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

Mr. Montagu in Parliament.

39. Appreciating the statements in a recent speech of Mr. Montagu, that those that rendered service at the front should be adequately rewarded, that the democratic principle DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

should be spread in every country, and that each country should be granted internal freedom, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd January, says :—It is the wish of everyone that these words should be given effect to in practice. It is easy to preach ; but it is difficult to practice what one preaches. Mr. Montagu should realise that a democratic spirit is spreading even in India. The Indian leaders have been demanding the grant of internal freedom for India also. We trust that Mr. Montagu will realise this and act.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The Park Fair.

40. Remarking that the fire at this Fair is attributed by some to the fact that it was held against the wishes of the public, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd January, lays stress on the necessity of arrangements being made to prevent the recurrence of this danger in future and adds :—Hereafter, if there are to be fireworks in the Park grounds, it should be insisted that the booths should not have thatched roofing but should be covered by zinc sheets, or the fireworks should be arranged in a large open space elsewhere. We trust the authorities will pay heed to this suggestion at least, without being inattentive as is their wont. The Government should appoint a committee to inquire about this fire accident.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

The Park Fair.

Adverting to the fire that occurred on the last day of the Fair, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd January, observes :—Though the Government of Madras do not take the full responsibility for this Fair, certain responsible officials have a hand in it and the good or evil resulting herefrom affects them. So the Government should soon appoint a committee to inquire about the accident. They should not deal with this matter superficially as they did in the case of the fire in the Moore Market. Those who are guilty should be taught a lesson.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 3rd January, wants the Government to note the serious losses that are said to have occurred on account of the fire and hopes that at least the Police will make an inquiry into the matter.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 4th January, suggests a prompt inquiriy by the Government about the responsibility for the Corporation Fire Engine not having been kept in a proper place ready to be used on the night in question and lays stress upon the necessity of strict rules being framed in the matter of maintaining the fire engines in a sound condition on occasions like this.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 6th January, also comments in the same strain.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

Cases for the one rupee and two and a half rupee currency notes.

41. Referring to the notification of the Central Publicity Board that cases for preserving these notes are available at a cost of two annas each at all Post offices from January 1919 the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd January, observes :—It is said that these currency notes, being made of thin paper, get easily crushed and have the need for a small protective case. Why cannot these notes be printed on thick paper like the five rupee notes? By the persent arrangement of the Government, the public are put to loss unnecessarily. It is no doubt true that the manufacturers of these cases will make a good profit, as the people would like to go in for them, though they are not compelled to do so. It is regrettable that the Government also should be a party to the money of the people being spent on unnecessary items like this.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd January, characterises the introduction of these cases as a curious move and doubts whether the complaint of the people that they experience great difficulty in handling these currency notes will be removed by this measure alone.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

Cases for the one rupee and two and a half rupee currency notes.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 3rd January, also says that it is regrettable that poor people, who feel sorry for the reduction of coins in circulation and the introduction of currency notes in their stead, should be asked to pay two annas for preserving these notes.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The Economic Conference at Bombay.

42. Referring to the necessity for and the benefits that may be derived from this conference the *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd January, observes :—At present there are no data, excepting the statistics published by the authorities

upon which one can determine whether the people are prosperous and whether their present condition is an improvement over their past or not. But there is an impression that the version of the authorities does not indicate the real state of affairs. When the late Mr. Gokhale brought forward a proposition in the Imperial Legislative Council that a committee should be appointed to examine the condition of a few select villages, it was observed by the Government member that as no two villages agree in their condition, the proposed examination would serve no useful purpose. But, during resettlements, the settlement officers generally judge the condition of the whole district only from the results of an examination of a few villages thereof. Though the public are convinced that this conclusion is wrong, they have to keep quiet for want of sufficient statistics to refute the same. Doctor Gilbert Slater recently wrote an article to the *Mail* in which he proved by quoting figures that most families in India do not have the income required for their sustenance and none of the authorities have so far gainsaid this. The true condition of the people will be revealed only if such investigations are made. The authorities will be obliged to accept the opinions of people, who take an interest in the matter and collect statistics. At present there is no other alternative than to accept as gospel what the civilian officers say. Though what they say may be right, still there is room to doubt that they might have collected statistics in a partial manner. But, if economic research gains strength, the opinions of those conducting it will be considered to be those of experts. To do this work in all the villages of the country will be productive of benefit in the end. If details are known about each place, then its real condition can be ascertained. From this, it can be found out clearly whether the present method of land assessment is conducive to the improvement of the agriculturists or otherwise. There was no facility for doing this work till now. But, as an economic conference has now been started, we believe that branches of it will be opened in different places, and work for the welfare of the people of the country.

Indian news and London newspapers.

43. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd January, refers to the fact that certain correspondents from India to the newspapers in London do not communicate the true state of affairs, and reports the *India* of London to have written as follows on this subject:—For some time past permission has not been given to the London papers to publish matters relating to India. While the telegrams of the 16th November 1918 from Ceylon appeared in the London papers on the 18th idem, no Indian news has been published in the London papers subsequent to the 5th idem. The cause for this is not apparent. Though many important events are occurring in India, how is it possible for the British public to become aware of Indian affairs if details concerning them are not permitted to be published in the London newspapers?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The basis of industrial advancement.

44. Referring to the statement of the Trade Commissioner in Australia that the situation caused by the war was the primary cause of the advancement of even the unimportant industries there and that these industries will surely get strengthened because of the special duty that Government imposes on foreign goods and of an adequate supply of raw products being available within the country, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd January, remarks that this principle applies fully in the case of India and adds:—It is well known that even at the time when the industries in England and other countries were in a very backward condition, the trade and industry of India were very flourishing. Though the Industries Commission was appointed for reporting on the best ways of improving Indian industries the Government asked them not to concern themselves with the question of the imposition of duties and therefore they could not consider the vital point, which forms the basis of industrial advancement. Though there is plenty of raw material available in India, unless foreign goods are prevented by means of protective duties from flooding the Indian market, no real improvement in industries is possible. Now that the war has come to an end, we hope the Government will pay immediate attention to this important matter.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

Our disgraceful condition.

45. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st December, reproduces an article from the *Mahratta* under this heading, in which the following observations occur among others:—The Hon'ble

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

Madan Mohan Malavya has stated in his presidential address at the last Congress at Delhi: "The Hindus have ruled over this country for thousands of years and the Moslems for huudreds of years. All the same, we are pleading with the British that we are fit to have a measure of reform, to form the basis of a government responsible to the people. This is causing disgrace and pain to our brethren and sisters." We believe these words will infuse some spirit into the minds of the Indians. The time of the Hindus has gone, as well as that of the Moslems. It is now the time of the Englishmen; and the Hindus and Muhammadans have to bow to the decision of these Englishmen. Every subject has the right of representing his grievances. We represented our grievances to the Englishmen. We prayed and entreated. But what has been the result of our wail for the last 33 years? This is disgraceful to us. There is no use in blaming the Englishmen for this. The fault is ours. We should note the preaching of Sri Ramdas, the founder of the Mahratta Empire, that we should work hard for our advancement, without keeping quiet relying upon others. Think a little over what has reduced us to this pass. Foreigners living six thousand miles away have gained possession of our country bit by bit and have placed us in a disgraceful condition. So if the Indians will realise this, they will give up the methods adopted by them till now. It will be difficult for us to acquire our privileges, if the Congress merely stops with representing our condition and wrings its hands. The events in Russia clearly show that, however much we may wish for the preponderance of justice and righteousness, might well eventually be the arbiter of the world. We should feel for the disgrace which our position entails. We should try to increase our strength. If our rulers act on wrong principles and refuse to grant us our rights, we should show them by action that such a refusal will lead to evil consequences. But our strength should not be used in unconstitutional ways. Every one, who is ashamed of his position in this country, should resort to his individual passive strength. The Peace Conference will meet and disperse and the condition of India will be the same then as it is now. Unless we become conscious of our power and acquire the principle of self-determination by our strength, this country, which was once in the height of splendour, can never regain its glory.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

The fitness of Indians for self-government.

46. Referring to the remark of the *Madras Mail* that the municipalities both in Madras and elsewhere in India have not been able to preserve sanitation properly, though the majority of the Members thereof are Home Rulers, and its question how the Indians, who are incapable of managing the affairs of one town, can conduct the administration of provinces and a kingdom, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd January, expresses its surprise at this argument and compares it to the conclusion from the failure of some Indians in an examination that the Indians as a class are unfit to have education and should not therefore be classed in the human species.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

A public meeting.

47. A correspondent to the *Dravidan*, of the 3rd January, reports a statement to have been made, at one of the weekly lectures delivered under the auspices of the Labour Union, that all the hospitals, in which the English system of medicine is followed, lead the people into bad ways and tend to spread diseases and that therefore the people should avoid such hospitals.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

Provincial autonomy.

48. Remarking that, of all the resolutions passed by the Delhi Congress, that about the grant of Provincial autonomy to India is the most important, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 3rd January, writes:—Now that the war has ended in a victory for us, it is but natural for the Indians to demand that the principles for which the Englishmen entered into this war should be applied to India. If, as stated by President Wilson, it is true that the principles applicable to one country should be applicable also to another, that justice has nothing to do with caste distinctions or local differences and that it applies in the same manner to all countries at all times, why should there be any obstruction or delay in devising means to grant autonomy to India? President Wilson has again said that, though it is easy to run with the current of justice now flowing all over the world, it requires a good deal of courage to run counter to it. We have reason to think that the bureaucrats in India have much of this courage. We see from their actions till now that they

care only for self-interest and their position. If the British Government should render justice to us, acting on the opinion of these bureaucrats, we think the excellent principles laid down by Mr. Wilson will never reach India. It is because the British Government did not act on these principles till now, Ireland has come to be what it is. Will they allow this story to be repeated in India? Should not the principle of self-determination be applied to India, at least in recognition of the sacrifices made by her in the war? And again we do not want the application of this principle *in toto*. We pray only for the grant of the Montagu-Chelmesford reforms as amended by the Congress and grant of provincial autonomy is one of the most important of these reforms.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

49. The *Dravidan*, of the 4th January, has a long leader under this heading amplifying the ideas contained in a leaderette of the *Justice* of the 26th ultimo on the same subject.

Co-operation and agriculture.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 30th Dec. 1918.

50. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 30th December, publishes a communication from Rao Bahadur K. S. Venkatarama Ayyar of Negapatam in which, while thanking the Government for having arranged to bring 40,000 bags of rice to Negapatam from Rangoon, remarks that this rice can be distributed freely in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts only if the Government issue prompt instructions to the Railway authorities to supply wagons without any difficulty for its transport from the port of Negapatam into the interior and also to see that the merchants are not made to compete with one another for wagons.

The food situation.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

51. With reference to the Delhi Congress, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st December, writes:—Mr. Lloyd George once observed that an experience of one thousand years was gained during the last four years. . . As has been remarked by President Wilson, there is no use of the mere intellectual understanding of justice and righteousness. The courage to put those principles into practice is what is required. . . The idea that no distinctions of caste and country can be impediments to the establishment of Dharma is slowly gaining ground. . . Doctor Wilson said that he had entered the war inspired by such a high ideal. India also has shown a similar noble attitude towards the war and fought for the cause of liberty. . . The announcement of the 20th August is not in keeping with the principle of self-determination. There is no room for self-determination when the stages of our development are to be determined by the bureaucracy. . . The British Government is willing to grant the right of self-determination to the Arabs and the Africans. In these circumstances, there is nothing strange in India asking for the same right. The Special Congress at Bombay somewhat hesitated to express wholeheartedly the ideals of the people. With the close of the war, all room for anxiety has disappeared. So, the necessity has now arisen for a clear expression of the wishes of the Indian people in accordance with the right of self-determination. . . Not only were Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's amendments to go behind the resolutions of the Bombay Congress defeated, but the resolution demanding complete provincial autonomy has been accepted by the Congress with great enthusiasm. We understand that there was a lively debate on this resolution and that some delegates would secede from the Congress. . . But we cannot think that any of the leaders would take such an unwise step. If individuals, instead of obeying public opinion, try to secede from the Congress, they will not be fit for self-government. The Congress this year has clearly expressed the people's view. The practice of concealing one's opinions on account of considerateness for the wishes of others has fully disappeared. The resolutions of the Congress bear the strongest testimony to the desire for self-government which is spreading among the people day by day. It is but just that the Government should see the strength of the popular opinion and satisfy it. . . Whatever party in England may become strong, there is no doubt that the triumph of national ideals depends on the strength of the people's will. If Indians firmly express their desire for self-government, the freedom-loving English people will surely grant it.

The National Congress and the strength of public opinion.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

Local self-government.

52. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st December, writes:— In their communiqué on local self-government, the Government of India have expressed the opinion that when non-officials happen to be the presidents of taluk and district boards, it will be necessary to appoint with the permission of the Government a Special Secretary to attend to the routine business, and that he cannot be removed generally without the permission of the Government. The proposal of the Government would make the power of non-official presidents only nominal, as the Secretary would then be all in all without any check from them. It cannot but be admitted that this will be a great hindrance to the progress of local self-government. It is a healthy sign that almost all presidents of local boards in the Madras Presidency have not approved of the suggestion, and the Government will do well to withdraw it.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

The All-India Hindu Conference.

53. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st December last, publishes in Telugu and English the resolutions passed by the All-India Hindu Conference asking for the immediate grant of self-government and other concessions.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The present situation.

54. In the course of its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd January, writes:—If Indians are to be guided by the trend of election campaigns in England in the matter of expressing their wishes, they will have to change their opinions so as to keep them in conformity with the policy of the party in power. Such fickle-minded men can never attain their object. . . Whatever party in England becomes powerful, the future of India entirely depends on the determination of Indians themselves. When the wind of freedom is blowing all over, the grant of self-government to India cannot be delayed. There is no necessity for considering about the fulfilment of the ideal, if the people work with unflagging persistance. May the firm attitude of the Congress leaders secure self-government for India before long.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

Titles.

55. Referring to the New year honours, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd January, remarks:—. . . Titles have not been so liberally conferred on the Andhras. But there is no need to feel sorry for this. The number of those coming forward to serve the country's cause in the hope of getting titles is becoming smaller and smaller. . . Mr. P. C. Mitter has got the title of C.I.E. He has become famous in abusing Indians. The title of Diwan Bahadur is nothing great for the Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao. . . Those who have not received titles need not be sorry. Those who have served the country are to be found more among those holding no titles.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

Who is responsible?

56. Referring to the fire accident in the Park Fair, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd January, says:—We hear that some received injuries while the lives of some others were in danger. . . It will be well, if the Government hold an inquiry, publish the correct facts and trace those who are responsible for the spread of the panic. It is their duty to see that such accidents will not recur.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

India and Reforms.

57. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd January, writes:— . . . Lord Durham and Lord Elgin introduced responsible government in Canada, when it was full of racial and linguistic differences. . . Mr. Houghton asks why the same policy should not be pursued as regards India also. May the British Government assume the same liberal attitude towards India.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

Small restrictions.

58. Referring to the request of the *London Times* for the removal of restriction on newspapers, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd January, remarks:—. . . When the *London Times* is crying so loud for the removal of even such little restraints, we do not know what to say of the heavy restrictions laid on the Indian newspapers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

Political prisoners.

59. Referring to the unconditional release of Count Plunkett of the Irish Sinn Fein party, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd January, remarks:—. . . While such revolutionaries as the Sinn Feiners are being released in Great Britain, it is not proper

that the political prisoners in India are not released. The Government will do well to grant the request of the National Congress in the matter.

60. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd January, observes that two annas, the price fixed by the Government for the canvass protectors for currency notes is prohibitive for the ordinary people and that they will do well to reduce it.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

Currency notes.

61. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th January, writes:— Anglo-Indian papers like the *Madras Times* have begun to say that Mr. Montagu should have no place in the new ministry. . . The new ministry will have to face the Irish problem on the one hand and the Indian problem on the other. . . Be it as it may, the number of unionists is sure to predominate in the new ministry, and it is difficult to expect from them the wisdom to satifactorily solve such broad questions. It is very regrettable that the party of opponents to the progress of the Empire should be in power at the present critical juncture in England. . . Indians want complete provincial autonomy immediately. . . The Congress has done its duty in expressing this desire, since it will be suicidal to India to conceal her real opinions and act with a hesitating mind at this juncture, when the atmosphere of the whole world is surcharged with liberty.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

India and the New Ministry.

62. Referring to the termination of the suit for damages brought by Mr. Hasan Imam against Mr. Clayton, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th January, remaks:— . . . We hope that Anglo-Indians will learn a lesson and behave with due regard towards Indians, hereaftar at least.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

An Anglo-Indian's zubbardust.

63. With reference to the interned Muhammadans, Mr. Muhammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th January, observes:— . . When there is no more fear from Turkey and peace has been established, it is not known why these unfortunate men should not be released in accordance with the wishes of the people. Contentment cannot grow among the people, unless the Government pardon political prisoners and safeguard their birth-rights.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

The Muhammadan internees.

64. In the course of an article, supporting the rights of temple priests, a correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 4th January, complains that the trustees under temple schemes misappropriate temple funds, and says that an inspection, by the Government officials, of the accounts maintained by them will make this plain to the Government.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

Temple schemes.

65. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th January, writes:—. . . The food-problem is turning out to be more important than any other, on account of the war, the abnormal rise in prices of food-stuffs and the failure of rains. There does not seem to be anybody to remove this trouble. . . The whole Andhra country is protesting against the enhancement of water-rate in one voice without any differences whatsoever. . . The ryots took a vow to adopt passive resistance, if necessary. . . The authorities who show special favour to ryots on other occasions will do well now to listen to their cry and do them justice. The publication of the Village Officers' Act Amendment Bill in addition to the water-rate question has increased the unrest. . . If the hereditary right is taken away, it will be proper to provide for appointment by election. Then, appointments will be made according to qualifications. It is very improper to try to replace one evil by another. . . The arbitrary power till now enjoyed only by Divisional officers is sought to be extended to Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars. It is difficult to foresee to what evils such an arrangement may give rise. . . The principle that the officer can appoint any one he likes, if he finds no qualified candidate in the family of the householder, cuts at the root of the hereditary right. . . Of the newly-added disqualifications that relating to persons dangerous to the peace of the country is the most regrettable. On this pretext, the authorities may exclude all those working for the progress of the country. . . The Government should help

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

Problems of the Andhra country.

with money those Municipal Councils in the mufasal which are called upon to deal with epidemics. . . It is the duty of the Government to remove all these troubles and make the country happy. The people have clearly expressed their wishes which the Government will do well to satisfy hereafter at least.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

66. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th January, writes:—. . .

The Imperial preference.

By this system the British and the colonial merchants will profit at the expense of India. . . The Indian representatives at the Peace Conference should make it clear that the system of "Imperial Preference" does not suit India. Many of the English people will not accept it. Will Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir express the firm opinion of the people?

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 15th Dec. 1918.

67. Under this heading a correspondent to the *Sudarsini*, of the 15th December, writes:—. . .

Opposition to Home Rule.

Will not the Allies who are demanding the establishment of self-government in the enemy countries, grant it to India which has shed its blood for the Empire and is being praised day after day for the noble part it has taken in the war? Having raised the sword in defence of liberty, can they attain that object, if they fail to grant self-government to India? . . .

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 22nd Dec. 1918.

68. Under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 22nd December writes:—

Lord Donough Moore.

. . . The arguments of the Sydenham party were strongly criticised by Lord Crewe then and by Lord Donough Moore now. . . The latter exposed the arbitrary power of the bureaucracy. He has boldly stated that voting by officials in the Legislative Councils against conscience is a disregard shown to official duty. . . The real state of India is gradually reaching the Imperial throne through the ideas of liberal western gentlemen. This is undoubtedly a happy sign for India.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

69. A correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 7th January, says:—It

Water-rate.

is very much to be regretted that in spite of the fact that the ryots have in many a meeting passed resolutions protesting against the proposal to raise the water rate, the Government have not yet understood the ryots. Is it right to ruin the innocent ryots by means of hard orders? We sincerely request that the Government will cancel their order proposing to raise the water-rate and also that by which the prices of food grains have been regulated.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 27th Dec. 1918.

70. Referring to the news of the death of Mrs. Arabindo Ghose after several years' separation from her husband, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 27th December, writes:—

Victory and political prisoners.

The father of Arabindo's wife asked for the permission of Government to send her to her husband's residence; but whether because it was feared that the grant of such permission was fraught with danger to the empire or for some other reason, the permission was not granted. And the wife was called away when she was still sundered from her husband. It is usual to release political prisoners as a mark of victory rejoicing. But the Government of this country would not allow political prisoners to share the joy. Indeed, how ill-fated is our country in this! Mr. Ghose is not even a convict. He may be a mere suspect. How far these suspicions are well founded must surely be within the experience of the authorities. It is scarcely right therefore that the bureaucracy should allow itself to be the victim of the demon of suspicion and cause learned patriots like Lajput Rai and Arabindo to be sundered from their country, hearth and home.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 27th Dec. 1918.

71. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 27th December, writes:—The resolution

India in Parliament.

to form a joint committee of the Commons and Lords to consider the scheme of Indian reforms was lost. The scheme is only a first step in responsible government, and it is now clear that the House of Lords is not prepared to grant even this. The trend of the discussion, in which Sir Valentine Chirol and others took part was to the effect that the grant of the reforms proposed in the scheme will lead to the autocracy of educated Indians over the uneducated. Would it not mean that even the educated Indians should be without power, if the Anglo-Indian authorities

should, as at present, have all the power in their hands? Would it not mean that a few of the white men in this country would be spending the money paid by the 310 millions without the slightest control and responsibility? That is what the Indians are asking. Will the cry of fox ever reach the heavens? It may, when it develops into the roar of a lion.

72. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 28th December, writes:—Mr. Pal is a pre-eminent patriot and a man of great learning. All Indian patriots will rejoice to hear that the Government of India have now understood his qualities and enabled him to attend the Congress by withdrawing the order forbidding him to enter Delhi.

B. C. Pal.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 28th Dec. 1918.

73. A note in the *Samadarsi*, of the 28th December, holds up the example of Mrs. Jinnah who stood outside the Town Hall of Bombay and harangued the masses that collected outside the Hall at the time of the Sheriff's meeting, about the evils of Lord Willingdon's administration, and her refusal to submit to the Police Commissioner's order to stop speaking, and calls upon men in Travancore to emulate this example of heroism set by a woman.

Mrs. Jinnah.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 28th Dec. 1918.

74. A note in the *Manorama*, of the 3rd January, comments to the special attention of Government the resolution of the All-India Hindu Conference requesting the British Government to secure restoration to Hindu India, of the many invaluable ancient treatises in Sanskrit, which the Germans stealthily carried away from India. The sciences of which Europe is proud were well known in India at one time, but became extinct as the treatises dealing with them were lost to India.

Indian shastras in German possession.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 3rd Jan. 1919.

75 The *Qaumi Report*, of the 26th December, writes:—We have already said that it is our duty to preserve Islam from the operation of the secular law. For example, the Civil Law does not approve of our mode of divorce and prevents our men from marrying a second wife. Recently a few such cases have occurred in England in which the unfortunate Muhammadans have been obliged to submit to this high-handed procedure. Marrying a Christian woman is permissible in Islam, but the law prohibits us from marrying a second wife or divorcing her even on reasonable grounds. Certain English Judges have ridiculed our religious rules and with a stroke of their powerful pen have seriously interfered with Islamic freedom. There may be yet some unfortunate Muhammadans who are still undergoing imprisonment for the offence of either divorcing a Christian woman or marrying a second wife.

Islam and the secular law.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 26th Dec. 1918.

Lately similar things have happened even in India. An esteemed contemporary very correctly states that certain things which appear simple in the beginning may, if they are neglected or treated indifferently, be fraught with very serious consequences. Many years have elapsed since the disposal of a case by the Punjab Chief Court in which it was held that the previous marriage of a Muhammadan woman becomes null and void in consequence of her embracing Christianity. There is also a recent decision by the same court which upholds the previous marriage of a Christian woman even after her embracing Islam. Our esteemed contemporary is right in stating that both these decisions are dangerous to the Muslim world. It further invites the attention of all Muhammadans and Islamic Associations to give their best consideration to the question as a matter of duty and advises the Ulima to give up their bickerings for a time and turn their attention to the removal of this menace.

76. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 31st December, referring to the last day of the year 1918, writes:—Today is the last day of an unlucky year. May God arrest its evil effects and save us from our troubles and hardships. The year has caused much grief and sorrow to Muhammadans, marred the magnificent geography of Islam and trampled under foot its grand history.

The last day of the year 1918.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

We gladly bid farewell to the past year, and pray that God may not allow its shadow to fall upon the coming year.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 1st Jan. 1919.

77. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 1st January, writes:—The year 1918 to which we have just now said good-bye will never be forgotten; for it has shown to the world how the mighty have fallen before the sword and how those, who were so proud of their vast wealth, innumerable forces and abundant supplies, have suffered. Besides it has sounded the bell of peace and mutual friendship.

Good-bye to 1918 and welcome to 1919.

The editor welcomes the coming year 1919 and hopes that it may settle matters at the Peace Conference favourable to our Government, so that there may come a lasting peace to the people and the Empire.

III.—LEGISLATION.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

78. In a leader under the heading, this *Dravidan*, of the 3rd January, remarks that the Bill recently introduced by the Madras Government, making some alterations in the rules for the selection of persons as village officers, does not deal with the two existing grievances of the village officers, viz., their low pay and the bad treatment they receive from the Taluk officials and comments on the Bill in the following strain:—The Bill proposes to do away with the rule of primogeniture in the matter of choosing a village officer and empowers the appointing authority to select the best qualified member of the family possessing hereditary claims to the office. We think this will give room to anomalous interpretations. One removed by eight or even ten degrees may come to be chosen as a qualified candidate. We admit that only qualified persons should be appointed to this post. But the Government should specify clearly the required qualifications for the post and afford an opportunity for one succeeding to it to acquire them. It is only when he does not do so that another should be chosen. Then again persons accept these posts now even on the low salary attaching to them, merely on account of the privilege of heredity, and it may be difficult to get strangers to take them upon the same salary. Eventually the new system may give rise to an unhealthy competition. The Bill also takes away the privilege of enforcing the rights attaching to a village office in a court of law which is not desirable. Besides these things, the salary of this office has to be raised and arrangements made for the village officers being treated with respect. We hope the authorities will consider all these points and redraft the Bill in such a manner as to benefit the village officers.

Village officers.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

79. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 7th January, publishes an artice from the pen of a correspondent, which contains a criticism of the Hereditary Village Officers' Amendment Bill.

The Hereditary Village Officers' Amendment Bill.

IV.—NATIVE STATES.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 24th Dec. 1918.

80. Referring to the proceedings of a meeting of Nambudri leaders convened by the Director of Education, Cochin State, to consider the advisability of establishing a central school exclusively for Nambudris to provide for both religious and secular instruction and to be financed partly by the existing endowments for religious instruction of Nambudris and partly by the Darbar, the *Manorama*, of the 24th December, suggests that the central school may be located at a place like Shoranur so as to be available also for the Nambudris of Malabar and that the Madras Department of Public Instruction should contribute for the maintenance of the school and co-operate with the Cochin Darbar in managing the institution.

Nambudri education.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 1st Jan. 1919.

81. Reviewing the Administration Report for 1093 M.E. and the period of Mr. Bhore's Diwanship, the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 1st January, congratulates the Raja of Cochin, Mr. Bhore, the Diwan, and the Darbar that the State could sail clear of all calamities during the four years of war and universal suffering. It notes the advance made by the State in education, general and technical, the provision of increased facilities for agriculture, the sympathetic encouragement given to the Ayurvedic system of medical treatment, and the schemes for increasing the resources of the

Cochin administration.

State by the harbour project, the Dindigul-Palghat Railway, the extension of forest tramway, etc., and thinks that Mr. Bhore has undoubtedly earned the lasting gratitude, goodwill and confidence of the people.

82. The *Samadarsi*, of the 28th December, bewails the intense misery suffered by the people of Travancore on account of famine and pestilence. It attributes the present distress to absence of a Government responssible to the people and to the suppression of the capacities of the people to manage their own affairs. If representative institutions were established, they would have effectively co-operated with the Government to combat famine and pestilence before which the present Government stands impotent. It asks "who is responsible for the present suffering and mortality?" The Government have no money to grant a famine allowance to low-paid Government servants or to appoint medical men to cope with pestilence, no money to start industries as a set off against famine and no funds for anything except to enhance the pay and allowances of high-paid officials for increasing their number and for maintaining their glory and prestige. No doubt the Travancore Government is now exerting itself for famine relief in a way that excites the envy of even the Government of India. But this exertion does not result in restoring peace and prosperity simply because the force of public opinion and the place of popular respresentation have long since disappeared from the country.

Evil days.

Samadarsi, Trivandrum, 28th Dec. 1918.

83. An article in the *Malayala Manorama*, of the 31st December (contributed), refers to an article published in a Madras English newspaper in which the correspondent is said to have reasonably argued that administrative reforms securing to the people their right share in the administration of the State, are urgently required and that such reforms cannot be delayed any longer. That correspondent is said to have further pointed out that the delay in the introduction of such reforms was not on account of any fault of the Cochin Darbar but was due to the unexpected obstruction of the scheme by the Madras Government. The ex-Raja had promised the grant of a representative institution for Cochin and the Diwan declared in that year's administration report that a scheme for the purpose was submitted to the Government of Madras. Six years have passed and yet the scheme seems to be still pending with the Government of Madras. The first scheme was to establish an advisory council with an elected majority. This was returned for revision. It was revised and returned. After that, nothing more has been heard of it. The present Raja has also declared his desire to entrust the people with authority, but the delay seems to be still due to the Madras Government. If this be true, the people are anxiously waiting for the Madras Government to move a little more briskly in the matter in view of the importance of the subject to the welfare of the State.

The Madras Government and administrative reforms, Cochin.

Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 31st Dec. 1918.

84. The *Desabhimani*, of the 28th December, protests against the idea of a Cochinite Diwan for Cochin on the ground that the Ezhuvas, etc., who form the majority of the people of State and suffer great social disabilities, cannot expect any sympathetic consideration from a Cochinite Diwan, be he a Brahman or a Nayar.

The next Diwan of Cochin.

Desabhimani, Quilon, 28th Dec. 1918.

The *Malayala Manorama*, of the 28th December, in an English article on the same subject, makes among others the following observations and suggestions:—

Speaking about His Highness the present Raja of Cochin and the general situation it says:—

"His Highness is a well-meaning inoffensive and kind-hearted ruler, but unfortunately his inexperience and inability to rise above his surroundings have rendered him constitutionally incapable of taking a steady keen and personal interest in all great questions. Those who are thoroughly acquainted with the details of present-day politics in Cochin, emphatically assert that certain hostile influences are at work which tend to mar the splendid effects of the monumental work of the retired Raja. The Demon of Reaction has begun to show his head here and there, and Mr. Bhore, however efficient he may be, finds it difficult to head the adverse current."

Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 28th Dec. 1918.

Adverting to the Diwanship it observes :—

"It will surely be of the greatest usefulness if Mr. Bhore remains in Cochin to bring to a successful completion the many far-reaching schemes for the inception of which he is solely or mainly responsible. But if either His Highness the Raja is unwilling to retain Mr. Bhore any longer in the service or Mr. Bhore has had enough of Cochin, we would strongly urge the desirability of going outside Cochin in choosing a successor to Mr. Bhore.

"We find that there are two local candidates in the field. One is Mr. T. S. Narayana Ayyar, the Chief Judge, and other is Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyar, the Diwan Peshkar. Mr. Narayana Ayyar is a Cochinite and has earned a good name as a Judicial officer. He was Diwan Peshkar for a short period, but it became evident that his genius lies more in the judicial than in the administrative line. Mr. Kasthuriranga Ayyar has been a great success as a Revenue Officer, but we are not sanguine of his success as the Head of the Executive. If the future administration is to run on old-fashioned lines, there can be little doubt that either of these gentlemen could be tolerated. But present-day Cochin wants strong meat rather than mother's milk. People demand that the natural resources of the State whose possibilities, the spade-work of Mr. Bhore has amply demonstrated, should be greately developed. Hundreds of Committees are at active work in London, discussing the possibilities of developing Empire resources in all directions, and if Cochin does not rise to the height of her opportunities, her immense resources are sure to be exploited in the near future by foreign capital. To avoid such a catastrophe, we would strongly urge the appointment of a European Civilian as the next Diwan of Cochin. In a State where Mr. Locke, a European, once acted as Diwan for about a year and where an Indian Christian Civilian with a European wife has been the permanent Diwan for the past five years, we fail to see any valid objection to this proposal. Moreover, the fact that the Zamorin's Estate including several Hindu temples is administered by a European Civilian, lends support to our view. There may be Indian Civilians of capacity and grit, but we are strongly of opinion that in view of the hostile influences now at work in Cochin, a European Civilian will be better fitted to cope with the present situation. The present is a supreme crisis in the fate of Cochin. The question is whether the State is to once again sink to the deplorable condition from which it was rescued 25 years ago, or whether it should continue to progress on up-to-date lines embracing all opportunities made possible by the sagacity of Mr. Bhore. We believe that no patriotic Cochinite will have any hesitation in choosing and effectively demanding the later alternative. There are a few in Cochin who prate of patriotism, but we are not enamoured of such shibboleths when the other alternation is unthinkable and should be resisted to the last ditch. But if our suggestion is not feasible just now, we would as the next best step strongly urge the appointment of a competent Indian Officer from the British Service. In this connexion the best name we can think of is that of Mr. Paruvakkattu Narayana Menon of the Madras Secretariat. This gentleman is a Cochinite, if we are not mistaken. He is an Officer of sterling merit and unimpeachable character. By sheer merit and hard work alone he has risen from the lower grades of the service until he became a Presidency Magistrate and has now been appointed as an Under Secretary to Government. All those who have come in contact with him including even the most exacting of his official superiors speak in the highest terms of praise about him. We therefore consider it will be a real acquisition if such a tried and trusted Officer could be secured for Cochin.

ERRATUM.

Report No. 1.

Paragraph 90, line 6, *for* 'will nevertheless,' *read* 'will. Nevertheless,'

[Issued, 15th January 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 3 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 18th January 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*a*) *Police.*

1. *Justice*, of the 17th January, observes:—"A member of one of the non-Brahman associations who wanted to put up arches to welcome Dr. T. M. Nayar on his return from England calls attention to the fact that while their requests for permission to erect arches were refused by the Commissioner, arches were allowed, or, at any rate, were erected on the roads on the occasion of the recent reception accorded to Mr. S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, and he wants us to tell him the reason for this difference in treatment. We regret we have no occult vision to unravel the workings of the Police Commissioner's mind to enlighten the correspondent in the matter. But applying the lessons of ordinary experience in this country we presume that the difference is that Doctor Nayar and the people who welcomed him were loyal non-Brahmans and Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar and those who welcomed him were Brahmans. . . The arch put up by a non-Brahman might be a nuisance to the Madras Police, but an arch in honour of a Brahman perhaps brings merit to the city and the Police. Is not this difference in treatment conclusive proof that the non-Brahman movement has been inspired and backed up by the Government?"

Justice, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

The Madras Police and triumphal arches.

(*b*) *Courts.*

2. The following appears in *New India* of the 16th January:—"Even before any authoritative announcement could appear in the press, the melancholy information about the conviction of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu had spread everywhere, specially among the masses. His conviction by the Divisional Magistrate was believed to be inevitable. . . Ever since the opportunity afforded by the signing of the armistice was allowed to slip by without even a temporary cessation of the repressive movement, thoughtful people had anticipated a convicting judgment, though few of them were prepared for so savage a sentence. . . During the entire course of this trial, the Executive Government had ample evidence of the popularity of the nationalist in the dock, and this is perhaps the only prosecution conducted in British India with a machine-gun mounted on the Court roof. . . We hope steps will immediately be taken to challenge the decision of the Magistrate in courts of appeal, but in the meantime, the Government would be well advised to examine the situation from a more sensible standpoint. A sentence of fifteen months' rigorous imprisonment to a political worker cannot be justified in any civilised society, and from the administrative standpoint as well, it is unfortunate in view not only of the popularity of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu, but also the electric situation now prevailing in the province because of economic distress."

New India, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

The conviction of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

The *Hindu*, of the 17th January, says:—"The conviction of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu by the Subdivisional First-class Magistrate of Madura of sedition and the sentence of fifteen months' rigorous imprisonment passed on him would cause surprise and deep resentment among the people of Southern India. . . There are some features which are common to this case and the Vaidya sedition case decided on appeal by Sir Henry Drake-Brockman, Judicial Commissioner, Central Provinces, which raise important issues and render the judgment in Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu's case untenable and unjust."

Hindu, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

(*k*) *General.*

3. The *Wednesday Review*, for the week ending 8th January, writes:—"The *London Times* is somewhat anxious that Mr. Montagu should go back to the India Office. . . The fear of our contemporary may not be unfounded and we for one shall not be sorry if it turns out to be so. . . We are not

Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly, 8th Jan. 1919.

Mr. Montagu and the *London Times*.

behind any one else in appreciating the excellent intentions of Mr. Montagu towards India. . . But his methods of trying to serve India are of doubtful expediency and wisdom. He wants Indians to take a big and instant leap into what he considers to be responsible self-government and acts very much like the fond but foolish parent who would choke his favorite child with indigestible sweets out of sheer exuberance of affection without a thought of the disastrous effects of such kindness. . . It is not only because the changes proposed are catastrophic in their nature but also for the reason that Mr. Montagu has been resorting to questionable methods of canvassing support for them, that we would see him relieved of the Indian portfolio in the reconstructed Cabinet. . . We feel sure that the anxiety of the *Times* is due to a misapprehension of Indian conditions and an exaggerated estimate of the influence of the agitators for the reforms of the kind contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme over the masses of the Indian population."

Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly, 8th Jan. 1919.

Mr. S. S. Thorburn and the Reform proposals.

4. The *Wednesday Review*, for the week ending 8th January, says:— "Mr. S. S. Thorburn's recent lecture at the East India Association has been assailed in some quarters as a reactionary criticism of the reform proposals. . . Mr. Thorburn is abused, because he has not hesitated to speak out his mind on a subject which calls for honest speech in the interests of India. He has shown on what slender basis the reform scheme is built and what great risks are involved in subjecting India to reckless political experiments. The central idea of Mr. Thorburn's lecture is that every community in India prefers British to Home Rule, prefers what it knows and trusts to what it does not know and fears. That is the barest truth and no wonder that the agitators here cannot abide it. So they are at elaborate pains to prove that Mr. Thorburn does not know India of to-day and cannot therefore be in a position to appraise the reform proposals at their true value. As we have said it is no cause for surprise if the Home Rule agitators adopted this line of argument against Mr. Thorburn. But we see even Sir J. D. Rees who is not a rabid politician was led into saying during the discussion on Mr. Thorburn's paper that the lecturer's observation that every community in India preferred British to Home Rule was a very confident expression. We may assure Sir John Rees that Mr. Thorburn was quite justified in his confidence and he exactly portrayed the attitude of the bulk of the population in India towards the agitation for Home Rule."

Cochin Argus, British Cochin, 11th Jan. 1919.

The Indian National Congress.

5. The *Cochin Argus*, for the week ending 11th January, remarks:— "However, it remains to be hoped that the Delhi Session of the Congress will not be without its good fruit. If it should open the eyes of the Government to the folly and futility of making pooja to irreconcilables whose loyalty and good faith are obviously not beyond question, it will not have been held in vain. If it should awaken the Moderates and the rest of the loyal and self-respecting sections of the Indian intelligensia to the extremely urgent necessity of combining together to fight back and crush a most dangerous political growth, it will have rendered India an immeasurably greater service than that rendered by all its thirty-two predecessors put together."

Hindu, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

The I.C.S. and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

6. Writing on this subject under this heading 'The White Mutiny', the *Hindu*, of the 13th January, says:—"The ultimatum, for it is nothing less, and the scarcely-veiled threat of a strike implied in it, proceeds from Members of the Civil Service of high standing, including a Judge of the High Court, senior Member of the Board of Revenue, Secretaries to the Government, the President of the Madras Corporation and the Inspector-General of Police. Considering that the authors of the report, as the memorandum throughout describes it, are the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India to whom the members of the Association are subordinates, and the report itself is in furtherance of a high policy, sanctioned by His Majesty's Government, the memorandum is an astonishing repudiation of the rules of discipline and tradition which usually regulate the relations of subordinate officers towards the representatives of the Crown. . . It is clear that the Members of the Civil Service are fundamently

opposed not only to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme but also to the policy of responsible government announced in the British Parliament to be granted to the people of India. Their contention is that their vested interests are being prejudicially affected not only now but for all time to come. India must, according to them, be kept as a close preserve for their benefits. We are glad that the Members of the Civil Service have come out in their true colours. The low and despicable stand as regards Indian reform which they have taken in their memorandum shatters the illusion fostered by interested persons that the Indian Civil Service is a body animated by high and statesmanlike ideals. . . Buoyed up with other mischievous and unfounded utterances in the House of Lords and elsewhere, the Members of the Civil Service have been induced to set up arrogant pretensions and to defy the highest constitutional authorities of the Government of India. . . The action of the Madras Indian Civil Service Association is clearly therefore one of factious and disloyal opposition. . . It seems to us that the time has now arrived when the indenture system under which British skilled labour is imported into India in the form of the Indian Civil Service should be done away with at an early date. In the case of existing Members of the Service whose claims under their covenant are likely to be injuriously affected by any change, compensation could be awarded. . . The Members of the Civil Service have raised a direct issue and thrown a downright challenge to the Government. No Government which has any prestige to maintain can feel any doubt as to the sort of reply which it has to make to this insolent demand."

IV.—Native States.

The Travancore Forest Department.

7. The *People's Opinion*, of the 11th January, remarks:—"Like the sand in the hour-glass Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar's term of office has almost run out and the people are only glad to know it. That this forest autocrat has not been given an extension of service which he fondly hoped would come to pass is welcome news to the public and the authorities deserve to be congratulated upon their wise decision that this important department of the State should be placed in better and safer hands than now. With his high academic qualifications and specialistic training Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar proved a stupendous failure in the management of a department to which even laymen had done ample justice before his time. . . This personal idiosyncracy apart, his administration of the department was unsound and rotten to the core and one would not be far wrong in saying that the permanent interests of Travancore were ruthlessly sacrificed for the needs of the hour or for what is worse self-glorification."

People's Opinion, Trivandrum, 11th Jan. 1919.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Dravidan, Madras, 8th Jan. 1919.

The position of Mr. Montagu in the New Cabinet.

8. The *Dravidan*, of the 8th January, reproduces in Tamil a long leader of *Justice* of the 6th idem discussing the prospective position of Mr. Montagu in the New Cabinet.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

The Naval power.

9. Referring to the fact that Mr. Daniels, the Minister of the Naval Department in the United States of America, has asked for permission to go on building ships even after the close of the war, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 9th January, observes:—This Minister is of opinion that, unless a limit for the strength of the navy of each country is fixed during the Peace Conference, it is but proper that the American navy should be made exceptionally strong. Till now the British held the supremacy in regard to naval strength. The statement of Mr. Daniels gives room to infer that America begins to compete with Britain. We hope that, to avoid such a competition, an amicable settlement will be made during the Peace Conference.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 10th Jan. 1919.

The future of Mesopotamia.

10. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 10th January, observes:—Eminent statesmen have said that the question in whose charge the former German Colonies, Mesopotamia and other tracts, which have come into the possession of the allies during the great war, should be, will be decided in the Peace Conference. We were also under the impression that the future administration of these countries will be determined chiefly in accordance with the wishes of the people therein. While so, Sir Frederick Smith, the Attorney-General of the British Government, asks us not to entertain such an idea, and says in effect that Mesopotamia, which is a very fertile country, should not be given up as the losses entailed in the war may be mostly recouped from it. Now the question is how far this will be consistent with self-determination. We need not repeat that the future of Mesopotamia continues to be a question of great anxiety among the Muhammadans in India. We have already laid stress on the importance of respecting their wishes in the matter of deciding the future of the territories belonging to Turkey. It appears from a recent telegram that the Commissioner of Mesopotamia has stated that Turkey cannot get it back hereafter. Again, a correspondent to the *Madras Times* says that the most desirable of all the schemes now under contemplation with regard to the future of Mesopotamia is to entrust the right of its administration to the family of His Highness the Aga Khan. As all these matters will receive a final settlement only in the Peace Confereuce, the whole Muhammadan community fully expects that righteousness and liberty will be upheld and self-determination established.

II.—Home Administration.

(*a*) *Police.*

Desabhaktan, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

Rewards for the Police.

11. Adverting to a Government notification to the effect that a reward of Rs. 6,200 has been given to the Police officers who rendered assistance at the time of the looting in Madras in September last, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th January, observes:—The Police Department is intended for preserving peace in the city and it is their duty to suppress any tumult therein. While such is the case, it is not in the least understood why they should be given any reward for discharging their duty at the time of the looting. While the poor are suffering great hardship on account of the scarcity of food-stuffs, it is in no way justifiable to grant thousands of rupees as rewards to officers. We ask with whose permission the Police are being thus rewarded. While the funds collected from the public have to be spent with their approval, how can Rs. 6,200 be granted as reward to Police officers? Under

what head is this amount going to be shown in the budget? The public ask what meritorious service the Police have rendered to deserve this reward. What have the Government to say to this?

(*e*) *Local and Municipal.*

Administration report of the Madras Corporation for 1917-18.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Jan. 1919.

12. Referring to the order of the Government of Madras reviewing this report and to the possibility of the Madras City Municipal Bill as amended by the Select Committee, being discussed in the next meeting of the local Legislative Council, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th January, remarks that the delay of about a month in the publication of this order is not known and observes—We ask whether it is proper to bring at this juncture this Bill for discussion in the Legislative Council. The Madras Corporation suggested many amendments to this Bill, but we doubt whether these will be accepted by the Select Committee, inasmuch as the Government did not pay proper attention to them. Further, Legislative Councils are sure to be re-constituted with reference to the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of reforms, whether it is accepted *in toto* or with any modifications. We hold that it is not quite expedient at present to attempt to pass this Bill into an Act. Though the Bill is certainly an improvement over the present condition, still it is the opinion of experienced men that there are several defective provisions in it especially in the matter of imparting education in Madras, and that it requires further alterations to suit the present exigencies.

Adverting to the work of the Corporation in regard to water-supply and drainage, the paper continues to observe:—The facilities afforded in this connexion have not been to the satisfaction of the public, and the departments concerned are being found fault with by all including the Government. The Government have stated in their review that the Corporation Engineers should adopt proper remedial measures suited to the present situation, until new pipes are received and proper facilities for drainage can be afforded. The Government have in their control the administration of the Corporation: they appoint all its higher officers, and it is a matter for surprise that they should themselves condemn the actions of such officers. If the Government of Lord Pentland would but reflect for a moment as to who is responsible for the inconveniences caused in Madras in connexion with water-supply and drainage, the truth will become patent. Instead of doing so, to find fault with the Corporation authorities appears to be rather improper.

The Health Report of the Madras Corporation.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

13. Reviewing in its leader the report of the Madras Corporation Health department for the year 1917, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 9th January, observes:— . . . It is regrettable that no new measures whatever have been adopted this year also as in the last year for the improvement of health. In spite of the very unsatisfactory state of the city health and the increasing death-rate among the people, we do not know what the Corporation mean by not applying themselves to the health-problem in right earnest. . . We have time and again said that want of proper food for the poor is the real cause of the untimely deaths among them and that the problem cannot be solved unless such a state of affairs is put an end to. There is nothing strange in medicines failing to have any effect on them, when they have no proper nourishment. We further emphasise that their health cannot be improved, if the question of their house accommodation is not settled at once. . . How can the health of the city be satisfactory, when unpurified water is allowed to mix with purified water which is supplied for drinking purposes? Epidemics are raging furiously this year, and the health of the people is in danger. We hope, therefore, that the Corporation will take now at least suitable steps to set right these defects and make the city healthy.

(*h*) *Railways.*

A railway stationmaster.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 8th Jan. 1919.

14. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th January, publishes in Tamil a contribution to the *Hindu* by a Congress delegate from Anantapur, complaining of the conduct of the stationmaster of Manmad towards the delegates proceeding to the Congress at Delhi.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th January, refers to this incident and observes:—Which Indian heart will not throb on hearing this? What does the mean station-master think of the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar and others? We doubt whether the stationmaster of Manmad deserves to touch the feet of Mr. Narasimha Ayyar. We do not know what punishment will be meted out by the railway authorities to this petty stationmaster who asserts that only Europeans are 'gentlemen'.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th Jan. 1919.

The railways in India.

15. Referring to the administration report of the Indian Railways for 1917–1918, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th January, observes:—The companies that carry on the management of the Indian railways reside in England. Instead of this, it is the opinion of some that the management of these railways should vest in Indian companies residing in India itself and we agree with them. The poverty of India is going on increasing on account of the fact that the several lakhs of rupees earned as profits from these railways are every year being sent away to England. Had the management of the railways vested in Indian companies, will not all the profits remain here alone? Railway passengers in India were experiencing great hardships even before the war and these have since increased tenfold. Apart from the inconveniences, the fare also has been increased by 25 per cent. These hardships should now be removed without any delay.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

Third-class passengers at Renigunta Junction.

16. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th January, complains that for the last 15 days third-class passengers at Renigunta Junction have been asked at 10 p.m. to clear out from the waiting room intended for them and to wait outside and that this arrangement puts them to great inconvenience, and requests the authorities to cancel such an order, if any such has been really passed.

(*j*) *Salt and Abkāri.*

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 10th Jan. 1919.

The evils of drink.

17. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 10th January, writes a lengthy article on this subject which contains almost the same views as those contained in the *Desabhaktan* of the 7th idem and abstracted in paragraph 17 of Report No. 2 of 1919, and concludes with the remark that the only reason why no stringent laws have been enacted to prohibit the use of liquor and other intoxicants in India appears to be the loss of revenue the Government are likely to incur thereby.

(*k*) *General.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918.

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and the Civil Service.

18. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 31st December, reproduces in Tamil an article from the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* condemning the circular issued by Mr. Millne, I.C.S., of Bihar to his colleagues of the Civil Service to express their views about the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and welcoming the threat embodied in that circular that the members of the Civil Service may have to give up their posts if their interests are not safeguarded, with the remark that they had better get back to their country in their own interests, as they will not then have to move with the Indians on equal terms or be subordinate to them.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

The civilians and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

Referring to the formation of an association in Madras of the members of the Civil Service in this Presidency, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th January, observes:—It is really strange to see the civilians now stoutly opposing the reform proposals; for Sir William Vincent, a leading member of this service and one of the members of the Executive Council of the Government of India, expressed a quite contrary view in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 7th September last and said that the members of this service would heartily co-operate with their Indian colleagues in the working out of those proposals. Even the framers of the Montagu-Chelmsford report have stated that they expect such a co-operation from the civilians. The Madras civilians are now proposing to say, in effect, that they cannot co-operate as expected. They base their arguments on the fact that

their prestige and powers would go if they serve under Indians. Seeing that the civilians demur to work under Indian District Collectors, we learn the Indians in the Provincial Civil Service are seriously thinking of what they should do hereafter. If the members of the Civil Service attach so much importance to the racial difference between them and the Indians, the latter will have no objection whatever to these civilians being given immediately the full pension to which they will be entitled later and sent away. If necessary, the Indians may be willing even to pay a tax for that. The main gist of their objections is that their prestige should not be curtailed. So it looks as if God created this extensive country only in the interests of the civilians. In other countries, different classes of the public servants exist for the benefit of the country. As India is a curious country, its servants want its administration to be conducted in such a manner as not to affect their position prejudicially. It looks as if even the words of the British Government will have to be belied, in the interests of these civilians! That Government is bound to introduce such changes as will gradually lead to the establishment of responsible Government in India and to do this, they will have to entrust powers to the Indians, whether they be few or many. But an attempt to do so may, at all times, be opposed by the civilians on the grounds adduced by them now. This means that India will have always to remain in a subject condition as she is now. But the British Government will only try to keep their word. If then the civilians offer to resign, the only thing the Government can do is to accept their resignation immediately and inform them that they have forfeited their claim to pension, as they refused to obey the orders of Government. Lord Morley did the same thing once with a Lieutenant-Governor and with Mr. Montagu, who was Under Secretary under Lord Morley, also do so? We are on one side glad of the present action of the civilians. The advancement of the Indians will, according to the Montagu-Chelmsford report, depend mostly on the Civilians and as the latter have now clearly come out with their attitude regarding the advancement of the Indians, it is patent that no reforms, which expect their co-operation, will be possible. So if it is the intention of the Government to grant us responsible government, unless we are granted complete Home Rule in the beginning at least in the provinces, the civilians will never permit us to have it later.

Swaraj, the panacea for all evils.

19. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd January, publishes, under this heading, the gist of a contribution to the *India* of London by Sir Bernard Houghton, who explains how *Swaraj* proved to be the best remedy for all evils in Canada and dwells upon the necessity for applying the same remedy to India.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

India and the Labour Party.

20. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd January, reproduces, in its issue of the 3rd January, the substance of an article from the *Herald*, a Labourite organ, in which it refers to the high death rate and lack of education in India and remarks that the life and liberty of lakhs of Indians are under the control of some high officials led by the Viceroy, that nothing has been done as yet to fulfil the promise in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria to the effect that the administration of India will be conducted in such a manner as to befit her eventually to have Home Rule and that the reform proposals drafted by Mr. Montagu in consultation with Lord Chelmsford do not satisfy the aspirations of the Indians. It points out how deputations sent by the Indians to explain their aspirations to the British public were turned back by the British Government, as "the rulers had realised their folly and were ashamed of it" and observes that many Indians have been employed in England to speak on behalf of the Government and that the latter are adopting the same policy for bringing into disrepute the efforts of the people to attain progress as they do in the case of the Labour movement. It says that the question of granting Home Rule to India cannot be treated lightly and that such a treatment may land both the British and the Indians in danger. It finally appeals to the Labourites in England not to be content with passing resolutions at conferences but to see that countries like India, Ceylon, Ireland and Egypt, are represented in the Peace Conference and that the ideal, for which crores of lives have been sacrificed in this war, is applied to all countries in the British Empire.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th January, also reproduces this article in its own words.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

21. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 4th January, invites the attention of the British public to the words of Mr. Kastiriranga Ayyangar in a speech delivered by him in London in which he is reported to have pointed out that it is the educated Indians that have been taking a great interest in the lot of the ordinary people and that the European capitalists, merchants and officials have been not only keeping aloof from the masses but have also been ever obstructive to the efforts made to benefit the latter and laid stress upon the necessity of reforms being introduced in India on the lines suggested by the Congress and the Moslem League.

The British public and India.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

22. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 6th January, refers to the party spirit that is said to have arisen in Ceylon and Burma in the matter of the reforms demanded by the leaders, and attributing the same to the action of the Anglo-Indians, observes:—In countries, which do not enjoy a democratic form of government, but are under the rule of foreigners, there is always obstruction to any attempt to introduce reforms in the administration. Many officials, who have been exercising absolute powers are not ready to give them up and they create factions among the people. The creation of the *Justice* party in this Presidency may be quoted as an instance. In addition to this many of these officials also try secretly to oppose the introduction of reforms and the device of the civilians in Bihar will prove this.

Impediments to reforms.

The paper refers also in this connexion to the observation of the Governor of Ceylon that it is imprudent, unjust and also a mistake on the part of those demanding reforms to condemn the officials, who are sacrificing themselves for the benefit of the public and discharging their duty boldly and remarking that no one would condemn officials of the type mentioned by that Governor and that it is only those, who are not caring for the interests of the public, that are found fault with, asks how many officials there are in Ceylon or India, who satisfy his description of them that they should consider themselves to be the servants of the public and allow the latter to approach them freely and represent their grievances.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

23. Adverting to the conclusion of the suit for damages filed against Mr. Clayton by Mr. Hassan Imam by the former apologising fully for his conduct and the latter accepting the same, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th January, remarks:—Some Europeans, however high their culture and status may be, have an unnecessary aversion and hatred for the Indians and Mr. Clayton perhaps belongs to this class. We do not see why the few Europeans, who have come to India in their own interests, attain fame through the Indians and live amidst them, should have this feeling towards the latter. The object of the suit of Mr. Hassan Imam is only to teach a lesson to the Europeans not to behave like Mr. Clayton hereafter. We wish every European will impress on his mind the lesson learnt by Mr Clayton in this case and behave with respect towards the Indians.

The Clayton-Imam case.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 6th January, also refers to the object with which this suit was instituted by Mr. Hassan Imam and remarks that Lord Morley himself has once stated that, if the Europeans are to treat the Indians high-handedly and with scanty courtesy, it will lead to serious consequences.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 7th Jan. 1919.

After pointing out that if Europeans display a brotherly feeling towards Indians, the latter will greatly love the former, which will surely tend to strengthen the bond of alliance between India and England, and that it cannot help expressing regret at the fact that certain Europeans forget these valuable principles, the *Manorama*, of the 7th January, refers to the conclusion of the Clayton-Imam case and says:—In any case this must have taught a good lesson to Mr. Clayton, and it must serve as a good lesson to such other Europeans as behave rudely towards Indians. If some Europeans treat Indians forgetting that Indians are members of the British Empire like themselves and are the beloved subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, it must be remembered that by doing so they are reducing the strength of the Empire. We, therefore, think that it is absolutely necessary that the Government should issue a general warning about this matter.

The Clayton-Imam case.

24. In a leader on this subject the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th January, observes :— The responsibility of Indian administration shifted from the Hindus to the Muhammadans and from them to the British. Now the Hindus and the Muhammadans have become British subjects. So it will be a great folly for these two communities to stand divided hereafter in political matters. Both these are born only of mother Bharata ; and on them rests the affluence or the poverty of the country. It will be detrimental to the progress of the country for the Hindus and the Muhammadans to quarrel with each other on account of petty religious differences and get entangled in the snares of the foreigners. Let the Hindu and Moslem brethren note the story of two calves of a cow fighting with each other when a way-farer took advantage of it, milked the cow and carried away the milk. They have just recognised the truth of this and are trying to stand united. Their union is quite necessary now, as the Labour party has not come to power in the recent general election and many sympathisers of India have not been returned to the Parliament. Both these communities wish for a government responsible to the people. The rulers treat both of them in the same manner, and do not make any distinction between the two. So the communities should note this and come forward to wage a righteous war on behalf of the mother country. If these two communities had attempted to stand united 200 years ago, as they do now, India would not have become a prey to any one. It is our ignorance that has been the cause of our misery. But it is a consolation that we have the British as our rulers, who are lovers of liberty. To get back from them our lost liberty, union, perseverance and constitutional agitation are essential. The Hindu-Moslem entente will open the eyes of the British and will secure for India all the benefits she is in need of.

The Hindu-Moslem entente.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

25. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th January, reports the *Madras Mail* to have stated that the 'savages' have found fault with the Rowlatt Committee's report, and adds :—Whom this paper mean by savages—all the Congress-men or all that criticised the Rowlatt Committee's report ? The Government should note the despicable words used by this paper in regard to Indians. Is there none to punish this Anglo-Indian paper which behaves as cruelly as savages ?

The meanness of the *Madras Mail*.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

26. Referring to the 'Mischievous propensity' of the Anglo-Indian newspapers in general and to the fact that the *Times* has been writing against the Indians for some time past, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th January, observes :— The Government should note that it is the Anglo-Indian papers that goad the Indians into political agitation. This matter has often been urged by us, and the people too are quite in accord with us in this view. But it is very much to be regretted that the Government should continue to evince sympathy with these papers.

The mischief of the *Madras Times*.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Jan. 1919.

27. Referring to a speech of Mr. George Launsbury at London, in which he is said to have observed that the non-regulation of industries will lead to the poverty of a country and that, though a large number of articles may be manufactured, this poverty would increase if the manufacturing processes and the methods of distribution are not again properly regulated, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th January, observes :—The words of Mr. Launsbury are applicable to India also. This land of Bharata, which was once famous for its riches, is now the poorest of all countries. If India is to get rid of her poverty, the condition of her industries should be improved. Generally speaking, India has not begun to carry on industries on modern lines. We, therefore, request the Government to take speedy measures to act upon the recommendations of the Industries Commission. State aid is indispensable to India, as she is just beginning to adopt new industrial methods. In addition to affording the help and advice of industrial experts, the Government should interest themselves in starting industrial banks. Let us await the action of the Government of India in this matter.

The industrial advancement.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

In the course of a leading article under the heading "Industries", the *Malayali*, of the 11th January, points out that Indian patriots are complaining that a beginning has not yet been made to carry out any of the recommendations of the Industrial

Industries.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 11th Jan. 1919.

Commission and referring to the proceedings of the All-India Industrial Conference recently held at Delhi, it concurs in the opinion of Indian leaders that what s chiefly necessary for the development of Indian industries is capital and Government help, that as Indians neglect to start industrial concerns for want of capital the Government should establish and finance Industrial Banks and impose protective duties on Indian exports of raw products and imports of manufactured articles, that the latter subject should receive the special attention of the Government of India, and that, instead of bringing down industrial experts from foreign countries, young Indians should be sent out to such countries for all kinds of industrial training and industrial concerns should be opened nnder their supervision. It observes further that industries and commerce will never be in a flourishing condition except in a country governed by the people themselves.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

Release of political prisoners.

28. Referring to the news that Count Plunket of the Sein Fein party in Ireland, who was kept in custody in England for eight months for having conspired with Germany, has since been liberated unconditionally and has arrived in Dublin, *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th January, says:—While such gentlemen are being set free, cannot the Indian |patriots, who are kept in prison and custody, be liberated? Cannot the Government take pity on our suffering brethren at least in consideration of their victory in the worldwar and the help rendered to them by the Indians.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

The present civilization.

29. Remarking that all the ferocious qualities, which were found in this country in ancient days, are now having full play in the west and that, if the westerners will give up their modern civilization, they too will come to have righteous qualities, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th January, says:—Even our people have lost their soul force and come to be materialists only after reading the works written by foreigners, who think of securing their own happiness by killing human beings, conquering countries and oppressing the people therein. The devil of the present civilization has possessed our country, is burning our country like poison and is devouring it like a demon. So it is our duty to destroy this civilization and the only way of doing this is to develop soul-force, with which one can get the world round without any money, weapon or strength.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

The Madras sea-borne trade.

30. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 7th January, reproduces, in a leaderette, the substance of one in *New India* of the 4th idem on this subject.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

The Anglo-Indian papers.

31. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th January, writes:—We think the Anglo-Indian papers are always intent only on creating a faction among the Indians. It has become their business to find fault with every undertaking of the Indians. There is not a grain of gratitude among them. It is an admitted fact that the Anglo-Indians come here only to earn money and get arrogant after making a mint of it. Still they deem it a pastime to condemn India and the Indians. We regret very much that the *Times of India* has also taken up this rôle now. It characterises the resolution of the Congress, suggesting that Mr. Tilak should represent India in the Peace Conferenee, to be worse than the acts of the Sein Fieners. Even a boy in the street will laugh at this observation. If the resolutions of the Congress are to be compared to the Sein Fien movement, how many disturbances were caused by the Congress and how much loss has resulted to the Government therefrom? Mr. Tilak is not an ordinary man. He is an incarnation to do away with the system of bureaucratic rule in India and establish a Government based on truth and justice. This paper thinks that, by having thrown out the resolution offering a welcome to the Prince of Wales, the Congress has degraded itself. There is only a rumour that the Prince of Wales intends going to all the countries that helped in the war, so as to thank them personally. It is not known when he will start or what countries he will visit, and how can the Congress hastily pass a resolution of welcome.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

The Madras Students' Convention.

32. Remarking that it is clear from the students having passed a number of resolutions at this convention beneficial both to themselves and the public that they are coming to have a wider outlook, the *Swadesamitran*, of the

7th January, says:—All along Government service was the only goal for every one in India and even the students tried to befit themselves for this. But, as the trend of the times is changing elsewhere, it is undergoing a change even here. It is very important that not only our students but also others should realise that individual advantages will increase by the people of the whole country improving their condition. The resolutions of this convention show that our students have realised this. Mr. Gardiner, the President of the Convention, declared that the Government were ready to do everything in their power to make the country improve politically, socially and economically. But there should not be an impression that the ideal of the people of India is not compatible with that of the Government. The ideal of the Indians is only that their status in India should be the same as that of the people of other free countries. If the Government are prepared to help India in this direction, they should immediately begin to reform the Indian constitution on the lines suggested by the Congress and the Moslem League and take steps to improve the prosperity of India. Unless the country attains independence politically, the development of trade and industry may at times be hampered. The only way in which the Government can help the advancement of the country socially is by providing facilities for all people of both sexes having education easily. Unless there is advancement on all the lines noted above simultaneously, the ideal of the country cannot be reached. Let us take the words of Mr. Gardiner and believe that the Government are prepared to adopt the measures necessary for such an advancement. If they are not, it is the duty of the people to press them to do so and it is a good sign of the times that our students have come to realise this duty.

The Medical Service in India.

33. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 7th January, upholds the prayer of the all-India Medical Conference held at Delhi that the temporary commissions given to the Indian Medical officers, who went to the front in this war, should be continued to them even after they return to civil duty, in that they risked all their future prospects and volunteered to do military duty and it is the duty of the Government to appreciate and honour the services of all who have done good medical work in the army and made a name, whether they be Englishmen or Indians. This paper also approves of the resolution of the conference urging that the recommendation of the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu, that the Indian Medical Service examination should be held simultaneously in India and England, should be given effect to and adds that, as men are required for the higher posts in the Medical service, it is necessary to provide facilities for Indians entering that service.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

Juvenile smoking.

34. Referring to a law passed by the Bengal Legislative Council prohibiting smoking on the part of youths, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 7th January, says:—Much money is spent in this Presidency on smoking, which is an unnecessary waste. This amount can well be spent in some other useful direction. It will be advantageous to pass a law here too to prohibit smoking by youths.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

The Publicity Boards.

35. Referring to a notification by the Bengal Government that the Publicity Board in Bengal will be dissolved as the war has closed, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th January, observes:—It is not known what Lord Pentland's Government propose to do in this matter. They cannot blame us, if we say that they are always wanting in forethought. As regards the food situation and the Park Fair, they did not take any precautions and they paid no heed to the warning of the public, fearing loss of prestige. But seeing that even the Government of Bengal with Lord Ronaldshay, who was once aid-de-camp to Lord Curzon, as their head, have acted with forethought in some matters, it is a great disgrace to us that Lord Pentland's Government should be backward in every respect. Sir Alexander Cardew, the Finance Member, should consider what a huge amount of money is unnecessarily spent on the Publicity Board in Madras. If the Government of Madras had realised the present situation properly, they would not have permitted such a waste of funds. Will they pay attention to this at least hereafter?

Desabhaktan, Madras, 8th Jan. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th January, also refers to the dissolution of this Board in Bengal and, pointing to the large expenditure which its retention

Swadesamitran, Madras, 8th Jan. 1919.

entails, which can be utilized profitably in various other ways, remarks :—The Board in our presidency is very active. But this is no reason for retaining it, nor is there any emergency for the same. We therefore urge again that this Board should not be kept on even for a single moment longer.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th Jan. 1919.

The ship-building industry.

36. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th January, refers to the flourishing condition of this industry in India in ancient days and remarking that it was the East India Company, who ruled India on commercial lines, that prevented, on various grounds, the development of this industry and the shipping trade in general in this country, and reporting them to have stated that, if Indian sailors were to enter England, they would lose the regard and fear they had for the Europeans in India, observes :—In these ways the very traces of the ship-building industry and shipping trade have been effaced from India. If the British had encouraged the ship-building industry in India from those days both England and India would have been immensely profited by it. Owing to some misfortune, the administrative officers of those days paid no heed to this matter. Will the British Government patronize this industry in India at least hereafter and benefit both the countries ?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 8th Jan. 1919.

British trade and industry.

37. Referring to the opposition of the Europeans in Burma to a new scheme of reforms prepared by Sir Reginald Craddock for that province and to the remark said to have been made by one Mr. Forbes that, in the absence of the trade and industry worked by the efforts of the British, the whole Government would come down for want of funds, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th January, deems this to be a curious argument and adds :—According to the *puranas*, the snake *Adisesha* supports the whole world. In this 20th century the Europeans are the pillars on which India and Burma rest. Perhaps, before their advent, these two countries never existed.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th Jan. 1919.

Wake up.

38. In the course of a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th January, observes : —The recent huge war may be compared to a deluge and now that the deluge has come and gone, President Wilson is the *Lord Brahma* who is engaged in the work of creation and the whole world is anxiously awaiting the results of his work. The sun of liberty has dawned and the world is eager to enjoy the pleasure of that sunshine. Some may take it that the world here includes India. President Wilson has always used the word 'world' when speaking about liberty, though it is not known what exactly he means by this word. It is doubtful whether it applies only to the white world, or to the countries that entered into the war or the whole world. Our object in writing about this subject is only to point out that we should not get ourselves deceived in thinking that India also is included in the word 'world'. It is usual for the Indians to be pleased by small words and little courtesies and, getting duped thereby, give up their position. Hence it is, this paper is often uttering words of warning 'Awake, awake'. No western country can deny that India once excelled all the other countries in respect of wisdom, administration, war, agriculture and industry. Since the time of Alexander the Great, the educational, material and industrial wealth of India is being steadily transferred to the western countries and India has, in return, imbibed the false western civilization and is ruining herself. The westerners ruined our industries here and transplanted them in their own land. The way in which the East India Company, out of sympathy for the English merchants, destroyed our factories, oppressed our industrialists and imposed unjust duties on our articles, is clearly described by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his dissenting minute to the report of the Industries Commission. It is recorded by historians that the muslin manufactured in our country was purchased by the Egyptians and that ships built in India navigated in the Thames. A thrill passes over us when we read these things and our blood boils. Alas! Our industries have perished. We, who built ships, are now idling away in playing football with the westerners. Our lives become a prey to empty titles, are spent in banqueting halls and offices. Industry, the main spring of the country, has been seized by the westerners and our country thereby stands tarnished and disgraced. It is only to remove our

shakles that the European war appeared. The night has passed, the darkness has waned and the sun of liberty is just rising in splendour. Afraid of this Doctor Nayar too has returned, and Mr. Tilak is striving to turn the light of the sun on India. O Indians! Are you still asleep? The war front of liberty awaits you. Awake to wage war for righteousness. Lloyd George and President Wilson are the Commanders in the war of liberty of the world. The flags of liberty are waving in the air, and the drums of victory are sounding. Awake, arise, to advance to the front with truth and courage in either hand.

39. Referring to the telegram given by the Bombay Rice Merchants' Association to the Viceroy complaining against the steamer freight having been increased sixfold now, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th January, observes:—It is a known fact that the Government have taken over all the ships and are managing the business themselves. The chief grievance of the rice merchants is that the freight demanded is far above the cost of running the ships. Seeing that the increase of freight is one of the chief causes of the unduly high price of rice and the regulation of the scale of this freight is under the control of the Government, can they remain quiet without caring for public benefit? We urge that they should pay prompt attention to this matter and do the needful.

The steamer freight.

SWADASAMITRAN, Madras, 8th Jan. 1919.

40. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th January, contains a short note under this heading and observes:—The acts of the bureaucrats appointed by the Britishers in India and Ireland, have cast a slur on the British justice. An Irish dramatist is reported to have been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for having sung two Irish songs in a certain place. Oh what a punishment for the offence! This punishment may well be compared to the punishment inflicted upon the students who cried out *Vande Mataram* at the time of the Partition of Bengal. We understand that the Irish people are endeavouring to return as members to the Parliament only such as have been inflicted such unjust punishment Why cannot we too elect as our representatives those that are charged by the bureaucrats for political offences and unnecessarily punished?

The British justice

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

41. Remarking that Sir Reginald Craddock, the Lieutenant Governor of Burma, wants to cut off all connexion between India and Burma and that he is making efforts to secure this end, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th January, observes:—We can well assert that many evil consequences will result by thus separating Burma from India. It is evident from history that, for ages past, there has been a close connexion between these two countries. So the people of both the countries will regret the proposed separation. The Burmese cannot pull on even for a day without the assistance of the Indians. It is highly regrettable that, without knowing this, a way-farer like Sir Reginald Craddock should be devising some new course. It appears the European Association in Rangoon is urging the appointment of a committee to settle the financial relationship between Burma and India, in view of the proposed separation of the two countries. It is not apparent how this association will be a gainer by this projected separation. It is the opinion of the wise that, if Burma is not administered under the supervision of the Viceroy, it will suffer under the autocratic rule of the Lieutenant Governor. Will the British Government act realising this?

Burma and India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

42. Referring to the fact that a circular had been sent by the Madras Chamber of Commerce to the Chambers in other provinces calling upon each of them to make a representation to the Government of India to crush *New India*, "which preaches disloyalty" and to confine those in charge of it for writing seditious articles, and to the refusal of the Burma Chamber of Commerce to accede to this suggestion, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th January, says:—What benefit is likely to result to this Anglo-Indian Association by crushing *New India*? It has not acted more ignominiously than the *Madras Mail* and no respectable Indian paper would do so. The above circular of the Madras Chamber of Commerce has created in us various doubts. What right has this tiny association to ask the Government to crush a paper which is published for

New India and the Madras Chamber of Commerce.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

the benefit of the public? Who are the members of this body? We fail to see why those, who have come down here from England to amass a fortune, should interfere in other matters without confining themselves to their business. The *Hindu* and *New India* have been prohibited from entering into Burma. We have to suspect whether this may be due to the suggestion of this Anglo-Indian mercantile association. This makes the wise presume that the present administration is run only by these Anglo-Indian merchants. Apart from this, we can certainly say that these mercantile associations have no power to crush a newspaper, working for the benefit of the public.

MAHA VIKATADUTAN, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

43. The *Mahavikatadutan*, of the 4th January, remarks that titles are usually conferred either for contributing money lavishly to the war fund and other public purposes or for doing Government work properly and referring specially to those in the new year honours list this time. observes that this Presidency gets very few titles and that even then a great difference is made between black and white.

The new year honours.

LOKOPAKARI Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

The *Lokopakari* of the 6th January, echoes almost the same views as those contained in the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st idem on this subject and abstracted in paragraph 34 of Report No. 2 of 1919.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 6th Jan. 1919.

A correspondent to the *Sampad Abhyudaya* of the 6th January writes:—The titles of Diwan Bahadur and Rao Bahadur have been conferred this year on Rao Bahadur P. Tyagaroya Chetty and Mr. Kandaswamy Chetti. Both these persons are leaders among Brahmin haters. They are very clever in creating ill-will between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The grant of titles to these persons shows to what extent they have earned the good will of Lord Pentland. There are some of this type in Mysore too and, one or two among them even surpass these. I earnestly hope that they, too, may get titles in proportion to their Brahman hatred.

The new year honours.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 11th Jan. 1919.

A correspondent, writing in the *Samadarsi* of the 11th January, states that out of a total of 310 new year honours, 226 have been given to Europeans and only 84 to Indians; and this in a land inhabited by 320 million Indians and only a few hundred thousand Europeans and in a matter where work in India for King and country was to be rewarded. This is how the bureaucracy moves. How can the people expect to deserve the generosity of the bureaucracy, before a Government which finds fault with the people in whatever they may try to do for the public good or for the King's glory, in a land weakened by caste hatred and jealousy in every direction whether in respect of Social Reform or Administrative freedom or industrial advancement?

The new year honours.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

44. The *Lokopakari*, of the 6th January, reproduces the substance of the comments of the *Hindu Nesan* of the 31st December 1918 and the 4th January 1919 on this subject, which have been abstracted in paragraph 24 of Report No. 2 of 1919.

The Madras Tramways.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

45. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 9th January, publishes an article from the pen of a correspondent in which he dwells upon the "Cruel acts" of the Censor in detaining at times the news of this country from reaching the west, and in which the following observations find place:—The last Congress at Delhi has chosen Tilak, Ghandi, Hassan Imam and others as representatives of India at the Peace Conference, and it is proposed to send a telegram to these persons to this effect. But my anxiety is that the telegram should reach them unobstructed by the Censor. As this is a matter of very great importance, the Censor will be incurring the displeasure of the thirty-three crores of the Indian population, unless he, without being careless (as he was in regard to Mrs. Besant's cable), arranges to see that the message reaches the destination in the appointed time.

The Censor.

DESABHAKTAN Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

46. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th January, publishes an article from the pen of a correspondent, in which the following observations occur:—Persons that are appointed to the post of the Secretary of State for India, however staunchly they might have

British officials in India.

supported liberty and *swaraj*, hated repression, and entertained liberal views in general before their appointment, stamp under their feet the rights and privileges of the people, and become enemies to liberty the moment they are appointed to this post. It is only when Lord John Morley, the chief disciple of the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone and a follower of John Bright, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Bain and Bradlaugh, known for his wide experience and deep learning, was wielding the administration of India holding office as the Secretary of State that such repressive measures as Regulation III of 1818, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Press Act, and the Special Tribunals Act were revived and passed. It is only then many patriots were kept in custody and deported. The official publications based on the Rowlatt Committee's report clearly show how the patriots who, with disinterested motives, rendered services to the country, were oppressed by the Government with the help of the moderates, at the time Lord Morley's scheme of reforms was published. Even at the present time, when Mr. Montagu of the Liberal Party is the Secretary of State, repressive laws such as the Defence of India Act are still in force to enable the bureaucrats to gag, imprison and oppress the patriots who in a spirit of self-sacrifice work for the liberation of the thirty crores of the people of India. In Bengal and other provinces thousands of youths are being kept in custody for years together without any inquiry and ill-treated in prison merely on the strength of the C.I.D. reports. It is known to all how our hearts are throbbing every moment at the sufferings of our countrymen in various ways. To add to this, the Rowlatt Committee's report also teems with recommendations for repressive measures. What is the necessity for this incessant increase of such measures? The present council of the Secretary of State for India should be dissolved and reconstituted with Indians as members thereof, and the law relating to the administration of India properly amended. Or the council should preferably be disbanded once for all. How violently did Mr. Montagu condemn the present method of Indian administration when the report of the Mesopotamian Commission was discussed? Then again how strongly he pleaded for India's cause, at the time when Lord Morley's statue was unveiled and the Indian budget was discussed? In spite of all this, what is the reason for India to be suffering like this now? It is only the retention of the India Council. Mr. Montagu himself has exposed the defects in the method in which this council is transacting business. If this is disbanded, then the voice of the old civilian bandicoots therein will not prevail, and then only will the harmony between England and India be strengthened and lead to the formation of a mighty empire in the world.

The Madras Administration Report for 1917–18.

45. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th January, observes:—The Government of Madras invariably entertain wrong notions of all matters, and they are perhaps unaware of the evil consequences thereof. We would repeatedly urge that it is neither fair nor just on their part to blindly place all manner of constructions on the several events happening in the country, the movements started therein and the objects of such movements and publish the same without ascertaining their real significance. For instance, taking the case of the administration report of the Madras Presidency for 1917–18, everybody will admit that the opinions therein expressed by the Government in regard to the political situation of the country in the year under report, are erroneous. We do not know who writes such false statements and misrepresentations in report like this Whoever he may be, we cannot but think that the fat salary given to him is only a waste. He can now give publicity to such untruths and escape, but we are afraid he cannot escape God's retribution. The Government have in their report attributed the political agitation in the year under review to three causes. But in doing so, have they forgotten that the increase of political agitation in this presidency is due to the evil deeds of the bureaucrats and their wicked attempts to overthrow the Home Rule League and the Labour Union? It is certain that though the authorities might forget their evil deeds through the opulence of their power, yet the public cannot forget it. Then regarding the newspapers published in this presidency during the year under report, the Government think that these papers employed violent language while writing about political matters. If it had been a fact, we have to ascribe it only to the action of the Government. The

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

report attributes the increase of the Home Rule agitation to *New India* and the *Hindu*. It is seen that in the year 1917 nine newspapers were crushed for the reason, as it appears to us that security was demanded of them. If the Government had evinced sympathy with the wishes and aspirations of the people, there would have been affinity between the rulers and the ruled. But the Government had their own old way. Whose fault is this?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

The Madras Administration Report for 1917-18.

In commenting upon this report, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 9th January, observes:—Though one should be glad at the Government having realized the importance of the political struggle of the people and given it a prominence in the preface to this report, the statements made therein do pain us much. These statements give room to the conclusion that the labourers have no grievance whatever and that it is the Home Rulers that have set them up. It may be that some Home Rulers are connected with the labour movement. But we warn the Government that, unless they realize that this movement is worked solely by the labourers, they will fail to discharge their duty at critical junctures. It is really surprising that, while this report should contain a narration of the incidents that occurred last year, it should embody the opinions of the bureaucracy that drafted it. It is stated therein that the extremist papers contained some violent articles in May last year, that His Excellency Lord Pentland had to give a warning about Home Rule at the next meeting of the Legislative Council, that, as this warning was not heeded, Mrs. Besant and others were interned and that, though the agitation set up thereupon was not a genuine one, they were subsequently released according to the wishes of the Government of India. Perhaps the gentleman who drafted this report is unaware of the facts that after Lord Pentland's warning Mr. Montagu made an announcement in Parliament on the 20th August 1917, that he visited India in pursuance of it and that, in consultation with Lord Chelmsford, he has made some proposals for bringing about Home Rule in India! Though it is stated in the report as if Lord Pentland had anticipated at Ootacamund what was to happen afterwards, subsequent events have proved that His Excellency's views are not those of the British Government. We anxiously await the action of the Government of India on the unusual procedure adopted by the Local Government of adding a preface to their administration report and of making statements therein which insinuate that they acted rightly in interning Mrs. Besant and others and that the Government of India were wrong in having directed their release. The report again makes it appear that the Home Rule movement was a failure and that the non-Brahman movement has proved very effective, which means that all efforts made to reduce the strength of the bureaucracy and transfer it to the people of the country have become useless, while the movement carried on to preserve the strength of the bureaucracy intact has spread like wild-fire. This only makes it sure that the Government are building castles in the air, without understanding the attitude of the people of the country. We have often referred to the impression of many that the non-Brahman movement has the support of certain highly placed officials. But it is only in this report that the Government themselves ventured to appreciate one party and depreciate another. In that portion of the report dealing with newspapers, an appreciative reference is made to the *Justice*, the organ of the non-Brahman party, having severely condemned the life and work of Mrs. Besant. During the discussion about the Press Act in the Imperial Legislative Council in September last, Sir William Vincent pointed out the inadvisability of papers throwing dust over one another, instead of discussing subjects. But the appreciation of the *Justice* by the Local Government shows that they are in favour of this undesirable act. The object of the writer of the preface to this report is perhaps to crush Mrs. Besant, *New India* and the Home Rule movement. As the Government have allowed this impression to be created, the Madras Chamber of Commerce may hereafter press them closer to suppress *New India*. If the English merchants of Madras try to injure those that work for the Indians, how can the latter tolerate them? Have not the Indians the right to demand the suppression of the Madras Chamber of Commerce?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th January, reverts to this report and says:—A close scrutiny of this report cannot but disclose the regret and jealousy of the

bureaucracy in having to give up their power. The haphazard statements in the report cannot be justified on any account and the partial attitude of the Government on political questions is to be condemned. It is stated in the report that the efforts of the extremists to promote national education have not been very fruitful. How can the development of national education harm the Madras Government and why should they be jealous of it? They are provoked perhaps because all their attempts to put it down have proved futile. The report shows that the Local Government have a great sympathy for the party, which is traitorous to the country. What can be their motive for this? Perhaps they gloat over the widening of the gulf between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans. They are inciting class-hatred because they think that their own powers can be preserved intact only if the factions among the people increase. They seem to have a better knowledge of the secrets of the non-Brahmans. It is admitted by many that several statements in the report are contrary to truth. If a few zamindars have joined the aforesaid traitorous party, can it be stated that all zamindars are averse to Home Rule? There is again an observation in the report that the release of Mrs. Besant was taken by those who did not understand the situation correctly and those who had been given a wrong version of the facts, to mean a weakening of the Government in the war. This argument is compatible with that of the Government that political agitators were the cause of the food-riots. The people will clearly understand from this the nature of their rulers. It is not fair for the Government to take sides, when there are factions among the people. We have often pointed out that the Local Government are proceeding on a wrong track. Though they commit mistakes, they are provoked if such mistakes are pointed out. As they are siding with the Anglo-Indians and the non-Brahmans, there is room to suspect that they may conduct the administration according to the wishes of Mr. Welby. When will the time come when the bureaucracy cease to act on the evil advice of a body like the Madras Chamber of Commerce?

The Madras Administration Report for 1917–18.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

Referring to a statement in this report that the people were loyal, happy and contented during the year under report, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th January, observes that they suffered greatly last year on account of the rise in the price of food-stuffs, and scarcity of cloth and fuel, and remarks:—We accept the statement that the people were loyal and contented, and the reason for this is that the Indians are accustomed to bear calmly any kind of hardship. But the statement that the Indians were happy is contrary to truth. The authorities can write whatever they like. But none can hide the truth. The Government have probably interpreted as happiness the calmness of the people who, being loyal, could do nothing else.

High price of rice in Madras.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 10th Jan. 1919.

48. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th January, writes as follows:—For the past one week rice is being sold at exorbitant prices in the markets of Madras with impunity. Further, it is stated that the stock of rice in the markets is also diminishing. For centuries together, it has been usual for rice to be brought into Madras from other places. But now, instead of this, to find rice being sent out of Madras to places which grow paddy, is due to nothing but the anomalous exigencies of the times. Are the Government aware that rice is being sent from here to Conjeeveram, Sadras, Kaveripakkam and other places? Are not the miseries suffered by the Madrasees enough? It is necessary that the Government should come forward, at least hereafter, to relieve the distress of the people.

President Wilson and the future.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 10th Jan. 1919.

49. Referring to the statement of the *Madras Times* that President Wilson is a visionary, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 10th January, observes:—Attempts can be made to refute his views only by such criticisms, but it is next to impossibility to refute the same by argument. If all the great powers in the world would adopt the views that President Wilson has been expressing ever since the Americans entered on this war, the statement of the Christians that all men are brethren will become a reality. His recent observation at Milan that force can be put down at any time but not so the love of liberty, is borne out by the experience of the

world. Let those who dream to wield unlimited authority by curbing the love of liberty bear the above words in their mind. If President Wilson's views end only as empty dreams, he cannot be held responsible for it. If the powers that meet at the Peace Conference refuse to accede to his views, it is certain they will have no manner of justice in their cause, but the mere ambition to rule over others keeping the latter under subjection. So far as these views concern India, they have been accepted by all parties. What he said in Turin on the 7th instant about the investment of the foreign capital in a country and the consequent increase of the influence of the foreigners therein is borne out by the experience of India. Before the time of Lord Dalhousie, the Europeans did not begin to work out industries in India on a large scale investing their capital here. Till then, though the East India Company were mindful of increasing their profits, they attempted to rule India for the benefit of the Indians. But Lord Dalhousie arranged for English merchants to start industries investing large capital here. Since then foreign merchants began to take a firm root in this country and their influence grew strong. Even now, they form the main obstacle in the way of the Indians' getting responsible government. The cry of Lord Sydenham in England that the grant of Home Rule to India will affect the British capitalists, is known to all. As India has thus become a pasture-land for the foreign capitalists, all the political parties here demand the right of imposing import, export and counter duties. When once the right of taxation is obtained, the British will no longer wish to have political control, which is now employed towards acquiring wealth and thereby increasing the prosperity of their countrymen. If India gets this right, then Britain will agree to maintain with her the same relationship as she has now with the colonies, and renounce political control. So India is thoroughly convinced of the truth of the statement that, when once foreign capital is allowed in a country, the influence of the foreigners will predominate therein and is demanding a right to imporove the present condition.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 11th Jan. 1919

Home Rule.

50. In a story published in the form of a dialogue in the supplement to the *Swadesamitran* of the 11th January, the following observations find place :—

A.—Are you aware of the fate of the Home Rule League?

B.—Yes. I am. Even the local Government have made some remarks about it in the preface to their administration report, which indicate their aversion to it.

A.—It is but natural. The time is at hand. Now, what has become of the Home Rule movement?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

Sale of indigenous medicines in India

51. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th January, reproduces in Tamil the comments of the *Times* on a booklet on the indigenous medicines in India by Mr. J. C. Ghosh, Chemist, Madras Government Medical Stores, detailing the necessity for a special legislation in the matter of the sale of such medicines here.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

The future of India.

52. In a lengthy article under this heading contributed by a correspondent to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th January, extolling the greatness of India in ancient times, the following observations occur :—As the Britishers and the Allies entered on the war with high ideals, the Indians also came forward to sacrifice their body, life and wealth in favour of the British. Is it not then the duty of the British to confer on India, a country that waged war to safeguard the rights of foreign countries, her own rights? The Minto-Morley scheme of reforms was in fact not productive of much good to us. Now the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme has come out, about which varied views are held by the people, and, judging from the present situation, we have to say that even this is not adequate for us. . . The East India Company that came to India for purposes of trade gradually established their rule here by alternately helping one party against the other. From this it can be understood that it is trade that gives a country a status. Generally speaking, it is those countries that are foremost in trade and industry that excel in prosperity and wealth. . . The British merchants, afraid of the rapid progress of Japan in trade and industries, think that the trade of Japan with India should not be permitted to develop. Fearing that the progress of industries in India

would materially affect their profits, they have now begun to prefer the growth of Indian trade to that of Japan. This we should attribute to our good fortune. . . The riches of India have risen in flood and emptied themselves into the ocean of the western countries and the annual drain of wealth from here is not small. Now India is unable to take care of herself.

Doctor Nayar's lecture.

53. The *Dravidan*, of the 11th January, publishes in full and the *Swadesamitran* of the 13th idem in abstract a lecture delivered by Doctor Nayar recently on his work in England.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 11th Jan. 1919; SWADESAMITRAN, Madras. 13th Jan. 1919 & HINDU NESAN, Madras, 11th Jan. 1919.

The food situation.

54. Inviting the attention of the Government to the present condition of the rice market, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 11th January, observes:—What is the cause of such a stress even in places where plenty of rice could be had? What made it necessary to send rice out of Madras to Conjeeveram and the neighbouring villages? What became of the rice available in these places? The Government should have accorded permission for the export of rice from there. Before granting this permission, should they not have reserved the quantity required for local consumption? Large quantities of rice are allowed to be in stock in the Gōdāvari and Kistna districts and, in some places there, rice can be had even now at five measures per rupee, whereas in Madras it is difficult to get even three measures. The authorities, who were managing the rice trade and regulating the distribution of that commodity among the various places, should see that rice is sent out only from the northern districts to other places. It is a serious mistake that they should have acted just the other way. While the internal affairs of this Presidency are in this condition, matters in Burma and Bengal are also painful. The Government of India remained inactive for a long time in regard to the food question and the measures subsequently adopted were not adequate. Finally, we were under the impression that they had since made proper arrangements in the matter. Now we have reason to think that our impression was wrong. The rice merchants in Bengal and Burma have again increased the price of rice. Who has permitted them to do so? It appears that the proprietors of rice mills in Rangoon are bent on making huge profits at this crisis. We should try to convince them that it is not proper to raise the prices as they please. The Government of India should not give them so much liberty.

'Food production.'

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 13th January, observes:—It is true that the Agricultural Department preserves carefully in their farms cattle manure and demonstrate the application thereof. But they stop with this. They should devise means to instruct the ryots in different places about the way in which the manure has to be collected. If this work is carefully done, it is certain that the yield will improve though not immediately, at least in course of time. So great benefit will result by the Government paying prompt attention to this matter.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

Officials and agriculturists.

55. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 11th January, refers to a statement in the report of the Gwalior State in which the Chief of that State is said to have observed that the officials should never forget that their wealth, happiness, and welfare entirely depend upon the agriculturists, and that, if they follow the modern principle that their prestige should be maintained at any cost, the State will be ruined, and observes that these words apply very well to many of the bureaucrats here.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 11th Jan. 1919.

Necessity for agitation.

56. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 11th January, reproduces in Tamil the speech of the editor of the *Hindu* in Ceylon and certain opinions expressed by the editor of the *Basumati* on their return from England, and makes the following observations among others:—We should try to achieve our ends by making every Englishman realize that the eminence of the British Empire can be maintained only if India is prosperous and contented. In addition to this, propagandist work must be carried on in India on an extensive scale. The cry of the Indians should reach the ears of the Englishmen, who assume an attitude of indifference towards India. As Mr. Lloyd George, who is a Liberal, has to be at the head of the Conservative party, it is not likely that the Cabinet, as constituted under his Presidency, will continue long in

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 11th Jan. 1919.

power. This coalition may hold only until a final peace is concluded. When foreign affairs are settled and internal questions taken up for consideration, differences will naturally crop up. A new election may then take place, the Labour party may come into power and through them India may be benefited. It is our business to seek the means to this end. . . Though India was not kept in a proper position to offer any assistance at the time of the war, she helped the Empire beyond her means, and the reason for this is her love for the Empire. It is, therefore, the most important duty of the British to satisfy the Indians and the British Statesmen should take care to see that the love of India does not wane. If they do not realize their responsibility, we should make them to do so.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

Death-rate.

57. Quoting figures to show the large number of deaths from cholera, plague, smallpox and other diseases during 1917–18 in this Presidency, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th January, observes:—Very meagre have been the efforts of the Government to prevent these diseases. If these at least had been properly directed, so many deaths could have been avoided. The Government have not made any mention, in their Administration Report, of the measures they propose to adopt to prevent an increase in deaths during this and the following years. We warn the authorities that sound statesmanship demands protection from danger beforehand.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

Recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee.

58. Referring to a recent telegram regarding the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee to be introduced for consideration at the ensuing meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th January, says:—We are greatly afraid whether the peace which at present prevails in the country will be upset if the above recommendations should come into force. Experts in politics say that these recommendations are being brought into force to suppress constitutional agitation in India. We ask the just and the kind Britishers whether it is fair to suppress such agitation. British rule is regarded with a kind of reverence and respect by all. Why then should such a rule give room for being regarded with contempt in India alone? We have many a time pointed out that the administration by the bureaucrats in this country violates justice. When would this administration be supplanted here by true British rule?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

The ignorance of the British.

59. Referring to the statement of Mr. Ghose that none in England knows anything about India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th January, observes:—This should be particularly noted. The people there are said to be under the impression that the present method of Government in India is a right one. We, as British subjects, are ashamed to note that the British should be unaware of the way in which the country under their sway is being governed. It is highly regrettable that many among the British are not even aware of the existence of a country like India, which has been the cause of all their glory and wealth. It does not matter much if such people keep quiet without talking anything of India. On the other hand, they give out their opinions as if they know much about her and hinder her progress. It is to counteract this, that the people here wish that a deputation should be sent from India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

Religious interference.

60. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th January, refers to an order of the Government of Bihar and Orissa that one Mr. R. Mujumdar, who is now imprisoned in the jail at Hazaribag, should perform the funeral rites for his dead mother within the precincts of the jail and remarks:—It is regrettable that the Government do not realize that, according to the tenets of Hinduism, funeral rites should not be performed in a jail. This reply will certainly cause grief and surprise to the Hindus. The authorities are every day growing ignorant of the religious observances of the people and slighting their feelings. Should we point out that this is contrary to British justice and to the promises of the Government?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th Jan. 1919.

Medical facilities in the Madras Presidency.

61. Referring to the statement in a report published by the Government that, during 1917–1918, out of the total number of in-patients in hospitals in this Presidency, 27,281 persons were suffering from infectious diseases, the

Desabhaktan, of the 11th January, observes:—What arrangements have the Government made for preventing the spread of infectious diseases in the country? The health condition of the people of our Presidency during the said year was not satisfactory as compared with that of the previous year. It is highly doubtful whether this condition will any way improve during 1918–1919. Day by day famine and pestilence are increasing, and it is not known whether the Government propose to pay due attention to these.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th Jan. 1919.

The *Madras Mail* and the Congress.

62. Adverting to a statement of the *Madras Mail* that the Home Rule movement which has been in existence in India for the last some years has not received the support of the public, that the main object of this movement is to drive away the British from India, and that the proceedings of the last Congress clearly show how a small coterie consisting of party-spirited and uneducated persons and inexperienced youths have hindered the progress of the Indians, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th January, writes:—We are at a loss to know how this paper made up its mind to remark in this strain. How did it come to know that the Home Rule movement in this country has not obtained the support of the public? Ah! What an insight it has!! Similarly its observation that the Home Rulers are endeavouring to drive away the British from India, has necessarily to be condemned by all Indians, as this is quite contrary to truth. We can strongly assert that none can excel the Home Rulers in loyalty. What construction does the *Madras Mail* place on the word 'loyalty'? Does it mean that only those that are nodding to all the wrong actions of the Government are loyal persons? There may be so many differences and disputes among the Indians; but what right has this Anglo-Indian paper to deal with them? All are agreed that it is only the Indians that should determine the progress of India and that the Anglo-Indians should have no say in the matter.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 13th Jan. 1918.

Sir S. P. Sinha.

63. Referring to the universal satisfaction caused to the Indians by the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as the Under Secretary of State for India, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th January, remarks that this appointment clearly shows that Mr. Montagu is determined to reform the administration in spite of any devices of the civilians to prevent the introduction of administrative reforms.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 14th Jan. 1919.

Sir S. P. Sinha.

In its leading article on Sir S. P. Sinha and the importance of his appointment as Under Secretary of State for India, the *Malayala Manorama*, of the 14th January, observes that the honour is not only unprecedented but is such as could not have been looked forward to at any time by Indians, and that doubtless all Indians will be immeasurably pleased with the unprecedented honour bestowed upon Sir S. P. Sinha and will be immensely grateful for it to the British Government.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

The Second South Indian Non-Brahman confederation.

64. Adverting to the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of this confederation, in which it is stated that, in spite of the majority of the population being non-Brahmans, it is regrettable they have not adequate representation in the Legislative Councils, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th January, remarks in effect that non-Brahmans would secure high positions in the Legislative Councils and other places if they have the necessary qualifications and that the Government would not wilfully exclude them.

Coming then to the President's speech, this paper makes the following observations among others:—Some of his statements are indeed strange. He says that non-Brahman movement is the only one that tends towards securing Government by the people in India. It is left to our friends to judge how far this statement is true. The only benefit derived from it is so far as we know, the creation of class-hatred and religious differences. . . The President finds fault with the Government and says that the motive of the Government is not apparent, in having taken into their confidence some who are opposed to their views and their administrative policy. . . What is his object in saying like this? Does he mean that the Government should hate the Home Rulers? Again, his observation, questioning the action of the Government in having chosen among the press representatives sent to England, the editor of a paper which was proscribed

from two provinces in India, deserves to be ridiculed. Has the loyalty of the editor of the *Hindu* become tarnished because the *Hindu* has been thus proscribed? Is not Dr. Nayar, who went to England wholly at the expense of the non-Brahman movement as the true representative of the non-Brahmans, the editor of *Justice*, a paper which is not found fault with by the Government? Why have not the Government of India chosen him also as a representative of the Press? Perhaps the Government lost sight of him then!

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

The South Indian non-Brahman Conference.

Commenting on the proceedings of the second South Indian non-Brahman Conference, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th January, remarks:—. . . The resolutions passed by the Conference relating to the prohibition of export of foodstuffs and to the enhancement of water-rate are in accordance with public opinion and the Government will do well to give effect to them. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th Jan. 1919.

The National Conferences: A retrospective view.

65. Reviewing the proceedings of the several conferences held at Delhi, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th January, observes:—. . . The declaration of rights is the most important resolution of the Congress. To reform the system of administration, denying to the people the right of meeting, the right of speaking and the right of the Press will be ineffective like decorating a lifeless idol, and is not certainly calculated to further the national progress. The conflict between the two races under a foreign government gives rise to restriction on national freedom which kill national vitality. The fall of the Russian Empire and the imbecility of the Indian people are the strongest proofs of this statement. . . To those who have understood the opinions expressed by the Muhammadans at their conference, it will be clear that the era of ruling Indians by dividing and cajoling them has come to an end for the British authorities. . . That the desire of Indians for self-government is unanimous has been shown by the National Congress and the Moslem League which met at Delhi. The British Government will do well, in the interests of this country and of the Empire, to establish self-government recognising the force in the resolutions passed by the aforesaid great national assemblies. . . Both the Moderates and the Nationalists are crying aloud with one voice that political reforms without fiscal autonomy will be just like a mirage. . . The well-being of the people will be impossible so long as the resources of the country are used not for its benefit but for the benefit of other countries. . . This economic slavery must be got rid of in order that the poverty of the people which is the main cause for the increase of disease and death among them may be rooted out. The establishment of self-government is the only royal road for the attainment of this object. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

Village officers.

66. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 9th January, expresses approval and another disapproval of the Village Officers' Act Amendment Bill.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

Village officers.

A correspondent to the *Swadesamitran*, of the 6th January, comments as follows upon the Bill to provide for certain changes in the rules governing the succession of persons to village offices and suggests the desirability of the Bill being taken up for consideration after an interval of six months and after making inquiries of the village officers in every district:—The right of registering a *mirasi* right in the name of a minor has been cancelled, without the principle of succession by *mirasi* right itself being cancelled. This is not fair. The name of the heir should, under any circumstances, be registered, otherwise the Revenue Divisional Officer should nominate one qualified from among the heirs or relations of the last holder. As the section empowering the Tahsildar and Deputy Tahsildar to levy a fine has been omitted, they will have to be vested with the power of the Revenue Divisional Officer even when they are appointed Tahsildar or Deputy Tahsildar. As Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars have a direct control over the village officers and their slightest displeasure may cost the latter their appointment, it is not wise to entrust them with the powers of a Divisional Officer, or if they must have these powers, such powers should be given only to such of them as are above 50 years of age. It is not sound to provide only for one appeal and

revision. The decision of a Civil or Criminal court is at times altered at a number of stages and justice obtained only in the High Court. Justice can always be expected from the higher officials. So two appeals and a revision should be allowed. "Regulation suits" will increase the work of the Revenue officials. Rules should be framed for permitting suits in civil courts regarding nomination.

Village offices and the hereditary right.

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram 1st Jan. 1919.

With reference to the Village Officers Act Amendment Bill, the *Sudarsini*, of the 1st January, writes :—The right of minors to succeed to the posts of their fathers will be dispensed with in future. Will all have major sons to succeed them? If not, should the karnam's office coming on from grandfathers and fathers go to strangers? . . . They are now cutting at the very root of this hereditary right. . . . When deputy tahsildars are made the appointing authorities, does the resulting corruption need to be described? How many persons holding magistrates' posts are not taking bribes? How many tahsildars are not building palacial houses, and acquiring lands? Our readers know all these facts by experience. Caste favouritism is another evil. . . Even now, there are many Achari tahsildars who beat karnams and many Nayudu tahsildars who abuse them. Is there any doubt that in future tahsildars will exact all sorts of service from village officers, just as Ravana did from the eight Regents of cardinal points? . . . The poor village officers pay 4 out of the 8 rupees of their salary for the feast of the officer. Will the matter end there? Can the 'Mamuls' to the peon and the cook be avoided? The Revenue Inspector's 'Mamul' is likewise inevitable. Should it be specially said how much money the village officers should take with them to a jamabandi camp? Officers with fat salaries are granted travelling allowance. The poor village officers have no such allowance. . . God only knows what difficulties the village munsif will have to suffer, if he does not tip the clerks in the District Munsif's Court when he goes there for the inspection of the civil cases register of his village. When officers drawing salaries below Rs. 30 a month are given grain compensation or war allowance, it is not understood why the low-paid village officers should not receive it. . . However frequently memorials were sent for the redress of the village officers' grievances, there has been no reply at all. But the Government come forward to destroy their hereditary rights. We can say with certainty that the want of wisdom in their officers is responsible for this. . . It is not for the means of livelihood but for the prestige and influence which they give their holders in the village, that people still cling to these offices. . . The Government themselves will realize in future the advantages which result from the appointment of outsiders to these offices in preference to the members of families holding them with respect from time immemorial. . . It is our belief that an outsider will not care to keep up the old prestige of the family and cannot discharge the duties of his office with the same diligence and devotion as the members of the hereditary family. The Government will do well to consider this aspect and withdraw the proposed amendment

The Delhi conferences.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Dec. 1918

67. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st December, publishes in Telugu the speeches of the Presidents of the Indian Industrial Conference and the All-India Hindu Conference and of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Moslem League and the third day's proceedings of the Indian National Congress.

The Delhi conferences.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th January, publishes in Telugu the fourth day's proceedings of the National Congress and the speech of the President of the Moslem League.

The Park Fair accident.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

68. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd January, writes about the Park Fair accident :—. . . It is understood that some wicked men taking advantage of the panic robbed some women of their jewels. The crowd then increased, people began to run in crowds and in this confusion, two women and one or two children, it is said, lost their lives from pressure. . . The occurrence of the accident is strange considering that the Fair was held in spite of protests from the people and the Corporation.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 4th Jan. 1919.

The Madras Park Fair.

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 4th January, writes:—His Excellency the Governor was prepared to show that he was *for* the holding of the fair by presiding over the sports. It is astonishing that the administration should come to such a deplorable pass. In the face of this, a large number of members of the House of Lords were found to be opposed to the grant of responsible government. The British have struggled hard for their constitutional government. It is regrettable that despite this fact a large number of them are of opinion that they should have democratic powers in their own country and remain autocratic in India. It is not proper that Lord Pentland should incur any obloquy on the eve of his retirement.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 6th Jan. 1919.

The same paper, in another article in its issue of the 6th January, writes:—People are advised not to eat their food in the vicinity of dung, but who can answer him who says that he would eat dung itself? It was suggested that large concourses of people should be avoided when there was danger of the spread of epidemics such as plague. If the authorities should disregard the suggestion and answer in anger that the people have no right to oppose their views, the people will naturally keep their mouths shut. A self-willed Government will perforce have to reap the fruit of its autocratic deeds.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 10th Jan. 1919.

The fire at the Park Fair.

A note in the news columns of the *Manorama*, of the 10th January, says that several complaints are being heard regarding the incident. One party complains that His Excellency the Governor left as soon as the fire broke out, without doing anything to relieve the situation of distress. Some Anglo-Indians, on the other hand, maintain that His Excellency the Governor remained there till the fire was completely extinquished. Another complaint is that if the fire engine was properly tested beforehand much of the suffering and loss could have been avoided. The Commissioner of Police has issued some statements about the incident, but nothing satisfies the people at large.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The Moslem League.

69. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd January, publishes in Telugu the resolutions passed at the Delhi Session of the Moslem League.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Jan. 1919.

The Indian National Congress.

70. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd January, gives a summary of some speeches delivered at the National Congress.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 3rd Jan. 1919.

The National Congress.

In a lengthy leading article dwelling on the proceedings of the Congress, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 3rd January, remarks:—This year's session was a great and unprecedented success for more reasons than one. The President's speech was as supremely logical, comprehensive and indicative of high statesmanship in its content as it was captivating, elegant and lucid in expression.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 6th Jan. 1919.

Writing on the same subject, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 6th January, writes:—As President Wilson observed in the west too, mutual cordiality, truthfulness and justice are by no means universal. It would be difficult to achieve this end. The British are democrats by their birth as also by their action. It behoves us to consider why they have denied Home Rule to Ireland for the last 700 years and have not given the Indians opportunities to practise even the a, b, c of democratic rule since they obtained suzerainty over India, while they granted responsible government to South Africa within six years of the territory coming under them. The British are democrats. They are not people who will yield to mere prayers. They yield if one quarrels like the South African people. The latter resolved that they must either get responsible government or lay down their lives. It became clear that the situation might lead to the loss of the territory itself. Then they were granted responsible government. . . We shall be sure to get responsible government. If we fail, let the self-seeking among the Indians live for themselves. Among the millions of our students there are enough who are prepared to perform the *yagna* (sacrifice) for obtaining democracy and also enough to offer themselves as victims for the sacrifice. They are getting ready to offer their person and lives for securing the well-being of future India. God will be sure to reward their efforts. The British Rulers and the

British public would do unto us as they do unto themselves and grant complete responsible government. We are fully confident that it will be so.

71. Reviewing, in its leader under this heading, the Madras Administration Report, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th January, observes:—The report contains a description of the political situation. Had this description been made by the Sydenham party, there would have been no occasion for surprise. But that a Provincial Government which must be impartial to all political parties alike should publish such a report is strange. . . The efficacy of the present system of administration was brought to light by the Mesopotamian muddle. Mr. Montagu exposed the drawbacks of the present bureaucratic Government in such strong terms that no Indian political reformer would ever dare to use . . It cannot but appear strange in these circumstances that the Madras Government should criticise the conduct of the Government of India. It was the internment of Mrs. Besant, and not the action of the Government of India that enhanced her influence. It is not true to say that the protest meetings in connexion with the internment were spurious. They simply expressed the strong and abundant public feeling in the matter. There is no doubt that the campaign of constant vilification started by the *Mail* and the *Justice* against Brahmans and political leaders contributed not a little to the intensity of that feeling and strengthened the Home Rule movement. If these papers had been warned by the Government the situation would not have become so bad. The anti-Brahman movement has been viewed with favour in the report; but its leaders and the European community freely abused the Brahmans and thereby fanned the flame of Home Rule movement. Though it was pointed out by the leaders of the people that the occurrence of lootings and labour strikes were entirely due to economic conditions, the labour movement was referred to in the report as an offshoot of Home Rule agitation. . . It is very improper to say that such nationalist organs as the *Hindu* have given expression to strong views simply to attract subscribers. The reception accorded by His Majesty the Emperor to the editor of the *Hindu* will clearly show that this remark in the report is unfounded. . . The administration report has failed to take a liberal view of the present political situation. . .

Short-sightedness.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th Jan. 1919.

72. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th January, observes:—. . . On close consideration, it may be said that practically, the Unionists who are opposed to progress will hold all power. It will easily be seen that such a Ministry which is incapable of inaugurating liberal measures even in ordinary times is totally unfit to be in power at the time of reconstruction of the Empire. . . It cannot be a sign for future progress that all the important appointments should be given to the Unionists. . . It is understood that Sir S. P. Sinha will shortly be made a peer. This honour will have no other effect than lessening his usefulness to a great extent. . . On the whole, the appointments are mostly disappointing. And the ground for disappointment becomes all the stronger in view of the problems of reconstruction which the country has to face.

The new English Government and reconstruction.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

73. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th January, writes:—. . . It cannot but appear strange that the nationalist papers, the *Hindu*, *New India*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* do not reach England, while the *Bengali* and the *Leader* find a free passport. It is not known as to who should be held responsible for this bad state of affairs. . .

The arrival of the Press representatives.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

74. With reference to the contribution of Madras to the Government of India, which according to the Scheme of Reforms happens to be more than that of Bombay or Bengal, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th January, commends for the consideration of Mr. Montagu the unanimous opinion of Indians and Anglo-Indians against the proposal.

The Madras Presidency and her economic disability.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

75. Referring to the refusal of permission by the Bengal Government to a political internee to perform the funeral rites of his mother at his own house in accordance with her wish, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th January,

The performance of funeral rites by a political internee.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

remarks :— . . . It would look well, if the rulers relax their rules in such trivial matters.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th Jan. 1919.

India and the Labour manifesto.

76. Referring, under this heading, to the statement of the Labour party that self-government and self-determination will be conceded to dependent countries like India and Ireland, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th January, writes :— . . . The Labour party is sure to come to power shortly. We may hope that reconstruction will then proceed on democratic principles and that the wishes of India will be fully realized.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Jan. 1919.

India.

77. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th January, publishes in Telugu the reply of Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar to Mr. Thorburn's condemnation of the Montagu Scheme of Reforms. It publishes in Telugu Mr. B. Houghton's article in the *India*, urging the necessity of showing the same confidence and liberal spirit towards India as was shown to Canada.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

The Bapatla Taluk Village Officers' Conference.

78. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th January, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the Bapatla Taluk Village officers' Conference held at Bapatla on the 31st December 1918.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

The arrival of Mr. S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar.

79. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th January, gives a report in Telugu of the welcome address presented to Mr. S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, the editor of the *Hindu*, last Sunday morning, and his reply thereto.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 5th Jan. 1919.

Prohibition against the export of foodstuffs.

80. Under this heading the *Hitakarini*, of the 5th January, writes :— . . . The loss that is likely to accrue to the ryot from the order that the paddy produced in a district should be kept within that district, will be immense. We request that the District authorities will reconsider the question and provide at least for the export of paddy from one district to another. Otherwise, we fear that unrest will grow among ryots.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 5th Jan. 1919.

An appeal to the ryots of Gudivada.

81. In the course of an appeal to the ryots of Gudivada, a correspondent to the *Hitakarini*, of the 5th January, observes :— When the dumb ryot is already groaning on account of the proposal to enhance the water-rate, being at a loss to know what to do, the terrible and arbitrary order of the authorities relating to the prohibition of exports has come to worry him as if to add insult to injury and completely crush him, who is already a bloodless skeleton. It will be hopeless for him to live in case redress is further delayed.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 10th Jan. 1919.

The Indian soldiers.

82. Under this heading the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 10th January, writes :— . . . It seems to be a great wrong that these non-Brahman communities which are thus well known for their loyalty should not command at the hands of the Government equal respect with the so-called high caste people. . . After all it is very regrettable that our Government have not cared to respect the rights of the non-Brahman communities. It will be but just to reserve in future at least some posts exclusively for non-Brahmans in view of the fact that they are backward in Government service. We request the Government to help in a suitable manner the many non-Brahman soldiers who have returned and will return to this country from the several theatres of war.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 10th Jan. 1919.

The New Parliament and Indian Reforms.

83. In the course of its leading article on this subject, the *Manorama*, of the 10th January, observes that the result of the general election has increased the despair of Ireland, and if it has affected the prospects of Irish Home Rule so much, it is no wonder that Indians are afraid that it may affect India very badly indeed. They nervously ask themselves whether even the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, which was prepared for the purpose of introducing some reforms though not to the extent demanded by Indians, may be thrown out. If, however, the opinions expressed by Barrister Mr. Ali, who recently returned from England, come true that Mr. Lloyd George will stand by the pledge given to India by the

British Government that all parties of the House of Commons will support the Reform Scheme, that Mr. Montagu—a true friend of India—is likely to continue as Secretary of State, that though there may be opponents in the House of Lords they are likely to be few in number and that the *London Times* has all along been supporting the scheme, then Indians may be reassured that the general election just over will not be to their disadvantage.

84. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 1st January, has a leader on the marginally-noted subject which is briefly to this effect:—The editor tenders to the King and all royalists new year's greetings and hopes that people may not be deprived of the blessings of freedom. Qaumi Report, Madras, 1st Jan. 1919.

The ill-omened past.

The might of Islam is at the point of death. No religious observances prove beneficial. The lamp of the faith is flickering. The genuine hand, which grasped the crown of Chosroes, is paralysed. The feet, that trod the land of Pharoah, are tottering.

Divine limits have been transgressed. The Holy House of Abraham, whose doors had been absolutely closed to Polytheists, has become the abode of rebels and murderers. The house of the Prophet is a centre of mischief and disorder. The Hedjaz, for whose valleys Abraham prayed and Arabia for whose prosperity Ishmail offered sacrifice, are in a disturbed and perplexed condition. Jerusalam, for the liberation of which Mussalmans gave their lives, Damascus and Baghdad, for whose fertility the faithful sacrificed their own harvests, have to-day become Islam's houses of mourning.

The Khalifate of the Prophet, that had been handed over to the children of Othman, has to-day become a butt for hostile and rebel shafts. How is it possible to destroy the freedom of the Khalifa? How is it possible for us to be patient over the disgrace and the humility that have befallen the throne and crown of the Khalifate?

The adhesion of Islamic territories has been destroyed. The Othman Government has been shattered to pieces. The legacy of Mussalmans, which is in the hands of the nation, is being wrested from them and it is proposed to establish non-Mussalman States in Basra, Mesopotamia, Damascus, and Syria, and to free the Armenians, Jews, Egyptians and Arabians from the protection and support of the Khalifa. Plans are afoot to loosen the binds of Islam in Muslim lands. Persia has become a dead man's legacy, and Afghanistan a poor house. The age desires that Muslims should accept slavery and that their fraternal concord should be relegated to the limbo of forgetfulness.

85. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 6th January, has a report of the meeting held on the 4th at the Amir-un-nisa Begam Sahiba Mosque, Triplicane, under the presidency of Moulvi Muhammad Pudrat Halim Sahib, Nasri, in which a resolution to the following effect was enthusiastically passed:— Jaridah-i-Rozgar, Madras, 6th Jan. 1919.

Meeting of the Sunnis' Anjuman.

That this general meeting of the Anjuman enters its emphatic protest against the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan's Registration Bill, and requests the Government not to accept it on the ground that it is a case of interference with religion. It interferes with marriages and divorces and these are religious matters.

86. The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 1st January, in giving a retrospect of the past year hopes that the new year will be of good luck. India expects distinctive place in the realms of education and commerce. Mussalmans of India are anxious for the spread of education in their country and to secure separate electorates in corporations, municipalities and boards. Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, Madras, 1st Jan. 1919.

The new year.

87. The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 1st January, in an item on the marginally-noted subject says that as a detailed account of the meeting has already appeared in the *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, we merely give translations of the two letters published in the *Madras Mail* of the 30th December 1918. Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, Madras, 1st Jan. 1919.

The Esplanade meeting.

88. The *Mushir-i-Deccan*, of the 8th January, writes under this heading:— Mushir-i-Deccan, Hyderabad, 8th Jan. 1919.

New year honours. Disappointment of the people of Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

As Hyderabad and Secunderabad had loyally done their bit with other parts of India, it was expected that they would be well represented in the Honours lists for the new year. On perusing this list

however we were amazed to find that their expectations have not been fulfilled even in the slightest degree. After the list was out the Bulletin published a sort of supplement in which the name of Mr. Gamlen, Director of the Mint, appeared adorned with an O.B.E.

Thus have many in Secunderabad and Hyderabad, who were entitled to decorations, been disappointed. Mr. Gamlen, therefere, appears to have been fortunate in being made an officer of the Order of the British Empire!

The handsome and generous manner in which the citizens of Secunderabad and Hyderabad subscribed to the war loan merited liberal recognition in the lists of both English and Indian titles.

We assert, without fear of contradiction, that in the matter of these decorations the Government of India have been guilty of a very serious oversight; and we hope they will make a special effort to make up for this omission on the occasion of His Imperial Majesty's birthday in June next.

III.—Legislation.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

88. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 28th December, publishes a lengthy letter from a correspondent in which the writer reports that on the 26th December a mass meeting was held at the Esplanade in support of the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan's Bill.

The Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan's Bill.

Moulana Abdus Subhan Sahib was voted to the chair who requested Moulavi Tajum-ul-Husain Khan Bahadur to take his place, and later the former spoke in support of the Bill. He was followed by Moulavi Tajum-ul-Husain Khan Bahadur, Moulavi Abdul Majid Sahib and the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Husain Sait.

A resolution in support of the Bill was moved. When it was put to the vote, sounds of 'approved' 'approved' were heard from all sides. A few lads of the Diwan Sahib's garden, however, shouted 'not approved', and one called out 'disapproved'. Some one wanted to say something, but the chairman did not allow him to do so as he had already given expression to his views at a previous meeting. The meeting was then dissolved. A few boys were observed muttering and then went away.

Jaridah-i-Rozgar, Madras, 28th Dec. 1918.

The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 28th December, also has a different report of the proceeding. It says—

In the notice the meeting was advertised to be a public one, and a promise was made that doubts would be cleared, and hence a considerable number of supporters of the Bill were present.

Moulana Abdus Subhan Sahib, who waived his claim in favour of Moulavi Tajum-ul-Husain Khan Bahadur, was voted to the chair.

Moulana Abdus Subhan Sahib spoke and was followed by Moulavi Tajum-ul-Husain Khan Bahadur, Abdul Majid Sahib, editor of the *Qaumi Report*, and the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Husain Sait.

An opposer of the Bill requested permission to speak; but he was not allowed to do so.

A resolution was read out in a low tone and some one seconded it. When the chairman put it to the vote, sounds of 'not approved' were heard from the southern and western sides of the assembly.

A gentleman requested the chairman to say whether there could be two chairmen of one and the same meeting. The chairman replied—

"The meeting is in my hands. I can nominate any one I like."

After this the meeting was dissolved. Votes were not taken in a regular manner.

The writer contrasts the meeting of non-supporters held previously and the meeting of supporters now held at the same place and says:—

The former was notified to be exclusively one of non-supporters and hence supporters were not allowed to speak, whereas the latter though notified to be public, non-supporters were not allowed to open their mouths. Non-supporters got their resolution unanimously passed in their meeting, but this was not the case with the supporters in their meeting.

IV.—Native States.

90. The *Desabhimani*, of the 11th January, in its leading article on the subject, submits to the consideration of the Madras Government and of His Highness the Raja of Cochin the suggestion that Mr. P. C. Govindan, who is a member of a respectable Tiyya family in North Malabar and who occupies a high position under the Bombay Government in the Political Department may be chosen as the next Diwan.

The Cochin Diwanship.

Desabhimani, Quilon, 11th Jan. 1919.

A note by "S.P." in the *Samadarsi*, of the 11th January, characterises the suggestion that a European may be appointed as the next Diwan of Cochin as a "silly notion" and is sorry that the Cochin State has had to nurse offspring so foolish as to suggest that she should be handed over to be administered by a European. What an idea this, that India and even Asia cannot, but only Europe can, provide a man to administer Cochin!

The Cochin Diwanship.

Samadarsi, Trivandrum, 11th Jan. 1919.

91. The *Malayala Manorama*, of the 14th January, refers in detail to the possibilities of harnessing the water power available in Travancore for generating electricity for industrial purposes, and advocates early investigation of the subject by the Darbar.

Travancore rivers and electricity.

Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 14th Jan. 1919.

V.—Prospects of the Crops and the Condition of the People.

92. Remarking that the people are suffering from cruel infectious diseases and famine, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th January, says:—The Government officials receiving fat salaries do not seem to have acquainted the Government with the real condition and hardships of the people; nor do the Government come forward to ascertain them. It is really cruel that, under this benign British Government, the people should be suffering without food to eat and cloths to wear and with none to care for them. The time has gone when food-riots were attributed to political agitators. Famine, which was at the threshold till now, has entered the country. Neither the Government nor the Anglo-Indian papers can deny this. However much the bureaucrats may arrogantly say that there is no famine in the country, they are sure to suffer hereafter, unable to prevent famine. So the Government should think over what they should do. Every one will admit that the department formed to regulate the supply of foodstuffs has not achieved the desired object. The merchants are afraid that the orders and actions of the head of this department will perpetuate the high prices in the country. When even the wholesale merchants, making large profits, condemn the orders of the Director of Civil Supplies, we need not write about the cry of the merchants, working with a small amount of capital. The Government should now note the situation and take proper steps. First of all the department controlling foodstuffs should be abolished. The charges for transporting foodstuffs should be reduced. Grains should be exported from the country, only if there is a surplus above what is required for the Indians. For this, food grains should be cultivated on a large scale here. These measures are not impossible ones nor will they entail any serious loss on the Government. We hope they will adopt them. We should go on agitating until the Government redress the grievances of the poor people.

The present situation.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

Errata.

Report No. 52 *of* 1918.

Page 1829, paragraph 34, line 9, *for* 'be the bureaucrats' *read* 'by the bureaucrats'.

Report No. 1 *of* 1919.

Page 12, paragraph 30, line 14, *for* 'Ati' *read* 'Adi'.
„ 13 „ 32 „ 17, *for* 'expouse' *read* 'espouse'.
„ 19 „ 53 „ 11, *for* 'sack' *read* 'thrash'.

Report No. 2 of 1919.

Page 46, line 2, *for* 'inspirations' *read* 'aspirations'.

„ 46, paragraph 24, line 26, *for* 'a war' *read* 'war'.

„ 47, line 12, *for* 'affect' *read* 'effect'.

„ 52, paragraph 40, line 15, *for* 'herefrom' *read* 'therefrom'.

„ 54, line 22, *for* 'well' *read* 'will'.

„ 60, paragraph 78, line 1, *for* 'the heading, this' *read* 'this heading, the'.

Paragraph 74, line 1, *for* 'comments' *read* 'commends'.

„ 82 „ 4, *for* 'responssible' *read* 'responsible'.

„ 84 „ 4, *for* 'of State' *read* 'of the State'.

Page 62, line 37, *for* 'later' *read* 'latter'.

Issued, 21st January 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 4 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 25th January 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*b*) *Courts.*

1. The *South Indian Mail*, for the 16th January, observes:—"Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu has been sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for fifteen months. The bureaucracy invested as it is with almost irresponsible and uncontrolled power has incarcerated one whom the people regard as a patriot of the purest motives and who worked for them for nearly two years incessantly. . . It is clear that bureaucracy is determined to deal harshly with those who most persistently and patriotically advocate popular reforms. . . The plain fact is that in this country the Magistracy is so completely in the hands of the executive that it can be made the tool of the latter. . . Recent happenings in this country have unmistakably shown that the popular party has to contend against the bureaucracy in all its blind force and in its precipitate career it is impossible for that body to be persuaded by any sense of justice which has been the mainstay of British supremacy in this country. . . The Indians now realise that the fight between their representatives and the bureaucracy in possession of immense power and with a grim determination to retain it at all costs is going to be of the most stubborn kind

South Indian Mail, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

The conviction of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

If it is intended that such incarcerations are to strike terror into the hearts of the political workers and to stay the onward progress of the popular agitation on lines of approved constitutional nature, that is bound to be ineffective. . . We wish to lay utmost emphasis on the point that justice should not be sacrificed and that it is time that the British statesmen should be awakened to the stren necessity of realising that the bureaucracy in this country should be effectively checked in its mad career. . . There can be no doubt that Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu's imprisonment will be regarded with the utmost dissatisfaction and what is more the faith of the people in the sense of British justice for its own sake in spite of temptations in the path of the authorities to transgress it, will receive a tremendous shock which, if not immediately set right, is exposed to the danger of passing the bounds of irreparability."

The *Commonweal*, for the week ending 17th January, says:—"The conviction of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu for sedition has provoked keen regret and discontent in the Province. A sentence of fifteen [months' rigorous imprisonment can never be justified in any civilised land in the case of a political worker whose only fault is the use of language which has outraged the overdelicate sensitiveness of the Bureaucracy. . . This prosecution is popularly believed to be due to his strong advocacy of the cause of labourers in Madura during the last mill strike—a belief that was strengthened by some of the evidence disclosed during the trial. While the conviction is bound to be appealed against, the Government would be well advised at least to alter the sentence into one of simple imprisonment, by doing which it will be merely removing what one may call the mark of savage justice."

Commonweal, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

(*e*) *Local and Municipal.*

2. The following appears in the *Hindu*, of the 20th January:—"Among the agenda for the meeting of the Corporation tomorrow is a resolution by Mr. Srinivasa Achariyar on the Park Fair muddle. The persistent and cynical flouting of public opinion by the authorities has latterly reached the proportions of a scandal and the untoward loss of life and property which took place in the unrehearsed item that wound up the *tamasha* drew lurid and pointed attention to a discreditable episode. Public opinion apart, that the considered judgment of the body responsible for the health of the city should have been so

Hindu, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

The Madras Corporation and the Park Fair muddle.

lightly disregarded on the puerile plea that the preparations had gone too far forward to be countermanded, is an insult to the Corporation which that body cannot but resent strongly and we believe there will be little difference of opinion on the resolution of Mr. Srinivasa Achariyar at to-morrow's meeting."

(k) General.

Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly, 15th Jan. 1919.

3. The *Wednesday Review*, for the week ending 15th January, writes:—

The Indian Civil Service and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

"The memorandum prepared by the Indian Civil Service Association of Madras setting out in detail their view of the reform proposals is worth attention, and it does not suggest any unreasoning opposition to all constitutional reform. The main contention of the service is that 'as it is to the service that the authors of the report look for the successful realisation of their proposals, we trust we may reasonably claim that, before the scheme is put into effect, our feelings in the matter may be fully considered.' In the topsy-turvy procedure so far adopted by Mr. Montagu in regard to his scheme of reform, there is no provision made for consulting those whose opinion is worth having. Irresponsible busybodies have been taken into the confidence of the Secretary of State and they have been consulted and conciliated at every turn. Those who have practical experience of the difficulties of administration have been sedulously avoided and their opinion of the scheme has not been sought as it ought to have been. . . It is an one-sided arrangement deserving of strong condemnation and who can question the soundness of the contention of the Madras Indian Civil Service Association that as it is to the service that the authors of the scheme look for the successful realisation of the proposals the Civil Service may reasonably claim that before the scheme is put into effect the feelings of the members of it in the matter may be fully considered? . . . The Indian Civil Service Association details with great force and cogency the reasons against the minister system of administration. . . With an illiterate electorate who will be under the dominating influence of interested wirepullers and agitators of sorts clamouring for office and power, the risks pointed out by the Indian Civil Service Association are most likely and we devoutly hope that whatever shape the reform scheme may ultimately take, it will make no provision for this thoughtless experiment of appointing ministers from the elected members of the Councils and entrusting to them the administration of certain subjects."

Hindu, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919

The *Hindu*, of the 21st January, has the following:—"The open revolt of the European Members of the Civil Service against the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme tends very much to clear the air in regard to the proposal for political reconstruction in India. . . The Members of the Civil Service refuse absolutely to be cajoled, comforted by or reconciled to the new order of things to be brought to existence by the Reform Scheme. . . The last two demands are a clear indication of the view of the Civil Service that they have no faith whatever in the stability of the Indian Government under the Reform Scheme proposed by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Members of their respective Councils. The Indian public will eagerly wait to know how the Secretary of State for India and the British Cabinet will deal with the most truculent demand on the part of the pampered Members of the Civil Service. . . Now that the eyes of the authorities have been opened to the reality of the situation by the action of the Civil Service, we hope the Reform Scheme will be so reconstituted as to dispense with the assistance of a foreign unsympathetic element."

Justice, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

4. *Justice*, of the 20th January, states:—"We have before us this morning the reports of two addresses delivered in this city by two Indian political leaders, one a Hindu and the other a Muhammadan. What Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar has to say about the present Indian political situation is as interesting as the views of Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan on the same subject. Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, the Editor of the *Hindu*, has just returned from England where he had been as a member of the Indian Press deputation. . . He confirmed what we had guessed some time ago, that Mr. Montagu tried to convert him, and failed.

Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar and the Indian political situation.

It is one of the harmless delusions of Mr. Montagu that he can convert any Indian to his view, not by arguments but by beaming smiles. The Secretary of State unbends and smiles and appears gracious, and any refractory Indian politician capitulates. That apparently was the idea prevailing in Whitehall. We are glad that Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar has contributed his quota towards dispelling this delusion . . He might have gone further and said with perfect accuracy that outside the India Office there is hardly anyone who believed that the scheme in its present form could be worked. And if there is practical unanimity of opinion on the unworkable nature of the Montford scheme it stands to reason that it will have to be altered in some way or other and made to look something like a working scheme."

5. Writing under the heading "the faith that is in us," *Justice*, of the 22nd January, says :—"Secret investigations and underhand wire pullings are the rich gifts bestowed on the people of India by the Montagu methods. Already we begin to feel quite at home. These political methods take us back to the old days of the Indian Rajas and their political methods. The Montagu methods have met with a certain amount of success, for Mr. Surendranath Banerjee addressed a meeting at the Lawley Hall, Mount Road, in which he preached the Montford gospel of political faith. Considering that it was not so very long ago that Mr. Surendranath Banerjee was the orator in chief in support of the Congress League Scheme which the Montford report takes a whole chapter to pulverise, the coverson is fairly satisfactory. . . By an insidious system of propaganda opposition to the Montford report is being stifled, while supporters of it, official or non-official, are encouraged to come forward and boom the report. Those members of the Indian Civil Service who seem to have met together to consider whether any steps should be taken to safeguard their position are now pilloried in the columns of certain newspapers as if they were criminal conspirators, whereas Mr. Montagu has been steadily utilising paid public servants for carrying on regular propaganda work on behalf of the Montford scheme. It has come to this : that an official who has anything to say in favour of the Montford report will be discharging a public duty by booming the report. An official who has anything to say against it will be guilty of grave breach of official decorum by saying or writing anything that is not complimentary to the Montford proposals. . . Opinions of high officials expressed against the Montford scheme cannot be published, because it would be against the public interest to do so. But any prise of the report from official sources will be readily published for the same reason, we believe, namely that it would be in the public interest to do so. . . We have had quite enough of these Montagu methods. And we are glad to see the last of Mr. Montagu's Reform Committees, so far as Madras is concerned. For the rest we rely on the British Parliament to investigate the Indian problem and mete out such redress as they think fit. We feel confident that when an open investigation is held the British Parliament and the British public will not approve of the Montagu methods or uphold the Montagu proposals."

Justice, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme.

III.—Legislation.

6. Writing under the heading 'Repression again' *New India*, of the 18th January, observes :—"The Government of India have decided to give effect to the Rowlatt Committee's Report, which means that personal freedom is to be still further curtailed in India. It is monstrous, to say the least of it, that legislation of that type should be introduced in India when British statesmen are so profuse in their talk of Liberty and Self-Determination. Now is the time to convince the Government that they are courting a serious danger in proceeding with the Bill, and we hope the protests will be strong enough to check its further progress."

New India, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

The Government of India and the Rowlatt Committee's Report.

7. The *Hindu*, of the 22nd January, writes :—"The two bills to amend the Criminal Law in accordance with the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee report are published in the current *Gazette of India*. . . The Indian

Hindu, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

public would read the proposed provisions with shame, indignation and disgust. The first addition to the Penal law is one which is calculated to paralyse all public work of whatsoever kind. Whoever has in his possession, the section says, any seditious document intending that the same shall be published or circulated shall, unless he proves that he had such document for a lawful purpose, be punishable with imprisonment for two years. Considering that the expression 'sedition' has a remarkable flexibility of interpretation in the hands of an alien bureaucracy in the country, and of Magistrates who combine in themselves executive and judical functions, the untold mischief which such a clause would create can well be imagined. . . The arm of tyranny is made to stretch far and wide. It is virtually made penal to associate with a person once convicted of sedition. Other provisions of a similar draconian character are to be found in the Bill. The Bill is a handsome reward to a country which has given glorious and heroic assistance to the allies, the British and others in the Great World War."

Hindu, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

The *Hindu*, of the 24th January, says:—"It is a good suggestion that has been made by Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar of Salem that sound legal opinion should be obtained on the competence of the Council of the Governor-General in regard to passing the Bills prepared on the basis of the Rowlatt Committee's Report. The Bills contain provisions of such revolutionary character, violating in several respects fundamental principles of jurisprudence and constitutional law, that it is eminently desirable that competent legal opinion from England should be obtained on the point. . . In our opinion it has no moral authority and as in some points it contravenes provisions contained in Parliamentary statutes, it has no legal competence. Even if it is found that it has constitutional and legal authority, a strong agitation must be immediately set on foot to convince the British public that the issues raised by the two Bills are so important that the Indian public earnestly desire that the British Parliament should take up the matter and dispose of it".

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

8. Referring to the constitution of the new Parliament in England, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th January, observes:—In a way we can say that the Conservative Party preponderates in the new Parliament. But, so far as India is concerned, it is a matter for satisfaction that no changes have taken place in the Parliament. As Mr. Montagu continues to be the Secretary of State, it is certain that his scheme of reforms will not receive a rough treatment at the hands of the British. It is a great consolation to us that Mr. Austin Chamberlain, who is now the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has not been appointed to any post, wherein he will have an opportunity of attending to Indian affairs.

The new Parliament.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

9. Referring to the proposal made in Ceylon that in the reforms now under contemplation, there should be two separate representatives in that Legislative Council to safeguard the interests of the Indians in the Colony, having been opposed by the Ceylonese, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 26th December, remarks:—Though, for all external appearances, the Indians and the Ceylonese are moving closely, they are not agreed on all points. The latter cannot openly be hostile to the former as they require the assistance of the Indian merchants and coolies in important matters. But as the majority of them have taken to western customs and manners, they think that they are more civilised than the Indians and that they should have greater privileges. The fact that cases of Indian coolies being teased and treated brutally in Ceylon attract attention in the Colony only after a cry is raised about them in India may be quoted as an instance in point. When the reformers are prepared to give separate representatives for the European merchants, bankers and Muhammadans, why should they hesitate to allow such representatives for the Indians alone? Neither the Europeans nor the Ceylonese can safeguard the interests of the Indians there. So the Indians themselves should try to protect their interests. When the Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai went to Kandy to preside over the anniversary of the Ceylon Indian Trades Association he witnessed a girl of about 15 years crying aloud, having been caned after removing the cloth, by a planter for a mistake in the process of taking rubber and he took her to the adjacent hospital and wanted a certificate from the doctor to prove that she was beaten. But the doctor refused to give such a certificate. Who is to question the planter as to why he caned girl and the doctor as to why he refused to give a certificate. Would these things happen, if there were representatives in the Colonial Legislative Council to safeguard the interests of the Indian coolies? It is on account of the absence of such representatives again that the Indian rice merchants there have been subjected to great many hardships. The Indian Trades Association were never consulted in the matter of the appointment of a rice committee recently in Ceylon. There is a rule in Ceylon that certain merchants have to take out licences. If there are not Indian representatives in the Ceylon Legislative Council, a law may be passed, as is the case in South Africa and other places, that Indians should not generally be given such licences. All these things prove the necessity for some representatives in the Colonial Legislative Council for the Indian merchants and coolies, chosen from among themselves.

Indians in Ceylon.

Vartakamitran, Tanjore, 26th Dec. 1918.

Expressing its regret again at the Ceylon Government having ignored the interests of the Indians in Ceylon in choosing the members of the rice committee and their having given two representatives in it to the European Chamber of Commerce, while there is only one Indian in it and even he is not connected with the Indian Trades Association, the same paper, in its issue of the 2nd January, reverts to the reform of the Ceylon Legislative Council and observes:—In the proposed reform, they say that electorates will be formed on the basis of provinces. This will deprive the Indians of the privilege of having any representatives. It

is contended that communal representation will create complications in the administration and that all classes of people in Ceylon are united. But it is not communal but trade representation that the Indians there require. The reformers in Ceylon base their view upon the opinion expressed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report against communal representation. But they should note that this very report requires separate representatives for the European merchants and planters. There is no difference between the condition of the Indians in Ceylon and that of the Europeans in India and the Indians in Ceylon are again in the same position as the European merchants there. The number of Indians in the Colony is sufficiently large, and the capital invested by them there is not less than that of the Europeans. If, with all this, the Indians, who have been in Ceylon for 2,000 years, have not the privileges enjoyed by the Europeans who entered the Colony only 150 years back, it is on account of their apathy in guarding their own interests.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

Freedom of the seas.

10. Observing that it is the naval strength of the British which prevented steamers from reaching Germany and brought the war to a successful termination, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 18th January, says:—Would anybody agree to give up such a naval force? It does not, therefore, appear probable that at the ensuing Peace Conference, representatives of big kingdoms will agree to this condition. However, it would be necessary to devise means for preventing neutral countries from supplying to one party articles which are injurious to other party. The right of examining each vessel that goes to a hostile country to see whether it contains any such articles should be granted to every country. This of course will end in much trouble and disaster. Neutral ships may be endangered by the mines which the belligerent nations lay for destroying the vessels sailing in midseas. Passengers' steamers may be torpedoed and sunk by means of submarines. Such subjects should be settled at the Peace Conference, while the question of the freedom of the seas is discussed.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

The Peace Conference.

11. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th January, observes:—All the uncivilized countries are to enjoy the benefit of the Conference. Though India is far advanced in civilization and learning, we have to think that she will not be profited by it. The reason for this is not far to seek. The editors of the Anglo-Indian papers and the Anglo-Indians inform the British public that the British bureaucratic Government in India is a good one and that the Indians like to have only this form of Government. We are being prevented from apprising the British public and the Peace Conference of the actual condition of India and the grievances of the Indians. We are at times even threatened. What shall we do for this? A London correspondent of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* suggests that the Indians should, before the end of January, give a cable to the Prime Minister of England to the effect that India demands self-determination and send a copy of it to the President of the Peace Conference. Will the Indians let lose this opportunity too?

JARIDAH-I-KOZGAR Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

The Peace Conference.

The *Jaridah-i-Kozgar*, of the 18th January, on the authority of a telegram from Paris, dated the 15th idem, writes—It is said that only the Allies' representatives will be present at the Conference. After the proposals have been discussed and decided upon enemy delegates will be instructed to come to Versalles when the decisions arrived at will be presented to them for their approval.

A communiquè from Paris, dated the 15th January, states that the first question regarding Russia to be put forward at the Peace Conference is a very delicate and difficult one. They say that the question will be a thorny one for the statesmen of the Allies to settle. Russian affairs are indeed assuming such a serious aspect that unless they are settled at the Peace Conference, no real peace is possible. In this connexion a very distinguished person has said that a peace, which leaves half of Europe and half of Asia in a disturbed and chaotic condition, really provides facilities for another worldwide war. By half of Europe and half of Asia the statesman seems to have meant Russia, for the Russian Empire consists half of European and half of Asiatic territories. He also states that all the Russian States are in the dark as to what is going on in Russia at

present. There is no regular Government to consider matters relating to the Peace Conference.

The editor suggests that it remains to be seen as to how the plenipotentiaries will impartially discharge their duties, for the Conference does not deal with Europe alone, but with the whole world whose very existence, well-being and progress depend on its decisions.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

12. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th January, reproduces in Tamil the following extract from a pamphlet issued by this League in New York advocating the establishment of a democratic form of government in India:—The reforms proposed by Mr. Montagu are neither very liberal in character nor such as to establish democracy extensively. Neither self-determination nor Home Rule nor even the right of taxation is possible under these reforms. In spite of this many take exception to this scheme in Great Britain. If the 33 crores of people in India continue to be without democratic rights and without proper education democracy cannot make a stand in the world.

Indian Home Rule League in America.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

13. Remarking that peace in the world is impossible so long as India is in a deplorable condition, and referring to the League of Nations which President Wilson is endeavouring to organise, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th January, makes the following observations among others:—For the League of Nations to work successfully, it is necessary that India should be granted complete self-government. Until Home Rule is granted to India, a big army will have to be maintained by the British for the defence of this country. Surely, other nations will insist on possessing an equally big army. Increase of such armies will lead to war again and again. If this state of things is to be prevented, there should not be big armies in India. So, let those who attempt to organise the League of Nations understand that, by granting complete self-government to India, permanent peace in the world will be secured. We remind President Wilson and others that, in the absence of such a measure, no benefit will be derived by forming this league. We are grieved to see that, though England has been ruling India for the last 150 years, she should be ignorant of the real condition of India. This clearly indicates the tactics of the bureaucrats. While their oppression is increasing in India, we cannot but characterise her condition as pitiable when we see that the Government intend introducing a Bill embodying the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee instead of cancelling the present repressive laws which are themselves more than enough for repressing the patriots and the nationalist papers in this country.

India and the League of Nations.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

14. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th January, writes:— . . . Revolutionary movements cannot grow in an atmosphere of freedom. This shows the urgent necessity of establishing freedom all over the world regardless of all distinctions of race or religion, of east or west, or of great or small powers. If the Peace Conference lays the work of its reconstruction of the world on foundations of freedom, Bolshevism is sure to disappear, yielding place to orderly progress. There is no doubt that the Allies who could crush German militarism will be able to exterminate Russian Bolshevism. The means to be employed by them in this respect will be different. The Peace Conference will decide this matter to-morrow. May God inspire it with the liberal outlook and firmness of mind which are required in such a matter.

The Peace Conference and Bolshevism.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

15. Referring to the decision of the Peace Conference not to allow Press correspondents to publish information other than that given in its own official communiqués, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th January, remarks:— . . . This decision of the Conference is disappointing. . . It is strange that the Peace Conference which wants to do away with all secret transactions in international matters should hold its own proceedings *in camera*.

The Peace Conference and its secret proceedings.

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 11th Jan. 1919.

16. Referring to the letter of a correspondent to the *Madras Mail*, attributing the surrender of Germany to the superiority of the Allies in men and resources, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 11th January, writes:—We are not disposed to agree with this correspondent. The German Emperor too possessed extraordinary military strength, and

Germany and the war.

his men and munitions were of undoubtedly superior quality. The German people, however, grew tremendously proud and gloried over their strength, on which alone, they thought, their success or defeat in war mainly depended. They turned their faces against truth and justice and wished the whole world to act up to their bidding, threatening with destruction all those who refused to do so. But for this, America, Portugal and Italy would not have entered the war on behalf of the Allies. It is really the haughtiness of Germany that brought about this revolution in Europe as well as her own unconditional surrender. The Allies did not defeat Germany; it is only the pride of her officials that brought about her downfall. Truth will surely triumph in the long run. It is no good for the Allies to boast that they have conquered Germany. If the Allies are wise, they should consider that it is truth that has triumphed and willingly accept the scheme of a League of Nations suggested by President Wilson and work for universal welfare in co-operation with all the other nations of the world. If, on the other hand, they act just as the Germans did hitherto, the same fate that has befallen Germany will not fail to befall the Allies as well.

Mysore Star, Mysore, 12th Jan. 1919.

The Parliamentary elections in England.

17. In its leading article under the heading the 'New Parliament', the *Mysore Star*, of the 12th January, gives the relative strength of the different parties now elected to the Parliament and writes:—The Indian Home Rulers fear that the present coalition party, having a preponderance of Conservatives, which has come into power, instead of the Liberals or the Labourites as was expected by them, will not be conducive to the grant of the proposed reforms to India. Mr. Montagu however has come out successful in the recent elections, and should he be taken into the Cabinet, we believe, there would not be much room for any such fear. The cause of India would be weakened only if he is not there. Mr. Lloyd George, who was before the war, a sworn enemy of the Conservative Unionists, had, at the time of a grave crisis, to willingly co-operate with them for the sake of imperial interests. But it is difficult to say how he will, during the present time of peace, be able to get on with them if they should be in a majority and attempt to throw obstacles in his way. In one of his recent speeches, while referring to his future policy, he said that if the Government that would be formed now should fail to carry out the promises made to the people he would resign his Premiership and once again appeal to the people. From this it is very clear that he would not be a tool in the hands of the Conservatives and would dissolve the Government and go in for a fresh election, rather than go against his cherished liberal principles. We hope that the new ministry will be able to effect a satisfactory peace and would, by granting freedom and political reforms to India to the extent that she deserves them, give happiness, peace and prosperity to all parts of the British Empire.

Swadeshabhimani, Mangalore, 10th Jan. 1919.

The Parliamentary elections.

Referring to the success of the coalition party in the recent general election to the British Parliament, the *Swadesh-abhimani*, of the 10th January, writes:—The defeat of Mr. Asquith means the setting back of the Liberals and Labourites. So long as this new coalition Government continues in power, the programme of the Labourites will not make any progress towards realization. How surprising that even in countries like England, where liberty, self-determination and such other lofty principles are so dearly cherished, political events shape themselves in so strange a manner! Let alone that considered with reference to their effect on India the new elections give us ample room for despair. Mr. Asquith has not been elected, the Labour party has suffered defeat, members of the Liberal party have not been elected in sufficiently large numbers and most of those who were sympathetically disposed towards India have not been returned to Parliament. It will not, therefore, be surprising if Indians entertain the fear that the question of Home Rule for India might be shelved. It is a matter for consolation, however, that Messrs. Mantagu and Wedgwood have been elected and there is room for hope that Mr. Montagu will see that his scheme of reforms is passed by Parliament. Should Mr. Montagu accept the scheme outlined by the National Congress and modify his own scheme on these lines and see to its safe passage through the Parliament, then, India may be considered to have been really benefited by his re-election.

18. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 9th January writes:—The supreme question that, at present, calls for the greatest attention and consideration is what will be the fate of Islam after the conclusion of peace. The problem is so delicate and involved that it baffles the understanding of even statesmen and international leaders and they apprehend unrest and revolt.

Arabia and Turkey.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 9th Jan. 1919.

America has totally failed to appreciate the existence of Islam, France has taken no trouble to understand it, Italy has made a mistake in her investigation and Great Britain has failed to solve the problem. The Islamic world is anxiously waiting to see the kind of treatment that will be meted out to it at the Peace Conference and the resultant effects.

India forms a large part of the Islamic world and Muhammadans are anxiously waiting to hear Great Britain's decision. The Prime Minister, however, failed to make mention of it either in his election speech or in his peace proposals or to state as to what view he takes of the existence of Islam and whether or no there is any possibility of its condition improving.

Great Britain has no friendly feeling for the Muhammadans and if there exists any power at all on the face of the earth that can take up and support the cause of the Islamic world, that power is the British Empire. But the ministry has, of late, neglected and gave expression to misconception in this respect. Mr. Lloyd George has reduced its importance and prestige from the position at which it was placed by Lord Salisbury. Once the question of Islam was known as "the Near East" and it was Britain alone that has fought with the Russians for the Khalifate and assisted the Turkish forces with her powerful fleet; but Mr. Asquith undid Lord Beaconfield's policy and suspended Mr. Gladstone's object, and Mr. Lloyd George has ignored the views both for and against it. At present no one knows the condition in which they want to place Islam when peace is concluded, and what ideas they entertain, and what object they have at heart in signing the Peace Conference.

India, as the chief Muhammadan centre and as the home of the most loyal subjects of the great king, has the right to see Islam more secure and powerful, and with that object in view it can discuss and demand at least three things:—

(1) The sanctity of the office of the Khalifa.
(2) The sanctity of the holy places.
(3) The inviolability of Islamic territories. Unless these three things are well understood and their importance and delicateness are considered, it is feared that just and free discussion may not take place and the connexion with the Islamic world may be wiped out.

It is admitted that America, among her fourteen peace proposals, has laid down one or two which tend to support the existence of Islam in future.

Unless those minor points are finally decided at the Peace Conference, it cannot satisfy us that the principles convey the same substance and idea as we understand it or as words express.

The chief cause of this confusion and commotion in the Islamic world is due to the non-existence of a Muhammadan representative at the Peace Conference. Those matters have been left to the Arabs or the Turks to decide who are both inimical and persistent, to a certain extent in obtaining their freedom and independence. Neither have the Turks any right to realise their objects in the name of Islam nor the Arabs have the right to represent their aspirations in the Islamic garb. The Arabs have religious connexion with the Turks but not a political one, and the former cannot, however, claim that they should be freed from the Turkish yoke. The dark page of the history of the Arabs consists of how the latter brought about the ruin of the Khalifs of Baghdad and Spain and also the decline of the Khalif of Egypt to the lowest level on the face of the earth. They cannot, however, claim the right of laying the foundation of an independent kingdom with their own hands. (*To be continued.*)

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 11th January, in continuation of the article in the issue of the 9th January, writes:—The day before yesterday a telegram from Karachi announced that, at a meeting of the principal Shaikhs held in Mesopotamia, the Civil

Arabia and Turkey, No. 2.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 11th Jan. 1919.

Commissioner declared that the Turks will not return to their country and that their tyrannical rule was at an end. We do not understand how this decision could have been announced prior to the matter being settled at the Peace Conference, and we are at a loss to know on whose authority the Civil Commissioner has been able to express views calculated to cause a commotion among Muhammadans.

The British Government itself has not made any announcement on the subject. Such questions will in all probability stand over until the Peace Conference meets. The fact is, a few Military officers have raised a storm by giving expression to their views and an ignorant public is alarmed and cannot understand what is actually taking place.

The History and Geography of Mesopotamia both bear witness to the fact that it is a grave error to grant Home Rule to the Arabs, and if their connexion with the Khalifate be severed they will be excluded from the Islamic world and deprived of the blessings connected therewith. The Arabs are not engaged in commerce, nor are they acquainted with arts and industries. Indeed it is impossible for them to make any progress in these things, because their condition is worse than that of our Indian Muhammadans.

The Arabs will share our fate in the matter of literary, industrial and commercial education in contrast with the proficiency of non-Muhammadans and they will never be able to qualify themselves for self-government. The result of giving the Arabs independence will be that the Jews and others will advance and the Muhammadans will become even more degraded and impoverished than they are now. The unfortunate position will be that non-Muslims will belong to non-Muslim States while the Muhammadan States will not be able to interfere in the case of Muslims.

Conditions in India are different. Here both the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities are governed by a Christian nation, and, rightly or wrongly, the authorities are generally accused of encouraging quarrels between Hindus and Muhammadans in order to maintain their rule (*a case of divide et impera*—Tr.) Possibly this may not be so, but it is true that it is easy for a third nation to rule over two other nations. Although the Hindus and Muhammadans are the children of the soil, their civic rights are small, when compared with those enjoyed by foreigners and settlers. An Indian does not enjoy the same privileges as an Anglo-Indian.

This will be the state of affairs in Mesopotamia. If the connexion with Turkey is serious and no friendly relations exist between an Islamic State and Mesopotamian Muhammadans, the Jewish people and others will naturally get the upper hand of the Muhammadans, and some European power or other will step into support and safeguard their rights and interests.

If the real object is to secure independence for Mesopotamia, its connexion should be maintained with the Turkish empire which should be required to prepare its people for Home Rule and to gradually grant them responsible government. In this way alone can the Islamic States ensure their continuance and stability. Otherwise small kingdoms will gradually disappear as did the Tribal Kings in the days of Arab ascendency.

The first question for the Peace Conference to consider is what advantage the world derive by depriving the Turkish Empire of her captured territories.

President Wilson has stated that the map of the world will be changed, but it is not known whether the old lines will be re-drawn or whether new ones will be produced at pleasure.

As regards Palestine we hear that a Jewish Kingdom will be established there as the country formerly belonged to them.

With reference to Mesopotamia it is stated that the Government will be entrusted to the Arabs, as they were the original inhabitants of the land. Obviously these two principles are opposed to each other and that in some places old lines of the map are to be used and in others new ones. According to this involved principle some philosophers opine that Constantinople should be taken from Turkish hands on the ground that they are not the original inhabitants. If this erroneous principle be accepted, we do not know how many European Cities

will have to change hands, and what a storm of indignation will be raised. Probably the British Government is not responsible for such unsound principles, but that is all due to the words and acts of some short-sighted politicians.

The salvation of the Arabs lies in the maintenance of their connexion with the Islamic Khalifate, and if they sever this tie instead of being free, they will find themselves bound in the fetters of slavery ; for, the rival communities of Jews and Syrians, etc., will have them behind in the race of progress with their historic rights forfeited.

19. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 12th January, in a leader on this subject writes :—As we expected Mussalmans have read the news with great astonishment and amazement. It has created a sensation among people. Every one is asking himself : Is this right ? Is this justice ?

Qaumi Report, Madras, 12th Jan. 1919.

The Agha Khan to rule Mesopotamia.

Here the Editor gives a translation of an extract from the *Madras Times*, of the 10th January, on this subject and observes :—These words which quietly announce that the decision, with reference to the administration of Mesopotamia, is being arrived at, are not only contrary to the opinion of Mussalmans but also opposed to *Islam*. If the correspondent of the *Times* is correct, it is the duty of Muslims to make known their opinion and save the Government from error.

The best form of loyalty is for us to approve an opinion calculated to benefit the British Government and increase its prestige. We are not among those, who out of flattery say 'yes'; or through greed or fear say 'yes sir'. We candidly assert that the proposal is not only opposed to the principle of Islam, but also against the principles of the British Government. It has never been the policy of the Government to interfere with the religious or the national affairs of any people. If the suggestion materialise, the power of the Turks in Asia will be reduced and the prestige of the Arabs lowered. Besides there will arise friction between Indians and non-Muslims which will not be easy to remove.

We are not opposed to the name of His Highness the Agha Khan, and we do not propose to discuss his fitness or unfitness for the position. We should certainly be grateful if the Agha Khan be entrusted with the administration of German East Africa, the colony being annexed to India. As Germany has forfeited her right to rule, it is for us to see that it is made a clean sweep of. This view, however, does apply to the Turks. It would indeed be regarded as unjust to deprive them of their right.

In the first place it is evident that the Turks were forced to join the Germans and were not willing to fight against the British. This fact has been repeatedly mentioned by them, and English correspondents have referred to it. Recently His Majesty the Sultan made a declaration of his friendship and we had hoped that a similar declaration would be made by His Majesty the King Emperor to the effect that the British Empire has no quarrel with Turkey.

Instead of this, however, we have suddenly the report that Agha Khan Sahib will be appointed to rule Mesopotamia. This news has not only blasted the hopes of the Muhammadans, but has also dealt a death blow to their aspirations. In their utmost despair and disappointment they are anxiously waiting to see what His Majesty the King George has to say on the subject and whether or no he will sympathize with the wounded feelings of Muslims.

The political principle of Britain is that every nation should advance by its own efforts and is that every people should be by nature free. France fought against Britain but her administrative power was not wrested from her. The Boers waged war against Britain but they did not forfeit the right to rule in consequence. China crossed swords with Britain but her authority was not taken away from her. It is therefore amazing to find that the Turks should be turned out of the land of the two rivers and the dwellers of Mesopotamia placed under a foreign ruler.

If the Turks made mistake in going to war, the punishment for such an error should not be forfeiture of sovereign rights.

No such severe rule has ever been applied before in the political realm and we are anxious to know in whose brain the idea originated, whose mind approved it, and whose hand sanctioned it.

There is no doubt there are certain persons in England who are not in favour of Turkish independence, just as there are a few who are opposed to the granting of independence to India. Be that as it may, we have nothing to do with their opinion. We appeal to His Majesty the King and to the great British Parliament, and we invite the attention of the British nation to the matter so that they may not destroy the universal brotherhood of the Muhammadans or create dissension among them. If another Government be set up in Mesopotamia, authority of Turkish Empire will sustain a blow from which it will never recover. If the Turks are given sufficient help and saved from the hands of their enemies, they will always co-operate with Britain and thus perpetual concord will exist between the only Muhammadan State and the greatest Muhammadan power in the world and these two Empires will be sufficient to deal with all the mischief-mongers on earth.

It is regrettable to find that certain shortsighted people are suggesting a course from which it is feared nothing but loss will accrue.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

The case of Mesopotamia and the Agha Khan.

20. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 15th January, has a leader on the marginally-noted subject which is briefly to this effect:—The *Madras Times* of Friday last writes: "It is proposed to appoint His Highness the Agha Khan, Ruler of Mesopotamia, and that Mussalmans will be glad to hear the news." *New India* opposes, but the *Madras Mail* supports the proposal.

The Editor in commenting on the report says: "Mussalmans cannot approve the absolute separation of Mesopotamia from the control of the Khalifate. Mesopotamia is not German East Africa to give any occasion for apprehension. Germany is charged with the desire of dominating the world, but no such unholy stigma has ever been found on the escutcheon of the Khalifate. Turkey has never tried to conquer any country or has claimed to be superior to all European nations. Therefore we ask for what offence her country is being wrested from her?

Mesopotamia is a precious heritage of Islam. The Turks did not conquer it, but the Government thereof was handed over to them. Basra was founded by the Muhammadans and hence the city is a part of the Islamic world. So long as the Khalifate exists, no one else can rightly become its master.

As a matter of fact, the question as to whether Mussalmans approve or disapprove of His Highness the Agha Khan is beside the point. Government does not find its origin in the personal equation. We are amazed at the political intelligence of our esteemed contemporaries in attaching superior importance to the name of the Agha Khan, the result of which will be to spread enmity among the mass of Mussalmans.

II.—Home Administration.

(*d*) *Education.*

Sirturuttam, Madura, 1st Jan. 1919.

The Tamil Pandits' Conference.

21. Dwelling at length upon the proceedings of this Conference, the *Sirturuttam*, of the 1st January, trusts that, as the resolutions passed at this Conference are productive of great good to the Tamil language and to the students of Tamil literature, the Government will pay heed to these and set right matters.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

Report of the Educational Department.

22. Reviewing in its leader the report of the Educational department for 1917–18, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th January, remarks:—. . . It is very regrettable that the University should invite the third rate or fourth rate men from Europe instead of such well-known scientists as Dr. J. C. Bose for delivering University lectures. Their invitation to Doctor Ray may be said to be a new departure which, we hope, will be observed on a more extensive scale by the University in future. . . On the whole, the progress of education is not so satisfactory. We trust that it would be more rapid after the introduction of the scheme of reforms.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

23. The *Panchayat*, for July-August, observes:—We learn that in a large portion of Northern India, village panchayats have obtained legal sanction, and that they are working well in Assam, Baroda, Bengal and other places. Why should the Government of Madras alone still remain inactive in this matter?

Village panchayats.

PANCHAYAT, Trichinopoly, July-Aug. 1918.

Referring to a statement in a Government report to the effect that a District Collector was against the introduction of the panchayat system altogether and was of opinion that more harm than good would result from it, the same journal remarks:—It is not desirable that a Collector ignorant of Indian history should have thus expressed his narrow views. Perhaps he is unacquainted with the administration in ancient India. He is neither an Indian, nor is his opinion sound. Let the Government pay no heed to this opinion. A careful scrutiny of the ancient inscriptions of our country will furnish us with many instances to prove with what interest and regard village administration was in those days conducted by the villagers themselves.

24. Referring to the report of the Select Committee on the Madras City Municipality Bill, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th January, observes:—. . . It is not proper that the Indian Chamber of Commerce should be allowed only two representatives. The Indian Chamber is more prominent and numerically stronger than the European. We, therefore, request the Legislative Council to accord the first place to the former. . . We commend the action of the Bombay Legislative Council in allowing women to vote in the Muncipal Council to our own and request it to remove the same disability in this Presidency also. . . The Select Committee's report shows farsightedness. But the Bill should be even more liberal in view of the fact that self-government is shortly going to be introduced into the country. . .

The Madras City Municipality Bill.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

(g) *Forests.*

25. The *Panchayat*, for July-August, observes:—Though the number of forest panchayats is increasing year after year, there is ample scope for improvement, which necessitates the appointment of a special officer for the purpose. Want of harmony among the ryots and their disinclination to allow their cattle to graze in forests impede the progress of this movement. A Government official has once said that, in Kurnool, though the District Collector was in favour of starting panchayats, the ryots, who are generally obstinate and full of factious spirit, considering these panchayats to be profitless would not patronize them. But the truth of this statement is not clear. The Government themselves are responsible for such conditions, because villagers are generally indifferent in regard to matters lacking facilities and conveniences, and attempts should therefore be made to exhilarate them. The ryots will, if questioned, represent their grievances and the trouble caused to them by forest guards. The case of Kurnool alone should not be taken, for, as far as we know, other districts are not so backward in this matter. If the authorities had only taken interest and explained to the ryots of any place, the aims of the panchayats, they would certainly have yielded. The officers may be inclined to shirk the responsibility in various ways, but no opportunity should be given to them to do so. Panchayats cannot be formed and set to work without much effort. The appointment of a special officer for this purpose will not entail much expenditure, and it is essential to appoint such officers to instruct the villagefolk in matters connected with panchayats.

Forest panchayats.

PANCHAYAT, Trichinopoly, July-Aug. 1918.

(k) *General.*

26. Condemning a recent order of the Government effecting certain changes in regard to the rules about grazing grounds, the *Panchayat*, for July-August, observes:—We infer that the view of the Government is rather curious in this matter. They are of opinion that as cattle, by promiscuous mixing in grazing grounds, fail to produce good breed, and suffer from diseases, the grazing areas should be

Grazing grounds for cattle.

PANCHAYAT, Trichinopoly, July-Aug. 1918.

restricted by being brought under cultivation and that the cattle should be fed at stalls. Though we are entirely ignorant of the cause of such an order, still we are sure that it will lead to many baneful results. The Government should understand that cattle should not be made to remain in shed all day long and that a free airing will be conducive to their health and growth. No one can deny the fact that in former days there were extensive grazing grounds in which cattle were freely grazing and no harm resulted in regard to their breed. . . As pattas are being granted in respect of communal lands in villages during the settlement, public interests are prejudicially affected. If grazing grounds and waste lands are granted on pattas, who can witness the sufferings of cattle? What can the agriculturists do? What can be done to provide the necessary fodder for cattle?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

Sir S. P. Sinha.

27. Expressing its satisfaction at the appointment of Sir. S. P. Sinha as the Under Secretary of State for India, and offering its thanks to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India for this appointment, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 15th January, observes:—No one either in England or India ever dreamt that Sir S. P. Sinha would be appointed to this high office. This appointment is indeed of great moment as it will serve as a precedent for the appointment of Indians as Under Secretary in future. Queen Victoria assured us that when qualified Indians were available they would be appointed to posts befitting their qualifications and that no racial distinction would be made in the matter of appointments. That assurance may be said to have been fulfilled by this appointment. If Sir Sinha is raised to the peerage, that will be another evidence to prove the impartiality of Mr. Lloyd George.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th January, also expresses its satisfaction at this appointment and makes the following observations among others:—This appointment appears to be a small move in favour of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. We have, however, to give a warning to the British Government, that the Indians will not, by such appointments, forget themselves and consider that the British have done their duty towards India by conferring certain high posts on the Indians here and there. India is panting with the thirst for liberty, and it is the duty of the British Government to enable her to quench this thirst without delay. India expects justice and liberty from the British Government. Home Rule should have been granted to her long ago. If the British still remain without fulfilling their duties towards India, they will become the subject of reproach by the whole world and earn an undying notoriety. This unexpected appointment appears to have been made, because it is proposed to enact a statute ere long reforming the administration of India. There is no doubt that Sir S. P. Sinha will try to do as much good to India as possible, while holding this post, and that he is better fitted than any Englishman to espouse the cause of India and to refute the arguments of the Sydenham Party in the House of Lords when the Bill for the reform of the Indian administration is brought for consideration. But how far his efforts and influence will succeed remains to be seen, as most of the members of the new Cabinet are Conservatives and are not likely to hold liberal views regarding Indian affairs. A careful consideration of the Indian administrative reforms will show that, by this appointment, no Indian can expect the grant of Home Rule to India soon, and that it cannot be taken to be the first step to self-government in India. Can the Indian subjects rest contented with one or two of such high appointments? It is only for self-government that Indians are striving and not for securing high posts under Government.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

Sir S. P. Sinha.

Remarking that the assurance given by Queen Victoria in 1858 regarding the appointment of competent Indians to high offices in the British Empire is just now being fulfilled, the *Lokopakari*, of the 20th January, observes:—Administration by an Indian of the capacity of Sir S. P. Sinha will give greater satisfaction to the Indians than that conducted by those that are ignorant of Indian affairs or have no sympathy with the aspirations of the Indians. The Anglo-Indian party will be weakened by Sir Sinha's appointment. Sir Sinha will be a lion to the Sydenham party when the Montagu-Chelmsford report is taken up for discussion

in the House of Lords. Though he holds moderate views in regard to reform questions, he will not allow even an inch to those who are hostile to Indian aspirations. However, the Indians should not remain idle under the impression that their aspirations have been completely realised by the exaltation of Sir Sinha to a high office.

Sir S. P. Sinha, K.C.

Under this heading, the *Vrittanta Patrika*, of the 16th January, writes:— We note with much pleasure that Mr. Lloyd George has appointed Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India in the new Cabinet formed by him. Judged by his previous record we feel sure that Mr. Montagu will leave no stone unturned to carry into effect the reforms in Indian administration outlined by him in his Report. Even more pleasing is the fact that the Premier has appointed Sir S. P. Sinha, K.C., as Under Secretary of State for India. This is an unprecedented and unexpected step in the history of India, as this is the first time that an Indian has been appointed to so high a place in the British ministry. This will undoubtedly be highly gratifying to one and all in this country. Sir Sinha is an eminent lawyer and has held high posts under the Government of India and Bengal, and has earned the confidence and respect of his countrymen as well as of the British Government. He has, besides, worked with the British ministers as the representative of India and is a member of the Peace Conference as well. As he is fully acquainted with the aspirations and requirements of the people of India, it may confidently be hoped that he will be of invaluable help to Mr. Montagu, and that this country will make progress in all directions during the tenure of his office.

VRITTANTA PATRIKA, Mysore, 16th Jan. 1919.

Writing on the same subject the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 21st January, remarks that the appointment of Sir Sinha goes to prove that men like Mr. Lloyd George consider that the welfare of India is as important as that of British and that both the people are equally entitled to the protection of the British Government.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 21st Jan. 1919.

The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 17th January, also expresses its gratification at the appointment of Sir Sinha, and proceeds to remark as follows:—There is no doubt that Sir Sinha's elevation to this high office is unprecedented, but let not any one forget that the mere appointment of a few more Indians to such high positions brings India any the nearer towards the goal of self-government. Even if all the appointments should be held by Indians it would not mean that self-government has been secured by India. If, on the other hand, the administrative policy should be guided by the popular will, we would not mind much even if outsiders hold all appointments. If, for example, America were to impose her administrative policy on England, and leave all the high appointments to Englishmen themselves, would it mean that England is in the enjoyment of self-government? To sum up, therefore, the appointment of Indians to high places does not mean that any advance has been made in the direction of self-government. One thing, however, has been made clear by this appointment, and that is that instances such as this will shut the mouths of those who contend that India is not yet fit for self-government.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 17th Jan. 1919.

THE MALAYALAM PAPERS.

Sir S. P. Sinha.

All the *Malayalam* newspapers received during the week hail with delight the announcement of the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as Under Secretary of State for India and many of them express gratitude to the British Government for their taking this unprecedented step on behalf of India.

The *Desabhimani*, of the 18th January, considers the appointment as very important and significant inasmuch as it demonstrates that a British Indian citizen is considered to be on a par with any citizen of the British Empire and that no position in the Empire is closed against him.

DESABHIMANI, Quilon, 18th Jan. 1919.

The *Yogakshemam*, of the 17th January, expresses the same opinion.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 17th Jan. 1919.

The *Malayali*, of the 18th January. The appointment of an Indian to such an exalted position surpasses all possible expectations.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 18th Jan. 1919.

The *Samadarsi*, of 18th January. The appointment has increased the self-respect of Indians to an extent inexpressible in words. This good news is a good omen of approaching good fortune to mother India.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 18th Jan. 1919.

NAZRANI DEEPIKA, Mannanam, 17th Jan. 1919.

The *Nazrani Deepika*, of 17th January. Sir S. P. Sinha differs from the extremists of India, has sincere respect for the British Government and has shown himself to be a man with the courage of his convictions.

SATYANADAM, Ernakulam, 17th Jan. 1919.

The *Satyanadam*, of 17th January. This unprecedented move of Mr. Lloyd George is most commendable.

KERALA BHARATI, Kottayam, 17th Jan. 1919.

The *Kerala Bharati*, of 17th January. Among the various things done by the British Government to satisfy the longing of Indians to have a greater share in the administration of India, this appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha is all important.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 15th Jan. 1919.

The *Kerala Sanchari*, of 15th January. The appointment is very opportune in view of the now pending Reform Scheme.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 14th Jan. 1919.

The *Manorama*, of 14th January. The appointment has caused great surprise in England. Indians will ever remember with gratitude the name of Mr. Lloyd George who had the considerateness to appoint an Indian as Under Secretary of State for India at this important juncture.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

28. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th January, observes:—It is certain that the future of India depends on the recommendations of these Committees. If one of them is in favour of placing all the departments in the provinces under the control of the Indians as desired by the Congress held at Delhi, it can recommend accordingly. If the other Committee wishes to divide a province into many districts and make the people in each district with some property or income, eligible to vote, it can recommend to that effect. If the two Committees make their recommendations in this way, the aspirations of the Indians will be accomplished. But to persuade the Committees to make such recommendations, public opinion should urge it strongly on them. Provincial Governments also should sympathise with and support public opinion. We cannot say that our Provincial Government evince this sympathy very much. We learn that they have sent to these communities a memorandum expressing their views which it is said are all retrograde in character. It appears their views are those of a few who raise a false cry in the name of the non-Brahman party. It was noticed recently that, in their administration report, the Government had written in favour of this party, and this is in consonance with the impression already created that many of the Government officials in this Presidency are greatly supporting the non-Brahman movement. That the Government should have communicated their views to the Committees without furnishing any reasons for such views, and deputing officials to answer cross-examinations shows that high officials in Madras have resolved to see that the aspirations of the Indian political workers are not fulfilled. This Presidency, as it is ahead of other provinces in certain items connected with administration, is also foremost in having a strong, united and influential bureaucracy. It has thus become very difficult for the Committees to gauge true public opinion fully. The Committees would have by this time become aware of the memorandum of the Civil Service Association which contains a statement that civil servants consider it to be prejudicial to their individual interests if the chief departments are transferred to Indian control. The memorandum makes it clear that the civil servants will not be in favour of any reforms. The chief members of that body hold high offices in the Madras Government. So we request the Committees to consider the present exigencies and make their recommendations only after realizing the real state of affairs, without commending the views of the Madras Government or those of the non-Brahman party, which has the support of that Government. Though, on the plea that there is none on these Committees to safeguard the interests of non-Brahmans, the South Indian Liberal Federation has resolved not to send any of its representatives to give evidence before them, it is understood that certain members of the Federation will give evidence in their private capacities. These members may express the views of that association as their own. It may be stated before the Committees that, if all the important powers are allowed to be in Indian hands, the whole administration will come to a standstill, and that one class will monopolize all the powers and crush the other classes. The Committees should note that, for the last many years, whenever any administrative reforms were contemplated in India, self-interested people

The Reform Committees.

were advancing only such arguments. The peculiar feature this time is that some of the Indians themselves have been set up to oppose the reforms. The Committees should also note that though these people may raise a loud cry still their number is very small. We, therefore, expect that the Committees would make such recommendations as will enable the aspirations of the Indians, and the assurance of His Majesty's Government to be fulfilled.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th January, writes :—It is but natural that the Committees would desire to ascertain the cause for the origin of Doctor Nayar's anti-Brahman party which now goes under the name of the non-Brahman party. Will they patiently inquire and ascertain the truth? The Committees would also do well to note the formation of an Indian Civil Service association in Madras. The officials, who were till now posing as the friends of the poor Indians, have now come out in their true colours. Their attempt to overthrow the reform scheme is noticeable. Unless the devices of the bureaucrats and the false pretensions of the traitorous party are properly understood, no real benefit will accrue to us by these Committees.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

The Reform Committees.

Referring to the electoral roll furnished by the Local Government to these Committees, the *Dravidan*, of the 16th January, observes :—As this roll will be a document having an important bearing on the question of communal representation, every one will admit that it should be free from doubts. We ask whether it is really so. The question is whether the statistics furnished by the Government of Madras are correct. It is reported that the President of the Anglo-Indian Association has declined to give evidence before these Committees on the ground that the statistics furnished by the Government in regard to their community are incorrect. We hear that the Hon'ble Mr. Richmond has proved them to be so. If statistics in respect of even such a small class are unsatisfactory, unreliable and likely to create misapprehension to the Committees, how many errors would have been committed in the statistics relating to bigger classes? For various proper reasons, it was resolved by the non-Brahman Confederation that non-Brahmans should not give evidence before these Committees. The facts that have since come to light prove the discreetness of this resolution. We believe that the Committees will accept, with much caution, the statistics now furnished and will not come to any hasty decision in the matter.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

The Reform Committees.

With reference to the Franchise and the Subjects committees now sitting in Madras, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 16th January, observes :—. . . The Hon'ble Mr. Richmond has declined to give evidence before the Franchise Committee, stating that the list of Anglo-Indian voters has not been correctly drawn up. When there are such mistakes in respect of a small community, we do not know what mistakes there may be in the voters' lists of the large non-Brahman communities. Communal representation is the backbone of political freedom and national progress. We cannot now prophesy whether the Franchise Committee will earn the gratitude of the people by recognizing this secret or their ill-will by ignoring it. . . We suggest to the Franchise Committee that it will do well to act wisely, as its work will be, anyhow, thoroughly sifted by the Parliament and the Select Committee to be appointed in England.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

The Reform Committees.

Referring to the inquiry held by the Reform Committees, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th January, says :— . . . The inquiry made by them is no open inquiry. . . All that the witnesses say will not be recorded. Even what is recorded will not be published. It is not known to whom the inquiry will be useful. The people can have no confidence in it. These committees have been fittingly called Purdha Committees. To treat with such indifference a matter which decides the future well-being of India does not seem proper.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

High price and steamer freight.

29. Referring to the telegraphic intimation recently received that a reduction has been made in the steamer freight from Rangoon, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th January, observes :—We should no doubt commend the action of the authorities in making this small concession. The price of rice, however,

continues to be as heavy as ever, and the losses and sufferings of the poor are great. So, though it may not be possible to get rice free of any steamer charge, yet we urge that steps should be taken to reduce the steamer freight still further.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

The Hindu-Moslem *entente*.

30. A correspondent to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th January, makes a strong appeal to both the Hindus and the Muhammadans to stand united in the matter of preserving their rights, without giving room to the attempts that will be made by their enemies to frustrate such union and without playing into the hands of the emissaries, who are their own brethren, but are doing slavish service to these enemies, sent by the latter to mar that union. He adds that, by allowing others to occupy positions to which they are entitled, the Indians are only helping the people of other countries to declare them unfit to administer local bodies and asks why the Indians should care much for the feelings of those who treat them with scant courtesy.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

The lessons of the war.

31. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th January, reproduces an article apparently from another paper, which contains the following observations, among others:—Every one knows that the mean acts of the petty-minded bureaucrats have caused indescribable heart-burning in the minds of the public in India and Ceylon. If the bureaucrats holding responsible positions should at times lose their heads and make contradictory statements, then they should certainly be said to be lacking political wisdom. The cause of all this is that responsible government has not been given to the people. Are not the annihilation of governments that inferfere with the liberty of the people in countries all over the world, and the establishment of self-determination in them, the chief causes that induced our Gracious Emperor to enter on this war? Further, in the proposals relating to the reform of the Indian administration, it is stated that because the Indian subjects are to some extent dissatisfied with the present administrative policy of the bureaucrats, a responsible form of government should be established. We can, therefore, say that, as a result of the great war, the feeling that responsible government will be established in India and Ceylon, is growing strong.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919

The Indian Civil Service Associations.

32. Referring to the formation of an Indian Civil Service Association in Madras, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th January, writes as follows under the heading "The European Conspiracy:—As far as our knowledge goes, the main object of this association is to set aside the announcement of the 20th August 1917 and to make endeavours for preventing the grant of liberty to India in accordance with the Montagu-Chelmsford report All these years it was everywhere stated that the Indian Civil Service officers in India were not at all hostile to her progress. But the Indians alone were contradicting this statement. Now the truth has come out. These officers have come forward to declare publicly that India exists only for their own comfort, and they have formed an association also to safeguard their interests. They have begun to act against the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. In fact they may be said to have commenced to oppose the British Government itself. Brethren! Don't lose time but consider what we should do hereafter. Remember that an association to conspire against India has been formed.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

The I.C.S. Association.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th January, observes:—There is a rule in vogue in India prohibiting Government officials from taking part in politics. But this rule is in operation only with regard to the Indian officials and does not affect the European officials. . . The Indian Civil Service party are endeavouring to govern the Indians unconstitutionally as if the greatness and power already enjoyed by them are not sufficient. This only betrays their jealousy and selfishness. The Anglo-Indian papers blab that these are the guardians of the masses in India. How can the Indian Civil Service party who are one with the Government oppose the reform scheme published by them? How can these interfere in politics against the rules? The Government should at once inquire into this. At present the Government is full of Indian Civil Service officers, and we can therefore easily infer what views Provincial Governments and especially the Madras Government

will express on the reform proposals. To quote an instance, Mr. Couchman, a chief member of the Madras Indian Civil Service association, which is hostile to the reform scheme, is also a member of the Reforms Committee. He will only suggest all possible means to crush the reform scheme but will never offer any suggestions to improve it. Let the Indian officers' association in Madras wake up at once and agitate for equality in pay, privileges and power with the Anglo-Indian officers.

Remarking that similar Indian Civil Service associations are formed in every province in India to work against the carrying out of the reform scheme, the same paper further observes:—Indians by their union and unrelenting agitation will succeed in their competition with the European officials. The latter should cast away from their mind the foolish belief that India exists for their benefit. Their scheming nature has been understood by the Indians very well, and their threats will no longer be feared. We point out that it will be fair and becoming on their part to cement the relationship between England and India, considering the Indians to be their own brethren.

The I.C.S. Association.

Referring to the formation of this association in Madras, the *Lokopakari*, of the 20th January, observes:—Both the Government of India and the British Government cannot now be unaware of the truth of our grievance against the I.C.S. party. It is only when India is governed for India's sake by the Indians, good time will dawn upon her and the British Empire. The Government will not fail to note that this party have come forward to interfere in politics against the Government rules. What is it else but sedition that this party who have been characterising as seditionists those that uphold the Congress and agitate for Home Rule, should themselves come out against the Government? It seems as if to curb the spirit of this party that Sir S. P. Sinha has been appointed Under Secretary of State for India. This appointment will cause great annoyance to the I.C.S. party as well as to the Anglo-Indians. If the Indians exhibit a feeling of union among themselves all their aspirations will surely be fulfilled. It is only want of union among the Indians that led to the invasion of India by various nations and its capture by them. The British who are bent upon securing self-determination for even small countries and nations, will not deny it to India.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

A further war contribution from India.

33. Referring to the request of His Excellency the Viceroy that an additional contribution of a crore of rupees may be made by the Indian princes and subjects for making suitable provisions for the maintenance of the helpless families of the Indian soldiers and European officers who lost their lives in the battlefield, and remarking that, as pointed out by the Industries Commission, the Government in this country have, unlike those in other countries, failed to afford the necessary facilities for the country's progress and that, consequent on the failure of the seasonal rains, the foodstuffs have become scarce and their prices increased abnormally, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th January, observes:—Though India is in such a stressful condition, we believe that the Indians will not in the least shirk to come forward with subscriptions to contribute their mite to the war relief fund and thereby adequately discharge their duty to the families of their dead brethren who rendered heroic service in the war and established the good name of India.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

Newspapers and the authorities.

34. Referring to the news published in the *Janamitran* of Ceylon that the Indian newspapers which published the proceedings of the Congress in toto were not permitted to circulate in Ceylon and observing that, while certain nationalist papers such as the *Hindu*, *New India*, the *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* were prohibited from England, a nationalist paper in Bombay that published the proceedings of the recent Moderate Conference in that place is said to have been permitted to circulate in London, the *Swadesamitan*, of the 15th January, says:—From this it is clear that only those papers that are in favour of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals are permitted to circulate in England, while those that condemn them are prohibited. It will be no surprise to us to be told, in such circumstances, that the British public have no correct ideas about Indian affairs. It is not easy to ascertain

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

the reason why the British who are known for independence and liberty, give room for such injustice. It is incumbent on the part of the Government to offer a satisfactory explanation for this and see that such things do not recur.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

Remarking that Indian affairs are not correctly represented in England, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th January, observes:—Methods which are not adopted in other countries are adopted in respect of India for reasons not known. Newspapers that can boldly represent the true aims of India are prohibited from entering England. Only some 'moderate' papers and Anglo-Indian papers are allowed to go to England. If such a system is adopted in America, will the Americans keep quiet? Will the Government of America be so silly? In no civilized country has such a thing been done, and we can assure the bureaucrats, will ever be done. Why should Indian nationalist papers be prohibited from entering England? Will they burn away England or drown her in the deep seas? Or will they create disunion between the King of England and his subjects? We can vouchsafe that nothing of the kind will happen. We are surprised to see that a nation should wish to remain ignorant of the real state of a country ruled by it. Only the false statements of the papers of the Anglo-Indians, who come here to carry away the wealth of India, get currency in England. For example, the *Madras Mail* which often blabs that the Indian Home Rulers are seeking the aid of Germany, goes to England. If an Indian paper should contradict the false statement of this paper, that Indian paper cannot go to England. We ask the British to explain the propriety of this. O God! Is there none to question the Sydenham party who, on the strength of the writings of these Anglo-Indian papers, make all manner of statements about India. Indians are not permitted to go to England to put them down. This traitorous party in England have discovered a new hold at present. They are said to be making much noise on the strength of the Rowlatt Committee Report, a heap of C.I.D. rubbish. Do the members of this small party know how the Rowlatt Committee conducted its inquiries and who gave evidence before it? After making an onesided inquiry, the Committee published its report. Will sane men accept this as an authority? Hereafter at least, it is essential that the British Government should deal faithfully with India. Though England may not help India, let her give India its rights. But we ask the British to note that India will not be satisfied even if the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme is carried out *in toto*. What India wants is Home Rule, which England is bound to give and India is entitled to get.

SWADESAMITRAN, & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th and 18th Jan. 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council.

35. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th and 18th January, respectively publish in Tamil a letter from the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar to the effect that the President of this Council has stated that, at the ensuing budget session of the Council, no interpellations or resolutions unconnected with the budget will be included in the agenda.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th January, comments on this letter as follows:—The Legislative Council meets only occasionally and if even on such occasions opportunities are denied to the people to express their views on public affairs and to get information on matters they wish to know, these Councils may as well cease to exist. Lord Pentland has said that these subjects will not be included in the agenda as usual. There is nothing to show such a precedent before his time. What if other questions are taken up for consideration along with the budget? What if the session of the Council is extended by another day? Does not the Parliament continue its sittings all through the year? Are not the daily proceedings therein conducted with the consent of the people? Is this the way to carry out the words of Lord Morley, that people here too will be allowed to share in the daily administration?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

36. Referring to the conviction of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th January, describes the Doctor as the Tilak of South India and remarking that he has now entered the jail only to liberate Mother (India) from her bondage, observes:—While every one in the west is immersed in an ocean of joy at the end of the war, the sons of Bharata are immersed in an ocean of sorrow. When even

the political prisoners in Germany have been released, not only have such prisoners not been released in India which is subject to the British rule, but the bureaucrats here seem also to be bent upon imprisoning even loyal patriots. Is it not the duty of the Government to maintain the joy of the Indians at the close of the war? If they had withdrawn the prosecution of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu, India in general and especially the Tamil land would have been grateful to them. But the bureaucrats, who have been accustomed to tease the patriots by means of repressive measures, have pushed the prosecution to the end and got our Doctor convicted at this period, when the war has come to an end, when the sun of liberty has dawned and when there is quietude everywhere. The Madras Presidency will never forget the mercy shown to Doctor Varadarajulu by Lord Pentland on the eve of his retirement. It is no exaggeration to say that the Doctor stands foremost among those who infused a feeling of patriotism in the Tamil land, ever since Lord Pentland spoke disparagingly of Home Rule for India on the Nilgiris. The Tamil land is wailing over the news of the imprisonment of one, who inculcated patriotism to lakhs of people, that had no idea of it. Alas! When all countries are in ecstacy, should the Tamil land alone be immersed in misery! The news of this conviction was received in the Tamil land by some with wailing, by some with gnashing of the teeth, by some with indignation, and by some with enthusiasm. The imprisonment of one for the sake of Mother Bharata will convert nine crores of people into patriots. One Varadaraja entered the prison yesterday; but nine crores of Varadarajas are born of Mother Bharata to-day. And this is due to the bureaucrats. How can we avoid being grateful to them? When Mrs. Annie Besant was interned, one Varadaraja sprang out. His imprisonment now has brought out nine crores of Varadarajas, behind whom are standing several crores of Varadarajas again. The repression of the bureaucrats is only the sharp sword that cuts what binds Mother Bharata. Let our friends realise that, until India acquires the liberty to which British subjects are entitled, the prison will be the abode of true patriots in India. Mahatma Ghandi has provided us with two weapons, viz., truth and courage, and these two are shining in the hands of our Doctor. To those that are armed with these weapons, life in prison is the same as life elsewhere. It will be foolish to deem the place where they stay to be a prison. Wisdom will deem it to be a temple. The place where those who commit crimes like theft for selfish ends are confined is no doubt a prison. If one who was serving others is also confined therein, it cannot be a prison to him. So, it will be foolish to think that Doctor Varadarajulu is in prison. He should be taken to be in a place of penance for thirty-three crores of people. O Tamilians! do not lose courage. Doctor Varadarajulu was looking only in one direction before. He is now looking in all directions. His life is not different from ours, nor is his body different from ours. He is one with us, and his imprisonment is our imprisonment. Friends! Do not wail, but be active. Wake up and come out armed with the weapons of truth and courage. O Varadaraja! The goddess of righteousness is going before you. You are following her and behind you stands the Tamil land. Neither righteousness nor you or the Tamil land will be ruined. O Varadaraja! You have won laurels on the war front of liberty. Good bye! Sisters! Why do you cry? Did the tears of Sita go in vain? Did they not take the shape of the arrow of Rama later on? But our rulers are not *Rakshasas*, but the British, who are the embodiment of righteousness. It is the bureaucrats that are committing wicked deeds contrary to British righteousness. The tears you shed should become an arrow against the bureaucratic rule and for establishing the British righteousness and liberty. Friends! the work of Varadarajulu will be done by the *Desabhaktan*.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th January, also refers to this conviction and, pointing to the fact that rigorous imprisonment, inflicted upon ordinary offenders, is not extended to political offenders in England and other countries, says:— From the summary of the judgment now received, the Magistrate seems to have applied the law wrongly in the case of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu. He does not deny the right to prove the necessity for Home Rule and no one versed in law can deny that, to do this, it is justifiable to point out the defects in the existing

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

foreign administration. This view is borne out by the decisions of superior courts. Though the Magistrate does not deny this, he does not seem to have realised and accepted it. He admits that Doctor Nayudu did not say that the British connexion should be cut off. To seek Home Rule, continuing under the British Empire, cannot be a hostile attitude towards the Government. The Doctor has confidence in the superiority of Home Rule and he spoke in support of it, for which he had to point out the defects in the existing system of administration. While remarking that there is nothing wrong in speaking of the Queen's Proclamation, the Press Act, etc., the Magistrate begins to discuss whether the object of the Doctor was merely to make it appear that the actions of the Government were not proper or to create disaffection towards the Government, and comes to the conclusion that it was the latter. In all criminal cases, the intention of the accused is an important point to note. In this case, the object of the accused was only to demonstrate the superiority of Home Rule and he was justified in condemning the measures of the present Government for this purpose. But it was the view of the Magistrate that, in doing so, he transgressed proper limits. The law does not lay down the limits for this. This depends wholly upon the opinion of the Magistrates But the very statements made by Doctor Nayudu have been decided to be proper criticism in the case of Narayan Vaidya at Nagpur. So, it is our opinion that he cannot be taken to have committed an offence. If the civilians are entitled to demand that they should not be made responsible to the people by any reforms introduced in the Indian constitution, it should be proper to impress on the people the necessity of their demanding that the Government should be made responsible to them. There is no basis for the conclusion of the Magistrate that the object of Doctor Nayudu was only to create a hostile feeling towards the Government. His contention was only to set right, renew or alter the machinery of the Government and this cannot be an offence. Therefore we believe that Doctor Nayudu is not guilty.

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

The *Swadesamitran*, and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th January, contain an appeal for funds to maintain the family of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu during his absence in prison and to help him in the further conduct of his case in the High Court.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th January, quotes in this connexion the following words of Charles Bradlaugh:—No imprisonment whatever can obliterate truth, though it may cause temporary obstructions in its way. It may delay truth but for an hour; but truth will, within the walls of the prison, develop widely like electricity and startle the people of the world when it gets out.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 17th January, also referring to his conviction makes the following observations among others:—In a way the people could guess what would be the result of the trial of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu, inasmuch as it was their impression that the authorities hated him as much as the people loved him. So, nobody ever expected his acquittal. However, the sentence passed by the Divisional Magistrate appears to be rather excessive. Those who lecture to the public and write to newspapers in their enthusiasm for their themes are at times very lavish in their expressions, which they themselves regret in their calm moments. As such persons are generally wise men working for the welfare of the public, mere warning would prove an adequate punishment in their case, and even on an occasion justifying a more severe punishment we trust that there is no necessity at all to award a sentence for such a long period as the one passed at present.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

The *Dravidan*, of the 18th January, publishes a contribution from the pen of a correspondent, from which the following is an extract:—The *Desabhaktan* in its issue of the 16th idem wrote about two pages on the conviction of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu which contained the following words: "Sisters, why are you weeping? The tears of Sita did not go in vain. Is it not these tears that subsequently became Rama's arrow? The tears that you shed should become the arrow for the bureaucratic system of government. When you weep, weep for the ruin of the

bureaucracy. Friends! the work of Varadarajulu will be done by the *Desabhaktan*." What exactly is the significance of these words? Are these the proper attributes to the bureaucrats? Alas! This indeed is patriotism! Will not the benign Government note this? Have they no eyes? Is there none to check those who use words calculated to breed sedition and hatred towards the king among the sons of Bharata who are the very embodiment of patriotism. We do not know when the time will come for the curbing of the mischief of this seditious paper.

37. Remarking that the diplomacy and the farsightedness of the British who are known to be the foremost in these characteristics in the whole world. Yield better results in india, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th January, observes:—Ever since the advent of the British administration in India, it has been customary to deal out to Indians reform in one hand and repression in the other. While doing so, the bureaucrats, who are the agents of the British, used to pat on the back those that are amenable to their ways and get their own wishes gratified. This is India's political history. As historic truth can never be falsified, even now the bureaucrats have begun to pat the moderates. Sir S. P. Sinha has been appointed Under Secretary of State for India. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal gives a warning to all Indians, that such high posts might be given to many more Indians, that, by this means, the British Government will draw many persons to their side and that the public life and work of Indians will thereby be spoiled and the Indian national feeling will disappear. This warning is a right one.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

The diplomacy of the British.

38. The *Sirturuttam*, of the 1st January, expresses its satisfaction at the views expressed by the Madras Adi Dravida Sabha in their communication to Government on the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals.

SIRTURUTTAM, Madura, 1st Jan. 1919.

The Madras Adi Dravida Sabha.

Appreciating the action of this Sabha in having plainly expressed their views in regard to giving evidence before the Franchise Committee, the *Dravidan*, of the 17th January, observes:—The members of the Sabha decline to give evidence before this committee so long as the two Brahman members thereof continue to sit on it. This is indeed acceptable to all who seek justice. Whatever might have been the object of the committee when it started its inquiry, its members must have learnt by this time that many insist on communal representation being granted through communal electorates. It will, therefore, be a difficult task for them now to say anything to the contrary against their own conscience. It appears to be quite essential that the members of the Parliament should peruse all the connected papers that have been published since the assurance given on the 20th August 1917. If they happen to go through these papers, they cannot but recognise the necessity for granting communal representation by means of communal electorates. . . Who can ever believe in the possibility of the non-Brahmans getting justice by representing their grievances before Brahmans who are solely intent on their own advancement?

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

39. Commenting again on the speech of the President of this Confederation, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th January, makes the following observations among others:—It gives us much pleasure that he has urged on the necessity for the development of industries in this country. He attributes the unrest among the labourers in Madras, Madura and other places to political agitators. We are not surprised at this, as he is merely repeating the views of the Madras Government. Probably he has not considered how the labourers will view his observations about them. The labourers belong to the very class for whose advancement he poses to work. There is no doubt that they will feel astonished if this is all the service he can do to them. Why should he and his party, who stand aloof without helping the poor labourers, speak disparagingly of those that actually help and are being helped? This Confederation passed a resolution prohibiting non-Brahmans from appearing before the Reform Committees for giving evidence. It is really surprising to us that *Justice* party who were making fun of the Home Rulers resorting to passive resistance are themselves adopting such resistance at present.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

The second non-Brahman Confederation.

HINDU NESAN. Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

Adverting to this resolution and remarking that in a way it advocates passive resistance on the part of the members of this non-Brahman association, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 16th January, observes:—This resolution is very nice. The Government are sending the Reform Committees from place to place for instituting local inquiries. It behoves all of us to acquaint these committees with our views and facilitate their work. The newspapers conducted by this non-Brahman association have been often crying out that those who do not co-operate with the Government are disloyal. Did not those papers characterise as seditionists some of the Home Rulers when they declined to accept honorary offices given to them by the Government? So, now, according to their own contention, the members of this non-Brahman party are themselves seditionists in that they say that none of their party should help the Reform Committees who are only doing the work of Government.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

The second non-Brahman Confederation.

Referring to the resolution passed by the Confederation that none of its representatives should give evidence before the Reform Committees, the *Lokopakari*, of the 20th January, also remarks that this is only opposing the action of Government by means of passive resistance, and asks how this move of the non-Brahmans to resort to this policy can amount to loyalty?

SIRTURUTTAM, Madura, 1st Jan. 1919.

Stray notes.

40. The *Sirturuttam*, of the 1st January, contains under the heading 'notes' the following observations among others:—Rival parties crop up in the Congress meetings; but still the Congressmen speak of union and deceive the Englishmen who are thousands of miles away from here. If different parties submit different memorials to the English ministers, which of these have the ministers to believe to be the proper one? . . . All the parties in India should join together and considering deeply the political reforms, submit a common memorial to His Gracious Majesty and his ministers detailing the reforms which are the most suitable for India. . . It is stated in the 'Montford' report that within ten years after the introduction of the reforms mentioned therein, no modfications will be permitted. . . If we do not therefore with one voice protest against the many defects and drawbacks in these reform proposals, all the 30 crores of the Indians will have to suffer for ten years more.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

The following is an extract from the stray notes contributed to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th January, by a correspondent under the pseudonym of *Narada*:—The Christmas festivities in Madras are all over. Despite the resistance of the people and mindless of the loss of lives, and of the diseases which might break out, the authorities would have their own way, and the festivities were somehow gone through. In consequence of the carelessness of the authorities and more especially of the extraordinary carelessness of the Police, the celebrations thus carried out by the obstinacy of the authorities resulted in a great fire and made the people blink like devils. I have read that, in ancient days, Emperor Nero was playing on his harp and enjoying himself from the upper storey of his palace the sight of the whole city of Rome in flames and I doubted the veracity of this statement. But, now I hear that in our Madras City Lord Pentland was thanking the Police and appreciating their abilities, when the sheds caught fire and were in flames causing a panic among women and children, who were running in different directions without knowing what to do under the circumstances.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

Stray notes.

The *Lokopakari* contains the following notes among others in its issue of the 20th January:—The Madras Government have in their administration report for the year 1917–18 written unfavourably of newspapers working for the liberty of India and at the same time have written well of the *Justice* which has been endeavouring to mar the union among the people by creating a hatred towards Brahmans. This partial attitude of the authorities does not indicate fair administrative policy . . . The *Hindu*, *New India*, the *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, which are in support of the Home Rule movement, cannot enter England, Burma and certain Provinces in India. The imposing of such restrictions on certain newspapers is only a devise adopted by the authorities. The Government should gratefully patronize those papers that openly point out the defects

in the system of administration. Without doing so, their attempt to suppress the papers does not indicate sound statesmanship. If newspapers transgress all limits in their writings, it is only proper to have them punished by a court of law. If, instead of doing so, the authorities should adopt uncivilized measures, it will not only interfere with the liberty of the Press, but also cause unnecessary dissatisfaction in the country . . . The *Pioneer* says that the Bill embodying the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee will soon be published. The whole world is now agitating for liberty and even small countries demand self-determination. To attempt to enact many repressive laws in India even at this juncture, would not amount to a fulfilment of the assurance publicly given in Parliament on the 20th August 1917.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

Co-operation in Madras.

41. Remarking that the progress of the Co-operative movement in this Presidency is very slow when compared with that in the other provinces, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 16th January, observes:—From the report for the year ending 30th June 1918, it is clear that the number of Co-operative Societies at the end of the year was about 400 more than that of the previous year. If only the authorities had evinced enthusiasm in this matter, the increase would have been far greater. Lack of progress in the co-operative movement in this Presidency is due to the slackness on the part of the Government. The administration of the co-operative work has been entrusted to the bureaucracy. When once they begin to have a control over it, of what avail will be the enthusiasm of the people however great it may be? It appears the officials of this department are not so much responsible, for such a slow manner in which work is being done here, as the controlling authorities over these officials. For purposes of co-operative work, this Presidency has been divided into a number of circles and there seems to be a rule prescribing 100 to be the maximum number of societies to be started in a circle during a year. It is not known why the Local Government should so circumscribe the progress of this movement, while it is both necessary and emergent that enthusiastic endeavours should be made to increase the number of societies largely. When the Government fail to increase their efforts at a time the people are enthusiastic about the movement, later on, all enthusiasm will flag. A similar experience we had in regard to local self-government. When for want of facilities to work with enthusiasm the people turned their attention from it, the authorities began to find fault with them and say they were lacking interest in this matter. We apprehend that co-operative movement also might share the same fate. Why not societies be started in villages, which can do useful work in directions other than lending money? Why not dairies and insurance companies be established in different places? Great benefit will accrue to our Presidency by this department, only if it successfully carries out such useful work.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

The British Congress Committee.

42. Commenting on the work of this Committee in London, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th January, observes:—It is of great importance that propogandist work should be carried on in England, where not only the common people but also the British politicians are said to be quite ignorant of Indian affairs. Unless the British voters are apprised of the real condition of India and made to feel that contentment in India will be a source of strength to England, while discontent will weaken her, complete salvation for India will be difficult of attainment. Arrangements should, therefore, be made to carry on our work in England, for which a Committee is necessary. The existing British Congress Committee should be reconstituted, and fresh spirit infused therein, and the Committee should be endowed with necessary funds for carrying on work in all possible ways. Unless some experienced Indians serve on this Committee and do propogandist work in England, good results cannot be obtained. The All-India Congress Committee should meet at once and, without the least delay, decide on the necessary measures to be adopted in this connexion. . . The Civilians who eat the salt of India are against allowing the Indians to advance even by one step and the Sydenham party would support them. They will proclaim that, if the reforms are granted, the civilians will resign in a body and India itself will slip from their hands. To counteract this, we should acquaint the British voters with our

grievances and requirements. This is, therefore, the time for all to sink their differences and work conjointly.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

The British Congress Committee.

Remarking that this committee in London should be reconstituted with the object of giving wider publicity to the views of the Congress in England next year and stating that a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee at Delhi by Messrs. Tilak, Kasturiranga Ayyangar and three others regarding the working of this committee has not reached Delhi at all, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 18th January, observes:—It is not known what has become of the original letter sent by post. Will anybody give the reason for its disappearance? We have seen authorities only pleading ignorance in such cases.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

The Arms Act.

43. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th January, observes:—What became of the Committee appointed by the Government of India for offering suggestions in regard to the amendment of this Act? What became of its recommendations? The Government of India stated that the Provincial Governments had been referred to. Nothing is known up to date about this. Why are the bureaucrats, who were very liberal in their promises to amend the Act, holding silence still? It is certain they will not have the mind to amend it so easily.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

The authorities and the people.

44. Referring to the statement of Mr. Evans, the Collector of Malabar, that there is not a newspaper at present without an article condemning alike as cruel or self-interested both the Government he serves and the civilians of his class, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th January, observes:—Mr. Evans made this remark at a recent meeting of the Malabar District Board when his services were appreciated by the Board on the eve of his departure to Europe on long leave. He gets excited at the mere idea of an article being written criticising the Government and the Civilians. Truth is always unpalatable—so goes the proverb. Some of the important members of the Civil Service in this Presidency are against political reforms and claim for themselves all powers and high positions. Again, some of their predecessors in office, now enjoying their pensions with ease in England are working under the name of the Indo-British Association against any reforms being granted to India. Some members of this class, who have given evidence before the Reform Committees, have said without any hesitation that no department should be entrusted to the Indians. While matters stand thus and the people believe that *swaraj* will be productive of good, how can the Indians and the Indian newspapers be without criticising the actions of the members of this class? When a few of them get excited, what will be the attitude of the Indians who are denied their birth right? Is there any doubt that Mr. Evans has spoken thoughtlessly?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

Popular rights in England and India.

45. Referring to the statement of a London correspondent to the *Hindu* that, because of the strong agitation of the people in England, the Government have already afforded many facilities to them and that in the near future all the old privileges will be restored to them in their entirety, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th January, observes:—When compared with the liberty of the Englishmen in England, that of the Indians is nothing. Even the few privileges we had, have, in view of the war emergency, been curtailed by the Defence of India Act. When we claim them back is it not ridiculous for the *Pioneer* to say that a Bill embodying the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee is to be introduced shortly and that it will have the support of people of moderate views?

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 19th Dec. 1918.

The present situation.

46. Remarking that, if the present high scale of prices of foodstuffs does not come down for the next two or three seasons, the intensity of the famine may be far more cruel and lead to an increase in mortality, the *Vartakamitran*, of 19th December, refers to the argument adduced by Sir Alexander Cardew in the Local Legislative Council that the tumult that occurred in Madras was due not to famine conditions but to political agitation and to the condemnation, by the Colonial Secretary in Ceylon, of the demand made by the leaders there for a regulation of the prices to relieve distress and adds:—The bureaucrat is the same everywhere. It will be very

hard to reform him and make him realise his responsibility towards the people. Much need not be said of the obstinacy of this official class. A demand for the control of foodstuffs in the country has for the last six months been met by some excuse or other. The first excuse was political agitation and when it was pointed out that this was not the cause of the food-riots, they say that no benefit will result, unless foodstuffs are controlled at the source, and that famine conditions have not yet arisen. Which is the source for India? She has up to date been maintaining herself, and the question arises as to why the produce in the interior of the country, which is the 'source' for her, cannot be controlled. There are people in the country, who do not use rice, but other grains like raggy, millet, etc. The supply of Burma rice cannot benefit these. So it is the produce in the country that should be controlled. The measures now suggested resemble applying an ointment to the knee for a swelling in the back.

The same paper, in its issue of the 26th December, observes:—The Government exists only to enable the people to live and not to bring about their death and the efforts made by the different Governments entangled in the war to remove the economic hardships caused to their subjects on account of it are sufficient proofs of this. If the European Governments feel that it is their duty to enable the people to live and devise the measures necessary therefor, the Government of India are also bound to realise that it is their duty to render the small assistance that is required to enable their subjects to live. Then again history shows that the ancient Hindu and Muhammadan kings in India used to distribute the funds in their treasury among the people during periods of famine, and also remit the land tax and several other taxes until better days prevailed. But the present day Government is not acting like this and it is due to change of times and ideas. The foodstuffs produced in England are sufficient for the people only for three months and it is the Government that takes the responsibility of providing foodstuffs for them for the remaining months of the year. This should be noted by the Government of India. The Government in England deem it their duty to secure the welfare of the people and if they fail in this duty, questions will be asked in both Houses of Parliament about it and their position may be at stake. It is not possible there to deceive the popular representatives and keep them down by offering false excuses, as is done here. The Government of India here represents only the Government in England and why do the former hesitate to take up all the responsibility borne by the latter? Though the machinery of the Government is all right, the different parts of it are not acting harmoniously. Though the actions of the bureaucrats are done with the best of intentions to benefit the country, they prove to be unsuitable and even prejudical to this country, as they are based on western customs and habits. If the bureaucrats first gain the confidence of the people and then act in accordance with the nature and habits of the latter, all the existing difficulties will disappear.

47. Referring to the speech of the President of the Indian Industrial Conference held at Delhi, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 2nd January, demands to his statement that the acquisition of political privileges by the people should precede their industrial advancement and says:—As far as India is concerned, the acquisition of responsibility and privileges by the people should go hand in hand with their industrial advancement. The difference between England and India here is that between building a new house and adapting an old house to later conditions. Even the Industrial Commission have recommended that the aid of the Government is necessary for the industrial advancement of the country. Besides this, it requires capital, labour and industrial knowledge and experience. The rich people are afraid to invest their money in industries and the labourers are wanting in industrial knowledge and experience. The education imparted in the country gives only instruction in language and does not inculcate industrial knowledge. If these are to combine, the sympathy and help of the Government are necessary. The Industrial Commission have suggested the formation of an Imperial Executive Board for promoting industries and the inclusion of an additional member to the Viceroy's Executive Council representing this Board. It is an excellent idea of Mr. Petit that, without stopping with this, an Advisory Board should also be formed for

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 2nd Jan. 1919.

The Government and Industries.

each province and a representative of the Board should have a seat in the Provincial Executive Council. But all the appointments in the Department of Industries should be reserved wholly for the Indians. The Commissioners themselves say that there may be much difficulty in India getting industrial experts from England and the Colonies after the war, as there would be a great demand for them there alone. But industrial experts are required in India at the present juncture and they have to be got from other countries, though this should not be made a rule. Whenever such experts are sent for, they should be clearly told that they can remain here only for a short time and that they should train the Indians within that period and make experts of them.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

In a leader containing many of the sentiments expressed by Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar in his speech about his visit to England, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 20th January, remarks that it was because the East India Company did not help the people here as much in utilising machinery for industrial purposes as the Government in England did to the people there, that India has lagged behind the western countries in industrial advancement and that it is only, if the Government of India realise this, that they will be impelled to promote the industries of India rapidly, as a recompense for the folly of their predecessors in office and adds:—As has often been observed by many, there are abundant raw products in India available for industrial purposes. Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar says that experiments are being made in England to know how to utilise them industrially. Why should not these experiments be made in India and the results communicated to the Indians? The conducting of such experiments in England will only lead to British capitalists starting new industries and to the export of raw products from India but will not help the starting of industries in India It may be capital is not forthcoming as easily and as largely in India for starting industries as in England. The main reasons for this are the poverty of the country and the lack of industrial experience on the part of the people. Though this country has no money, its Government has it. Enormous amounts of money in the shape of gold and silver reserve belonging to the Government of India are in England and are being utilised by British capitalists. The Government can retain a large portion of these amounts in India alone and help industrial progress. There is no dearth of labourers in India. It is only want of work here that drives them to foreign countries. They should also be retained here. If, with this, means are devised to impart industrial knowledge to students, it is only the far-sighted that can realise what a tower of strength India will prove to be for England. For India to improve industrially like this, she must acquire independence in the political field; otherwise, the petty view that the progress of India will prejudice the interests of the British capitalists will retard that progress. As a matter of fact, the prosperity of India may benefit the British capitalists. After Japan and the United States of America had become strong industrially, their imports also increased. Similarly, if India becomes strong industrially, the needs of the people will increase and the imports also. So there is no reason whatever for the British to be afraid. Then again the interests of a few capitalists are not more important than those of the British Empire.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

The Home Rule League, Trichinopoly.

48. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th January, publishes a gist of the presidential speech delivered at the anniversary of the Home Rule League, Trichinopoly, on the 12th idem.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

The bureaucrats and the patriots.

49. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th January, writes under this heading as follows:—We have often written about the increasing oppression of the bureaucrats in India. It is a matter for consideration whether it is the British or the Indians that should get rid of the bureaucratic system of Government. As the control of the Indian administration is in the hands of the British, the duty of changing this administrative system rests on them. With such a conviction the Indians, however, should not remain idle. Unless British are apprised of the oppression of the bureaucrats, they will not be inclined to introduce any change in the administrative system of India. Therefore, all those that are interested in her welfare should take up the sacred duty of representing this oppression to the

Britishers. It is no sedition either to talk or write about their cruel deeds. It will only be doing good to the British whose good name is getting tarnished on account of the bureaucratic excesses. Those that are timid in pointing out these defects are only breeders of evil to their motherland as well as to the kind-hearted Britishers. These can be styled as traitors to their country and their sovereign. It is only the Home Rulers that now and again point out such defects. Many should come forward to put an end to the bureaucratic system of administration in India, as this step will benefit the 33 crores of the Indian population. No one is ignorant of the fact that the bureaucrats are bent upon oppressing those who come forward to serve in the cause of their motherland. They will continue to curb patriots by means of repressive measures; and those that have the welfare of the country at heart should continue to work fearless of these measures. Those that fear such measures are indeed committing the sin of murdering their mother.

There are again some with a very strong feeling of patriotism, who want to destroy the old leaky machine of the bureaucratic rule and, with the aid of its own parts, construct the new machine of responsible government. The bureaucrats have always an eye on such people. These patriots will invariably be shadowed by the petty deities of the bureaucracy, who consider these to be enemies and are unremittingly concerting measures to repress them. It is necessary that these patriots should go on serving their country in spite of the terrible cruelties which might be caused by the bureaucracy. No union is possible between the bureaucrats and the patriots until India gets a responsible form of government. Each party should do its duty. Many should come foward to serve the country like Doctor Varadarajulu so that the bureaucrats should tremble at their sight. This is all the recompense we can show to the doctor who toiled for us and entered the prison.

The manufacture of moderates.

50. The *Dravidan*, of the 18th January, reproduces in Tamil the views contained in the leader of *Justice* in its issue of the 16th idem.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

What India should do?

51. Dilating on the necessity for starting a public fund in aid of the families of patriots who are incarcerated in the course of their service to the country, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th January, observes:—We should take the necessary steps to make the British interest themselves much about India in the Peace Conference. Mr. Tilak, the representative elected by the Congress, has not yet been invited to the Conference. This shows that the Government have not recognised the resolution passed by the Congress which represents the thirty-three crores of people of this country. It is certain that the good we anticipate for India cannot be obtained at a Conference, where no popular representative to espouse our cause is present. No benefit will accrue by our people professing to belong to this party or that party and remaining idle. We should be always doing our duty. Are the bureaucrats ever idle? Can we forget the act of the bureaucrats who were instrumental in getting Varadarajulu Nayudu sentenced to 15 months' rigorous imprisonment for preaching liberty at a time when the whole world is surfeit with the joy of peace. We would speak of those who think that, because of the close of the war, the bureaucrats will carry on the administration peacefully, as being ignorant of details of Indian administration. It is very rare for the bureaucrats to feel compassion for the Indians. Brethren! do not get deceived. Heroes who are bold to agitate are required at present. One of such heroes has gone into prison. Many others should now come forward. The public should get enthusiastic and firm in affording the required facilities for them. This is the best opportunity for starting a fund for the benefit of patriots, for acquainting England with the cruel deeds of the bureaucrats and for making constitutional agitation therefor.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

Titles of honour.

52. The *Jananukulan*, of the 11th January, observes:—It is not easy to forget the statement commonly made that there are many who are prepared to sacrifice their conscience and self-respect in quest of titles. We invite the attention of the authorities and the people in this country to the observation once made by Lord Selbourne in the House of Lords that when titles are given to private persons the reasons justifying such grant should be publicly assigned by the Government and that, at the

JANANUKULAN, Tanjore, 11th Jan. 1919.

time of making recommendations for the grant of such titles, an assurance should be given to His Majesty that no contribution in the shape of money has been made by or is expected from the recipients.

PANDYANESAN, Madura, 11th Jan. 1919.

Probationary Deputy Tahsildars.

53. Referring to the recent selection by the Government of certain persons for the post of Probationary Deputy Tahsildars, the *Pandyanesan*, of the 11th January, observes:—Instead of first selecting a number of suitable persons from among the applicants and then rejecting such of them as are not physically fit, it is preferable to get all the applicants examined by the Medical Board first and then choose the required number of men from among those that are found to be fit by the Board. This method will save some of those selected from getting disappointed. We request the Government to see that, when appointments of probationary Deputy Tahsildars and Revenue Inspectors are made, different communities are properly represented and that those who have gained experience in posts such as those of Revenue Inspectors are soon promoted to higher positions.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

The Indian Reform Scheme.

54. Remarking that the appointment of Mr. Montagu again as the Secretary of State for India indicates that the Prime Minister and the new Cabinet are in accord with his views to reform the Indian administration, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 16th January, observes:—Distinguished political associations and leaders have come forward with their views in this respect, which are at once rare and important. It is, therefore, necessary for Mr. Montagu to calmly discuss these views with the representatives of the Indian people. Moreover, opportunities should be afforded to the Chief Ministers and Members of Parliament to consider the opinions and criticisms of the Indians. It should be clearly pointed out that the Indian National Congress, the Moslem League, the Home Rule League and the Indian leaders have not rejected the Montagu-Chelmsford report but only suggest some important alterations therein. We wish that the Government will afford the necessary facilities to the representatives of Indian Political Associations for proceeding to England and discussing with Mr. Montagu on several items relating to the Reform Scheme.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

Labourers' strike in Bombay.

55. Observing that the sympathy shown by the Governor of Bombay towards the labourers is highly praiseworthy, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th January, remarks:—What did Lord Pentland do when the labourers struck work in Madras? He was here without going to the Nilgiris! That is all.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

A warning.

56. Referring to the speech delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hassan when he presided at a big Muslim meeting in Madras on the 17th January, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th idem, observes:—The British Government should note every word in the speech of Mr. Yakub Hassan. Islamic faith is prevalent not only in India but in all parts of the world. One-fourth of the 30 crores of the Muslims in the world are in India. The rights which the other Muslims have in the sacred places outside India are held by the Indian Muslims as well. For this very reason they are interested in the decisions to be arrived at in the Peace Conference regarding the Muslim countries. When the war broke out, the Muslims in India cared more for loyalty and did not keep back from fighting against the Muslims. It is, therefore, the duty of the Government to satisfy the demands of these people when peace prevails. The British Government are bound to settle Turkey's affairs in such a manner as not to wound the feelings of seven crores of the highly loyal Indian Muslims, as their grief will be felt by all the Indians alike. We warn that mother India cannot tolerate the Indian Muslims shedding a tear in consequence of any resolution in the Peace Conference.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

Contradictory statements.

57. Referring to the statement of Lord Pentland on the occasion of opening the University Students' Club, that it is a proper place for fostering union among the different classes of students, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th January, observes:—Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras, has within a few hours made two different statements which are inconsistent with each other. What may be the reason for his being anxious to establish a Rajkumar College? What benefit and efficiency can be secured by

the young zamindars if they do not mingle with ordinary students at least when receiving general education? Probably, as stated in the Madras Administration Report, Lord Pentland thinks that the qualifications of the zamindars in the Madras Presidency should be such as would make them release themselves from the Home Rule movement.

58. The *Dravidan*, in its issues of the 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 20th January, publishes in parts the lectures recently delivered by Doctor Nayar in Madras on his work in England and on the work to be done by the non-Brahmans in connexion with the reforms scheme.

Doctor Nayar's lectures.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 20th Jan. 1919.

59. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th January, publishes in Tamil an abstract of a lecture delivered in Madras on this subject by Mr. H. P. Ghose, editor of the *Basumati* on the 14th idem.

The present political situation.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

60. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th and 17th January, respectively reproduce in Tamil an article contributed to the *Herald* by Mr. Joseph Baptista on this subject.

What India wants?

DESABHAKTAN, & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 16th and 17th Jan. 1919.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th January, publishes in Telugu the article entitled "What India wants", contributed by Mr. Joseph Baptista to the *Herald*. The same article appears in English in *New India* of the same date.

What India wants?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

61. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 20th January, publish in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held in Madras on the 19th idem when Mr. S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar delivered an address on his experiences in England and the present political situation.

Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar's lecture.

DESABHAKTAN, & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

62. Exhorting Indians to have self-reliance, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th January, observes in its leader under this heading:—. . . It is a well-known fact that the Indian Civil Service is the most highly-paid service in the whole world, and it wields absolute powers. The members of this service are sorry that they may have to give up all their power and become responsible to the people. This sorrow is prompted by selfishness and love of arbitrary power. The big salaries and the arbitrary power given to the Civil Service is detrimental not only to the national progress but also to the cause of natural science, as has been observed by Sir Leonard Rogers in the Science Congress held at Bombay. . . There is not the least doubt that the Indian Civil Servants who have been so long enjoying royal luxuries will throw every obstacle in their power to prevent the carrying out of reforms. It is very regrettable that Mr. Montagu should leave the carrying out of his reforms to the hands of such men. . .

Self-reliance.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

63. Under this heading the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th January, publishes in Telugu the opinion expressed by Mr. H. P. Ghosh, the Press representative from Bengal, in an interview with a correspondent of the Associated Press, at Dhanushkodi.

War and the England's help.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

64. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th January, publishes in Telugu a summary of the speech of Mr. H. P. Ghosh on the political situation in England and India delivered at a meeting in the Gokhale Hall held on the evening of Sunday last.

The political situation.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

65. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th January, writes:—. . . The Anglo-Indians are trying their utmost to increase the number of repressive measures and to render the reforms ineffectual. We learn from the telegrams received to-day that Mr. Varadarajulu Nayudu was convicted and sentenced to fifteen months' rigorous imprisonment. At a time when Indians are asking for a general amnesty to all political prisoners in honour of the new era, not only is their request refused; but new repressive punishments are being awarded and new repressive measures are about to come into force. . . Still, the people of India should not give up their determination, till their birth-rights are secured. We request the

Repressive measures.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council to express the opinion of the people in unequivocal language at the next session of the council. If they fail to discharge their duty now, they are sure to forego the confidence of the people. We request the Government to withdraw such repressive legislation which gives room for unnecessary agitation in the country to the detriment of order, and to earn, thereby, the gratitude of the people.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

Who are Panchamas?

66. Advocating the uplifting of the depressed classes, a correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 15th January, writes under this heading :—. . . Under the rule of the over-ambitious western people, the Kshatriyas have lost their warlike instinct and become weak and disunited. Can those Vaisyas who have left all the commerce of the country in the hands of the western nations and the agriculture to their own brethren and who are now groaning under the foreign oppression, be called true Vaisyas? Even the Sudras are suffering abject poverty, being unable to cope with the foreign Government, allowing their industries to be usurped by the western nations and themselves clinging to small crafts. . . The people of India became helpless creatures and handed over their holy motherland to foreigners, as a result of the contemptible way in which the four castes constantly treated the Panchamas, leaving them to the tender mercies of foreigners. . . Indians! Has the over-ambitious and partial attitude of foreigners made you draw such a distinction between the Christian-convert Panchamas and the Hindu Panchamas? Will even the maddest of you drive out his own children, because they turn out to be stupids, drunkards and impure wretches? . . . You can be deemed equal to the other nations of the world, only when you recognize the equality of those whom you now consider as low, and treat them with respect. Then only will you have emancipation from the slavery of foreign dependence.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

The difference.

67. Contrasting the treatment that may be accorded to India with that which may be shown to British Colonies the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th January, writes under this heading :— . . . . India has sacrificed her life and money for the sake of war a thousand times more than the Colonies. She fought on all the important theatres and has protected the British Empire from all injury. Besides, she conquered the German Colonies and parts of the Turkish Empire and handed them over to her Emperor. It is but just in these circumstances that she should be placed on a footing of equality with the Colonies at the Peace Conference and in the settlement of imperial affairs. But there are no signs to show that India will have such a fortune in the near future These rights are being accorded only to self-governing Colonies. . . It becomes, therefore, self-evident that India must soon secure self-government in order to occupy an honorable place. . . The Montagu reforms cannot enable the country to reach its goal rapidly. . . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

The message of Rabindranath.

68. Referring to the message of Sir Rabindranath Tagore expressed at Bangalore, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th January, observes :— . . . The spirit of universal love has been cultivated by Aryans to an extent to which others have never cultivated it. They have been kind even to worms and insects. . . But differences, competition and ill-will mar modern life. . . Rabindranath exhorts his countrymen to preach once more to the world the gospel of oneness of the spirit pervading the whole universe, to put an end to the struggle for life which is now growing keener and to establish peace in its place. As the glamour of western civilisation is being dispelled, the need for the spiritual message of India to the world becomes stronger. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

Censorship.

69. Referring to the abolition of censorship in respect of the British correspondents' messages from Paris during the Peace Conference, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th January, urges that this concession should be extended to India also.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th Jan. 1919.

Opinion of Mr. Pal about Sir S. P. Sinha.

70. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th January, writes :— . . . This system of giving high offices to Indians followed by the British Government will have a very demoralising effect on those serving

the country's cause. . . Since these offices are conferred by bureaucrats as a matter of grace, and are not the result of popular election, and since they carry with them all the privileges enjoyed by the bureaucracy, their recipients will side with the bureaucracy, whenever an opportunity presents itself. . .

71. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th January, writes about the grievances of zamindari ryots in the Gannavaram taluk :— . . . In the remaining 70 wet villages in our taluk, the area under cultivation for fasli 1328 is only 63,700 acres as against 74,400 acres for fasli 1327, as shown by the cultivation account. The crop even in these 63,000 acres is said to have suffered much loss on account of drought or on account of the greedy nature of the Delta officers. Under the existing system of administration, the ryots are obliged to bribe the delta and other officers. So, there must be a change in the system of administration. . .

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 17th Jan. 1919.

Zamindari ryots and their grievances.

72. In the course of an appeal for the formation of a permanent Ryots' Association, two correspondents to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 18th January, observe :—. . . To add to our helplessness, the A, B divisions, the rejection of water applications, the transfers of lands from the wet head to the dry, the enhancement of water-rate, the prohibition of exports, the reduction in the price of paddy, the unsteady nature of settlement, the failure of crops, exorbitant assessments and useless inquiry committees are driving us to contract heavy debts. . .

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

A meeting of the Kistna District Ryots' Association.

73. Reviewing Sir John Woodroffe's book, "Is India civilised ?" a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 11th January, observes :— . . . The western nations are proud of their greatness in amassing money in all possible ways, in furthering industries, in inventing wonderful instruments of human destruction, and in devising all sorts of appliances for the enjoyment of material comforts. Devoid of the faculty of discrimination between *Dharma* and *Adharma*, they have as their ultimate ideal the enjoyment of worldly pleasures to their hearts' content somehow or other before life expires. They think that the goal of their duty will be naturally attained if worldly enjoyments are secured. The great European war, says Sir John, has dispelled this illusion, and what he says is true. . . Mr. George Peel has, therefore, written in his book, 'the Future of England' that national history in Europe is a synonym for destruction of life, and that Christian culture with worldly triumph as its aim has manifested itself as war and homicide. Bearing testimony to the truth of this statement, Mr. Benjamin Kid writes that the present condition of European countries is no better than 'glorified savagery'. Perhaps it was for want of such a condition among them that Indians were abused by Mr. Archer. . . The Bhagavad Gita preaches that man will not get into sin, if he performs his prescribed duties. Let our English brethren drink deep of the nectar of this teaching, give up their petty national spirit, and form high ideals the absence of which has made the west a home for the sins of oppressing and robbing others, and a land of 'glorified sanagery' as has been remarked by Mr. Kid.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 11th Jan. 1919.

Is India civilized ?

74. Referring to the prohibition of the manufacture, sale, exportation and importation of alcoholic beverages in the United States, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th January, says :—. . . There are any number of speeches in our country to check drinking; but the evil habit is gradually on the increase. However earnest may be the efforts of our popular leaders in this direction, there will not be much use, unless the Government take interest in the matter. . . That in America the Government itself should try to check drinking without grudging to sacrifice its revenue for the sake of the well-being of the country and the moral development of the people, is really very commendable. . . The policy of our Government has not been satisfactory so far. Such a radical reform does not seem possible here except in the event of the grant of self-government.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

A commendable act of United States.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th Jan. 1919.

Sale of cloths.

75. Referring to the arrangement made by Mr. Crawford, the Deputy Commissioner of Maubhum in the Bengal Presidency, for the sale of cloths to the poor at reduced prices in the compound of the Purulea court, the *Andhrapatrika*, weekly of the 8th January, writes:—. . . The Government have passed a law about the sale of cloths. But their efforts have not been of any practical use so far to the people. We request that the Madras Government will at once adopt the plan of Mr. Crawford in their Presidency also and earn the gratitude to the poor.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 11th Jan. 1919.

The Rowlatt Committee Report.

76. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 11th January, writes:—The London *Spectator* and other papers write that the Rowlatt Committee Report led to the enactment of the Defence of India Act of 1914 and that, in its turn, put an end to all conspiracies, dacoities, murders and such other iniquities aiming at the downfall of British Rule in India. . . The British are a highly democratic people in their own land. But as soon as they come into positions of power in this country, many of them behave like Nawabs. The British Government should put an end to this; otherwise this evil of autocracy will, like a poison tree, do harm to the British Empire without fail. The downfall of monarchs and emperors in Europe at present, like the withered leaves of a tree, is an apt illustration of this. Countries which disregard truth and justice are, in course of time, bound to share the fate of Germany, and no Defence of India Act or crores of such other enactments will be able to prevent it. It is only truth and justice that will effectually protect kings and Governments. But this is hardly noted by the athiests. When the evil result manifests itself in the form of a revolution, rulers fall into the miserable position in which the Emperor of Germany has now fallen. The British authorities will have greatly sinned if they do not pay due attention to matters of such prime importance.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 16th Jan. 1919.

Political reforms for Coorg.

77. Referring to the agitation going on in Coorg for the amalgamation of that province with the Madras Presidency, in contravention of the proposals contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report to continue the present system of administration with the addition of an advisory board to the Chief Commissioner, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 16th January, writes:—In these days of self-determination, let alone the Coorgs, no one would be satisfied with a bureaucratic form of administration. The leading citizens of Coorg, therefore, assembled in conference at Mercara, asked for their amalgamation with Madras and submitted a memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy through the Chief Commissioner of Coorg. The Chief Commissioner, however, instead of forwarding the same went out of his way and returned it to the memorialists asking them to withdraw certain statements contained therein as being improper. The people began to protest against such behaviour on the part of the Chief Commissioner, and, in spite of fear that official anger might bring about the increase of taxation, cancellation of the right to carry arms and similar other evils, stood resolute. It is now reported that the Chief Commissioner has forwarded the memorial to the higher authorities and is about to go to Coorg to give effect to the advisory board proposed in the Montagu scheme. But it does not look as if this dummy board would satisfy the Coorgs.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 18th Jan. 1919.

Writing on the same subject *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 18th January, remarks:—The British Parliament and the British people have promised to grant responsible government to India. The Anglo-Indian officials in India, however, are anxious to preserve their autocratic powers as long as they can, by giving just a few reforms from time to time, and are doing all they can to put forward some Indians themselves to oppose the grant of real responsible government at an early date. This is undoubtedly the genisis of the recent conference of the Moderates. It is to be regretted that some of our own people are proving themselves to be traitors to their country, having fallen victims to the vile machinations of the officials. The province of Coorg is no exception to this. It is stated that certain Coorgs have, induced thereto by the officials, sent a counter-memorial to Government protesting against the demand for responsible government made by the real leaders of the people there. It is undoubtedly wrong on the part of these people

to have done so, nor is it right that the Government should wish to exercise autocratic powers perpetually. All the world over there is now a demand for a democratic form of Government, and we feel sure that even Providence cannot prevent us from getting it for our mother land. Will the Government of Coorg alone be able to thwart the wishes of the popular leaders there? Certainly not. What will be granted to India as a whole will certainly come to Coorg as well, and those who work against the principles of British justice as also those of our people who have become tools in their hands will not fail to be punished by the higher powers.

78. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 17th January, writes:—When the National Congress expressed dissatisfaction at the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms as falling far too short of the popular expectations, some people felt annoyed for the reason that it was not proper to find fault with a scheme inaugurated by Government. The members of the Indian Civil Service, however, have started some associations with the object of safeguarding their own interests, and expressed their dissatisfaction at the proposed reforms. We are at a loss to know, then, whether the scheme of reforms is to be treated as official or unofficial. The Madras Members of the I.C.S. service have also formed themselves into an association and expressed the opinion that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms gives much too large an instalment of self-government to the people with the result that it will be prejudicial to the interests of their service, and that not one of them is in favour of the scheme. We do not know how we should characterise the behaviour of these people. That matter apart, we would ask whether Government officials are permitted to start such political organizations at all.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 17th Jan. 1919.

The Reforms Scheme and the I.C.S. Association.

79. Under the heading "The future Emperor" the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 17th January, refers to the discussion that took place in the Delhi Congress regarding the proposed visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and remarks:—Mrs. Besant and others expressed the opinion that the present times were not opportune for the proposed visit as the prices of articles were still very high and people were finding it difficult even to earn a bare living, the injuries caused by the war were yet to be repaired and the reform proposals had not as yet taken a definite shape, and the people would not therefore be able to extend a hearty and loyal welcome to the august visitor. Really speaking, all the honours due to the Emperor should be extended to His Royal Highness as well, and even the people and Rulers of Native States should take part in doing him honour. But when rice is selling at two or three seers a rupee, how will the people be able to contribute liberally? Further, if one future Emperor should visit India after the grant of responsible government, he would not fail to be received with divine honours. The suggestion of Mrs. Besant and others, therefore, appears to us to be very reasonable and proper.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 17th Jan. 1919.

Proposed visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India.

80. In Pamphlet No. 6 of the *Malayalam Home Rule Series*, Mr. K. C. Sri Manavedan Raja, while discussing in detail the Montagu-Chelmsford report, refers to the remark contained therein that "as the rulers are foreigners Indians will not like their rule and all their efforts will therefore be directed towards the weakening of the Government," and says:—It is impossible to exceed such mistrust of Indians. We may similarly contend, on the other hand, that the new Reform Scheme is a trick devised for perpetuating the power of Englishmen. For it must be supposed that (when the new Government under the reforms proves a failure) the charge will be hurled against us that the Indian Ministers and the Legislative Councils are the cause of the failure of the new reformed Government.

PAMPHLET No. 6 OF THE MALAYALAM HOME RULE SERIES, Kottakkal.

Indian administrative reforms.

(Cf. Original section 177, Chapter vii.—The Congress League Scheme):—

"They could not remain content with an alien executive and therefore their policy . . . . must be to weaken and discredit it."

He thinks that an undue increase in the powers of the Provincial Government, without any increase in the power of the people, will result only in injury to the people and that therefore the authority of the people should be increased at the same time and in the same proportion as the power of the Government is increased. Regarding Legislative Councils, the opinion is expressed that the proposed new reforms attempt to rob the Legislative Councils of whatever little freedom they may have enjoyed under the Minto-Morley Reforms, and Indians are asked to judge for themselves whether this will be the beginning or end of self-government. After paying the Provincial contribution to the Imperial Government and meeting the expenditure on reserved subjects, we can imagine what balance will be left for the transferred subjects. The Ministers will be forced to suggest to the Legislative Council the necessity for new taxation and the Legislative Council, which is well aware of the poverty of India, will negative the proposal. The net result will be that the transferred subjects will suffer and Anglo-Indians will proclaim that India is not fit for self-government, and in future revisions even subjects that are now 'Transferred' may be taken to the 'Reserved' list.

Turning to the Government of India, he thinks that the scheme not only does not help in making the Government of India responsible to the people, but makes it all powerful, and that there can never be co-operation between the Provincial Governments, which are democratic in character, and the autocratic Imperial Government.

III.—Legislation.

Andhraprakasika, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

The Village Officers Act.

81. With reference to the Village Officers Act Amendment Bill, a correspondent to the *Andhrapraaksika*, of the 16th January, writes:—. . . Sudden outbursts of love and anger are natural to officers. It is, therefore, bad that the matter of punishing their subordinates should entirely lie in their hands. . . The present powers of Tahsildars are quite ample. Their authority goes unquestioned. To further increase their powers will be unjust and unnecessary. . . Of insolvents, why should not those, honorably discharged by a Court of Law, be made eligible for these offices? As for the disqualification relating to those deemed dangerous to public tranquility, it is very difficult to define it. It will be a strong weapon likely to be greatly abused in the hands of Revenue officers. . . Will not one who is unable to spend his money freely to win the favour of officers be deemed poor? If this amendment were to become law, there would be no limit to the corruption it will create. Is poverty permanent? . . . The object of these amendments is to do away with the law of primogeniture, hitherto followed in the matter of succession, to these offices. It is a right which has been coming from time immemorial and is looked upon as a property like an estate. To put an end to it now is like resuming all estates at one stroke. . . By and by, village offices will lose their respect. Incompetent and unreliable men will happen to hold them and the administration will be brought into discredit. The destruction of a hereditary right enjoyed by many families from time immemorial is opposed to statesmanship and will certainly produce discontent instead of any good, and even the object of the Government will not be attained thereby.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.

Village officers.

A correspondent to the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 13th January, complains that the village officers, who are directly affected by the Bill of the Madras Government, recently published for criticism, making some changes in the rules regulating succession to village offices, have not had sufficient opportunity to express their opinions about it, inasmuch as all of them are not able to subscribe for the District Gazette, in which a translation of the Bill is published, on account of its annual subscription having been uniformly fixed at Rs. 3-8-0 from the 1st instant and the village sheet thereof coming to them through the taluk reaches them only two or three months after the publication of the Gazette. He wants that these officers should be specially asked to communicate their opinions on the Bill at least hereafter and makes the following observations among others:—The object of this Bill is said to be to secure capable men as village officers. But, even, without this Bill, it

is now insisted that persons succeeding to village offices should have passed some tests and so there is no necessity for abolishing the rule of primogeniture. The transfer of the powers of Divisional officers to Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars will remove even the little fear the latter now have of the possibility of their orders being overruled. Then again, as some of them are young and inexperienced, they may frequently pass orders of suspension or dismissal (here the correspondent quotes the instance of one Mr. V. S. Sambasiva Ayyar, a Tahsildar in the Tanjore district in 1900, who is reported to have recommended several village officers for suspension or dismissal, on which the Deputy Collector concerned is said to have always issued a warning or levied a small fine on each village officer concerned). Succession by heredity attaches a prestige to the village office and is also an inducement to the incumbents to do their work with enthusiasm. If this is to be taken away, it will be well to replace it at least by a pension. Appeals in criminal cases go up even to the Privy Council and so the village officers should be allowed to have the right of appeal at least the Revenue Board. Village officers should not be transferred without their consent and even this should apply only to the village karnam and not to the monigar. The term 'village officers' includes only the monigar and the karnam and *talaiyaris* and *vettis* are only the servants of the former. So the power of appointing and punishing these servants can be given to Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars, as was done in some places in 1909, and the position of the karnam and the monigar continued as it is.

'The Rowlatt Bill'.

82. Referring to a statement in the *Pioneer* that a Bill embodying the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee will be published ere long, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th January, observes:—In spite of the strong opposition and protests made by National assemblies, Provincial Conferences and District Conferences and by eminent leaders against the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee and the framing of a Bill based on these recommendations, it is not known which person of moderate views will support this Bill as observed by the *Pioneer*. We will again point out to the bureaucracy that no one will support it except those who err in their judgment and share the views of the *Pioneer*.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 16th Jan. 1919.

The Madras City Municipal Bill.

83. Referring to the amendment made by the Select Committee defining the term 'Corporation' in this Bill to indicate only the Municipal Council, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th January, observes:—The Select Committee that has thus recognised the prestige of the Municipal Council has, however, shown hesitation to give the Council its powers. That is, it is stated in the Bill that the three authorities, namely, the Council, the Standing Committees and the Commissioner are bound to carry out the provisions of this Act. So, it is not the Council alone that is responsible for the local administration of the Madras City. Standing Committees are only sub-committees formed among the members of the Council. To facilitate the work of the Council, certain duties may be delegated to these committees, but it is not fair to entrust any duties to them independently of the Council. Similarly, the Commissioner is an executive officer of the Council, and if, as in the case of secretaries in mufassal municipalities, the powers of the Commissioner emanate from the Council, the Commissioner will be responsible to the Council. According to the Bill the Council has no power to appoint him; but it is provided that, if 33 out of the 50 councillors resolve to remove him from office, the Government are bound to remove him accordingly. Out of the 50 councillors only 30 will be the representatives of divisions, while the rest will be those nominated by the Government and by various associations. In a body thus constituted, it is not likely that 33 persons will vote conjointly for a thing. So, the Commissioner need not care to act with due regard to the Council. Apart from curtailing the prestige of the Council in this way, it is also stated in the Bill that the Council shall not discharge the duties entrusted to the Commissioner and the Standing Committees. This makes it clear that the Council is only one of the three authorities and is not solely responsible for the local administration of the city. It is not known, how, at this time, this can be styled local self-government. While it is stated in the Montagu-Chelmsford report that local self-government

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

should mostly be entrusted to the Indians, we cannot see how such self-government can advance if even the present powers of the Madras Municipal Corporation are curtailed and entrusted to those who are not responsible to the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

New repressive measures.

84. Referring to the message of the Associated Press regarding the publication by the Government of India of new bills drafted in accordance with the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th January, observes:—

. . . The *Madras Mail* is abusing all Home Rulers as seditionists. Anglo-Indian papers are aware that, however, strongly they may write, repressive laws do not touch them. If the new Bills were to become law, it may be said that even the nominal individual freedom now enjoyed will totally disappear in future. It is very regrettable that at the present time when the bond of mutual good-will between the rulers and the ruled should become stronger, new repressive measures should be under preparation. What the authorities want to do cannot but come to pass. Still, it is the duty of the Government to foresee the future condition of India under such laws and withdraw them now at least.

IV.—NATIVE STATES.

SREE VAZHUMCODE, Trivandrum, Vrischikom, 1094 M.E. (Nov.-Dec. 1918.)

Alleged corruption in Travancore.

85. In an article under the heading 'Government service and public welfare, the *Sree Vazhumcode* for Vrischikom 1094 M.E. (November-Dember 1918), observes that though there are a few Government servants in Travancore, who are honest, just, conscientious and devoted to public welfare, their number is negligible in comparison with that of the opposite kind. It remarks further that in the various parts of Travancore, the iniquities of Government servants are increasing. The sufferings which people have to endure on account of the demon of bribery pass all bounds. The trade of the company at head-quarters, which has fixed a price for every appointment and promotion, is steadily progressing. Naturally, it never happens that one who pays for his appointment cares to lose by it. He makes use of the same policy towards his inferiors and this policy, in short, serves as a machine to squeeze the people. . . The most insufferable hardship arises from the administration of 'justice' by the police. . . It is impossible to say how great is the misery suffered by our people on account of the various iniquities perpetrated in the several departments of the State. . . The best way to maintain public welfare is to make Government servants responsible to the people.

Issued, 29th January 1919.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 5 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 1st February 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

Justice, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

Sanitary conditions in Madras.

1. The *Justice*, of the 27th January, remarks:—"The health of the city of Madras has, for several months past, been highly unsatisfactory. . Elaborate reports and other printed stuff of the kind daily or occasionally sent to the newspapers cannot afford public satisfaction, and we may state at once that throughout the city, and almost among all classes of the population, dissatisfaction is felt at the way in which the sanitation of the city is managed. . . We want to know why the health of the city is so highly unsatisfactory, and why the rate of mortality is so abnormally high. . . In Mr. Ranga Achariyar's opinion if the Health Officer is relieved of his ordinary routine duties for a period of twelve months so that he may devote his whole time to carrying out minor sanitary improvements and dealing effectively with plague, cholera, influenza and such other epidemics, marvellous results would be achieved. Well, this is a large order. . . In the first place the present Health Officer, who is an Assistant Surgeon, is not a specially qualified sanitary expert, nor had he any experience of matters sanitary connected with any other large city. And during the time that he has been Health Officer he has not shown that he possesses any special intuitive faculty for dealing with complex sanitary problems. What is the object then of deputing such a man for dealing effectively, among other subjects, with plague, influenza, cholera and such other epidemics? . . . We are of those who think that something ought to be done and done immediately to improve the sanitation of the city and to reduce the death rate. There is hardly an inhabitant of Madras who is not of this opinion. For months past this city of magnificent distances and open areas has almost been a death trap, and it is the duty of its most intelligent and responsible citizens to do everything needful to resuscitate its good name by restoring normal conditions. . . We hope that the Madras Government will take up this question in all seriousness They have a solemn responsibility in the matter. And we sincerely hope that regardless of the feelings and interests of the individuals concerned, Lord Pentland will not fail before he leaves us to take effective steps, in consultation with his expert advisers and with such others whose counsel and co-operation will be of help to his Government, to do all that is necessary to improve the health and sanitary conditions of the city of Madras."

(k) *General.*

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 23rd Jan. 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan and Turkey.

2. The *West Coast Spectator*, for the 23rd January, says:—"It was a very regrettable speech that Mr. Yakub Hasan made the other day at Madras, regrettable that a Mussalman leader of his position should have spoken nonsense and went out of his way in supporting a power which has forfeited all claims for respect. The fact seems to us to be that our leaders have not fully realised their position, what the duties and responsibilities of leadership are. A leader has to measure his words, weigh his sentences and take note of the mentality of his audience. The average Indian leader, however, ignores these conditions.

"He plays to the gallery, he shouts with the mob; instead of correcting it, he appeals to its passions and very often we have sad results. . . We are told that there is a proposal to translate Mr. Yakub Hasan's speech in Malayalam and circulate it broadcast. We hope that nothing of the sort will be done, for the Malabar Moplah is inflammable material, and it is better sleeping dogs were let alone. Mr. Yakub Hasan's performance does not seem to us to be creditable."

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 23rd Jan. 1919.

Mrs. Besant and the Indian National Congress.

3. The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 23rd January, observes:—"Mrs. Besant is slowly but steadily losing ground. We have always wondered why some of our countrymen have played themselves into her hands, dancing to her tune and regarding her as a veritable Avatar. Time was when she was a force in English politics, but she shined in borrowed light, the light being supplied by Charles Bradlaugh, but now we fear Mrs. Besant is a dead force whose leadership will not create any enthusiasm for our cause in England. The fact that we needs must look to a foreign lady for guidance is in itself sufficient to make the average Englishmen question our fitness for self-government."

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 25th Jan. 1919.

Mrs. Besant's rumoured move to Bombay.

4. The *West Coast Spectator*, for the 25th January, observes:—"It is said in influential quarters that Mrs. Besant is going to shift her headquarters to Bombay. Whether there is truth in this statement or not, we think it high time the good old lady changed her venue to the Western Presidency. Shrewd and a woman of the world, she herself might have realised that Madras does no longer render her that homage she once used to receive. The growth of the 'Younger Party' is a formidable portent she must have realised. She is almost discredited by that party which she herself helped into the world, and it is likely that she might lose complete ground if she were to remain in Madras any longer."

Justice, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

The Brahman vakils' revolt.

5. The following appears in *Justice*, of the 28th January:—"When the Brahman vakils revolt against the political position of the Brahman Home Rulers, one may safely presume that a critical stage has been reached in the Brahman political world. We were under the impression that the Brahman vakil reigned supreme in the Brahman political world. At all events, without the vakils and their clients the Home Rule party would be at a considerable disadvantage both as to political and numerical strength. If the news of the revolt of the Brahman vakils had proceeded from a less authoritative source than our Brahman contemporary, the *Hindu*, we should have hesitated in accepting the accuracy of the information. But now, there can be no doubt whatever that the Brahman vakils, or at all events the majority of them, have gone over bag and baggage to the Montford camp. . . The *Hindu* again wonders whether the leading Brahman vakils wanted the congenial audience composed of the junior members of the profession before which the leaders could ventilate their opinions. As a matter of fact, from the information we have received, the junior members of the legal profession constituted anything but a congenial audience for the seniors to ventilate their opinions. . . The seniors are ripe for high appointments; the juniors are only ripening. The juniors have to undergo a probationary period before they can step into the various high official places which Mr. Montagu considers it essential should be thrown open for Indians, and the juniors have learned from previous experience that the most satisfactory preparation for high offices is to attack the Government. . . The anxiety of the Indian Home Rulers at the action of the Brahman vakils is evident; for at a time when the Rowlatt Committee Bills have to be opposed tooth and nail by the Home Rulers, they find themselves left in the lurch by all their leading vakils."

New India, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

A citizen army.

6. *New India*, of the 31st January, says:—"We have more than once advocated in these columns the formation of a Territorial, or Citizen, Army, so that India might be able to defend herself. So long as there is here what Anglo-Indians and British writers call 'a garrison' of foreign troops, India cannot be a self-governing Nation; only a week or so ago there was a discussion in England about 'the English garrison' in India, and nothing more insulting, more humiliating, can be conceived than the idea which underlies this term. It implies that India is a conquered country, garrisoned by her conquerors, held down by force, and needing a foreign army to protect her against invasion. Even the army which is Indian in its composition is commanded by foreign officers, and could be turned by them against the people of its own blood. The whole thing is offensive and needs to be changed, for Home Rule and Home Defence must go together. . . The present

Police Service has been trained, quite properly, to obey its officers, and we have seen lately that it is quite ready to fire on its own countrymen at the word of command. . . India cannot afford to destroy this sense of discipline; what is needed is to train the police and the soldiers to obey Indian officers, as in every country these forces are trained to obey men of their own race. . . When an Indian army and navy are created, officered by Indians, then complete Home Rule becomes possible and inevitable. Then India will be a free and self governing nation in the Empire, and will no longer be a dependency as she is now. But a dependency she will remain until she can defend herself and maintain internal order. While she is disarmed, while her Police and her soldiers are officered by foreigners, she remains a subject race."

III.—Legislation.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

7. Writing under the heading 'The Black Bills', *New India*, of the 30th January, says:—"The Coercion Bills, which will be introduced in the Indian Legislative Council in Delhi next week, mark the lowest point of administrative incompetence on the part of the bureaucracy in India. . . In India the administrative agents of the nation that entered into the war solely for the vindication of liberty and justice, are trying to forge the most unheard of weapons for shackling the fundamental liberties of British Indian citizens. The Indian Coercion Bills have beaten the record of hereditary hatred, which has resulted in the series of coercive laws which the British Parliament has had to pass for maintaining British bureaucratic authority against the efforts for Irish national existence. . . Can there be a sadder commentary on the bureaucratic administration of British India than that the present Bills seek to reduce the Indian governmental system after one hundred and fifty years of British rule to a state so redolent of autocratic Russia that is now no more."

New India, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

The *Hindu*, of the 31st January, writes:— "'People who arrange for meetings of 'protest' together with the shrieking newspapers they could control, lay themselves open to the obvious inference that they secretly sympathise with the rebel and the sedition-monger and that only a wholesome regard for their own skins keeps them from openly throwing in their lot with these enemies of Indian society".

Hindu, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

"The Anglo-Indian scribe who has indited the above sentence deserves to be horsewhipped for the scurrilous and slanderous imputation which he has made. . . The meeting was held last evening and the names of those present as given in the report of the proceedings published elsewhere, which contains by no means an exhaustive list, show that the cream of the Indian community in this city attended the meeting and is in absolute sympathy with, and supports the objects of the meeting. The volume of indignation in the country aroused by the proposed legislation cannot be stifled by the insulting insinuations which are made by Anglo-Indian journals of the baser kind. . . The extended scope of the definition given to sedition in the proposed legislation is a monstrous and perverse addition to the criminal law for which no parallel can be found in any civilised country. Statutory recognition is also sought to be given to the most absurd theory that association with a man once convicted of sedition is to be reprobated, and it is made a ground for establishing the guilt of an accused person. . . This new provision recalls to our mind the inveterate and unreasoning prejudice which a member of the bureaucracy cherishes for one convicted of a political offence, an instance of which is given by Lord Morley in his 'Recollections'. . . Whatever Anglo-Indians may say on the subject, there cannot be any doubt as to the best informed Indian opinion upon it. The legislation is one which is of the most reactionary and repressive character."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919. Desabhaktan, Madras, 18th, 20th & 21st, Jan. 1919.

Muslim mass meeting.

8. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th January, publishes a summary of the proceedings of a big Muslim meeting held in Madras on the 17th idem and also the presidential speech delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan on the present situation of Turkey, while the *Desabhaktan* publishes the same in extenso, in parts, in its issues of the 18th, 20th and 21st idem.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

Archæology and the Peace Conference.

9. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th January, observes among other things:—As Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are now under the control of the British, it may be possible to preserve the ancient monuments found therein, ascertain therefrom facts showing their antiquity, and embodying the same in the histories, publish them for the benefit of the country. It is certain that any archæological researches made by the people of Palestine, Turkey, Syria and other countries cannot compare well with those of the British. But though at this juncture experts from America, Japan and other countries might compete to do this work, still, in view of this matter being one which will be useful for ages, it is necessary that it should be discussed in detail in the Peace Conference.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

The future of Turkey.

10. Referring to the great anxiety felt by the Mussalmans in India as regards the future of Turkey, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th January, observes:—Some in the western countries are in favour of making the town of Constantinople a common property of all the nations. There is no doubt that these people make such statements regardless of the feelings of the Muhammadans and also of the evil consequences of their own words. As the bulk of the Muhammadan population is only in the British Empire, the British people should act with very great care in this matter. We would again urge that the Peace Conference and especially the British should pay due regard to the views of the Indian Muhammadans in this connexion.

Mysore Star, Mysore, 19th Jan. 1919.

The future of Turkey.

The *Mysore Star*, of the 19th January, writes:—The Moslem world appears to be very anxious about the future of Turkey. The Allies have suffered a great deal and the war was protracted considerably as a result of Turkey's siding with the enemy. It is only when the Allies were victorious and conquered the major portion of her territory that Turkey bowed her head. It is yet too early to say what her future will be. But we may be sure that the allies will take care that Turkey is no longer the source of danger that she proved in the past. The Moslems are using both threats and entreaties to make sure that Turkey is restored to her former independence. But we fail to understand whether these same advocates were unwilling or incapable of using their influence in preventing her from joining the enemy; perhaps they thought that the war was not likely to terminate as it did. But God willed otherwise. In a recent address to the leaders and political officers of Mesopotamia the Civil Commissioner said that they may be sure that the Turks will never again enter their territory. These words are fairly indicative of Turkey's future.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

The speech of President Wilson: and liberal ideas.

11. Referring in its leader under this heading to President Wilson's speech opening the debate at the Peace Conference, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th January, observes:—. . . The various Powers had been often proclaiming such ideals as that of truth, justice, freedom of the world and self-determination before the close of the war. But after the war, these ideals do not seem to be so much in evidence. President Wilson, however, has not taken up such an attitude and he is urging for the permanent establishment of these ideals in the world with greater persistence even after the end of the war. . . Doctor Wilson has emphasised that "the cause of justice and of liberty for men of every

kind and place" is the primary object of America in entering the war. . . He says: ". . . Every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish, but as it wishes." Our readers can understand what noble ideas the above lines reflect. . . Those sentences may not appeal to lovers of power. . . Since Mr. Lloyd George was enthusiastic about the League of Nations, we trust that he would be equally keen on freedom based on self-determination. . .

12. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th January, observes:—. . . It will be understood from the question of German colonies, what difficulties are to be surmounted. If German South-West Africa were to be given over to South Africa, as has been claimed by General Smutts, we do not know what will become of the principle of self-determination. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

The Peace Conference: the principal resolutions.

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 29th January, writes:—Some of the members of the Peace Conference are of opinion that it will prove a perfect Babel. The Conference has just begun an outline of the work before it, and already the differences among the members are coming to a high pitch. They are thinking of sending a large army into Russia to put down Bolshevism. Seeing the present state of things, even Lord Robert Cecil says that it is impossible to arrive at a peace which will be agreed to by all. But we do not think so. Selfishness is gaining ascendency in the world. Those in power are very eager that they should be autocrats and others should remain in their bondage. There can be no universal peace unless this idea of aggrandisement is warded off. Bolshevik methods are cropping up everywhere like carbuncles in a diabetic patient which defy all attempts to cure them. The Bolsheviks are merely bent on sharing the comforts of the rich and to this end they would even mercilessly murder the latter. It will be a mistake to think that Bolshevism can be put down by means of an army such as President Wilson and others are thinking of. It is impossible to conquer hatred by means of hatred. Christ taught that justice should be the weapon for putting down injustice. But the present-day Christians have forgotten that doctrine. The allies are showing their cleverness only in despising the Bolsheviks but not in bringing them under control. To our mind there is only one method of putting down Bolshevism. All revolutionary ideas arise from want and misery. It is only by providing ample food and clothing to those who are thus suffering that they can be tamed. It is only peace and good will that can wipe out Bolshevism. When a league of nations is under contemplation for establishing universal peace we think it scarcely just that a terrible war should be begun afresh to achieve that end.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 29th Jan. 1919.

The Peace Conference.

13. Referring to the split among the Irish Unionists, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 29th January, remarks:— . . . When on one side the Extremists are crying that self-government should not be granted, on the other side, the Sinn Fieners who are not satisfied even with self-government within the Empire, have declared Ireland a Republic. . . The greater the delay in solving the problem, the more complex will the situation surely become.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

The Irish Unionists.

14. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st January, publishes the speeches of the Hon'ble Yakoob Hasan delivered at, and reports the proceedings of, the meetings held at the Town Hall on the 17th instant to support the case of Turkey.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st Jan. 1919.

Turkey and Mussalmans.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(*a*) *Police.*

15. Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 20th January, writes:— When a Non-Brahman Association applied to the Commissioner of Police for permission to erect arches on public roads in Madras in connexion with the reception of Doctor Nair on his return from England, he refused permission. . . But when Mr. S. Kasturi

ANDHAPARAKSIKA, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

Partiality.

Ranga Ayyangar came to Madras the other day, this permission was given. Look at the partiality of the Madras Police! Do the Police Regulations permit the erection of arches in honour of a Brahman? If not, what is the reason for this conduct of the Police? We should like to know what reply the Commissioner of Police has to give in the matter.

(b) Courts.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 22nd Jan. 1919.

Bench Courts.

16. A correspondent in the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 22nd January, observes that if a Bench Court is not working satisfactorily there may be several reasons for it and suggests that a District Munsif may be placed on special duty to inspect Bench Courts.

(d) Education.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

The Benares Hindu University.

17. Referring to the first convocation of this University, which was recently held, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 23rd January, describes the circumstances which led to the establishment of this University and observes:—There are only half a dozen universities in the wide expanse of our country which can be spoken of as a continent, while in England, Germany and America, each of which in point of extent and population can only be equal to one of our provinces, there are many universities. In Belgium and Holland, each of which can only equal one of our larger districts, there are 40 and 24 universities respectively. Not only is the number of the universities so meagre here, but even the nature of instruction imparted is not quite satisfactory, as observed recently by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. The universities do not appear to act in accordance with the requirements of the times. Religious instruction has been given up altogether. The vernaculars are neglected and no opportunities are afforded for research to benefit the country. Further, most of the universities are nothing but mere examining bodies, the disadvantages of which have been very clearly pointed out by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar in his address. Most of the students passing the Matriculation or Secondary School-Leaving Certificate examination are not quite fit for collegiate study.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

Building grants for schools.

18. In expressing its thanks to the local Government for the sanction of a grant of Rs. 2,95,322 for the construction of buildings for elementrry schools in this Presidency, the *Dravidan*, of the 25th January, observes that the amout is very inadequate in consideration of the large number of elementary schools that are now being located on pials of houses and in temples and choultries in villages and that it is not sufficient to construct even the most ordinary type of buildings for these schools and hopes that the Government will sanction a larger sum for the purpose.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

Referring with appreciation to the above grant the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th January, observes:—It is certain that even this year many elementary schools will be started in this Presidency. But no real advantage will be secured by simply flooding the country with schools. Arrangements should be made to see that the pupils attending these schools spend their life-time properly after they leave them. But in the Government schools, instruction is not now imparted with this object in view. We trust that the Government will attend to this matter and impart such instruction to Indian youths as is suited to Indian needs.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

Education in the Madras Presidency.

19. Referring to the Administration Report of the Educational Department for the year 1917-18, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 27th January, observes:—Though it is well known that the annual grant of 21 lakhs and odd by the Government of India is being spent in this Presidency on the purposes for which the grant is sanctioned, still there is in the minds of some a doubt that all the schools have not been benefited alike by this grant. To avoid such a misapprehension, if the distribution of the grant is made in consultation with some representatives of the people, it will give satisfaction to all. When the revenue of this Presidency alone amounted to 834 lakhs of rupees last year, the sum spent

on education, the most important item of expenditure, is quite inadequate. The number of candidates for the B.A. Honours course shows a slight decrease from that in the previous year; but the reason for it has not been assigned. Though ten secondary schools were newly opened in the year, still, taking into consideration the extent of the country and its population, the present number of schools is not adequate. This applies to elementary schools also. Until there is at least one elementary school for every revenue village, all people cannot get elementary education. The Government should always remember that the complaint that only 6 per cent of the people are literate, is due to the want of the required number of elementary schools and also to the prohibitory cost of education even in the limited number of existing schools. If the recommendations of the Industries Commission to give all labourers elementary education are to be carried out, the present expenditure on elementary education should be increased many times over. Now that the war has come to a close, we trust that in the Budget which is to be shortly taken up for consideration, ample provision will be made for this purpose.

In commenting on this report, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 27th January, remarks that it does not make mention of any remedial measures proposed to be taken to set right the defects noticed by the department in the matter of education, and observes among other things:—In the year under report there has been a decrease in the number of schools under private management, the reason for which has not been given. In a previous report published by the Government, it was stated that more schools should be opened. It therefore grieves one to see that even the institutions that were under private management have ceased to exist apparently for want of funds. It is only to encourage such institutions that Government are giving them grants every year. The present decrease in the number of private schools goes to show that the aid rendered by the Government in the shape of grants is insufficient. According to the quinquennial report published by the Local Government in 1916-17, the special grant sanctioned by the Government of India to this province exceeds 123 lakhs, and the report under review shows that very nearly the whole of this grant has been spent away. Have not the Government of India specified at the time of sanctioning the grant the exact items of expenditure for which it should be utilised? The people think that great benefit would have resulted if our Provincial Government had only properly distributed the grant made by the Government of India. Anyhow, their idea is that the grant has not been spent in a manner that would have been satisfactory to them. There is room to think that those who prepare the budget charges in Government offices have not paid proper attention to this matter. This grievance cannot be redressed until these charges are prepared in consultation with the leaders of the people.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

20. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 22nd January, publishes in Tamil an article on this subject contributed by Mr. G. S. Arundale, characterising the present system of education in India as foreign and advocating the promotion of national education in this country.

National education in India.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

21. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 22nd January, in a leader on the marginally-noted subject, writes:—The University is also necessary for an oriental scholar—a fact which is ignored. We strongly urge the appointment of a Mussalman thereto, otherwise the reforms to be introduced will prove useless.

The University and Mussalmans.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

It is our desire that there should be a Mussalman Fellow acquainted with the ideas and aspirations conveyed through oriental literature. Madras has produced such a scholar in the person of Moulavi Muhammad Abdur Rahman Sahib Shatir. It is not known why he has not been appointed a Fellow. In addition to being an oriental scholar he is an excellent poet. Had he not been born in the unfortunate Madras community, he would have become more famous than Surendernath Thagore.

The editor hopes he will be made a Fellow.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919.

22. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 21st January, referring to the last clause of the fourth chapter of Scott's Quentin-Durward—a non-detailed text prescribed for the Intermediate course for 1919 in which an insult is offered to the prophet, writes:—We earnestly hope that Muhammadan members of the Senate of the Madras University will at once read the book and unhesitatingly move the Senate either to delete the clause or remove the book from the curriculum.

An insulting book in the Intermediate course.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

23. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 22nd January, observes:—It is well for the district administrators to consult the opinions of leaders of people in the matter of repairing roads and affording the people other facilities. Reports relating to the localities where repairs are needed to a larger extent should be called for from time to time, i.e., at the meetings of municipal councils or union panchayats as the case may be, as this will ensure all matters receiving the attention of the Government. In view of the great traffic obtaining on roads consequent on the railway restrictions, it is necessary for the local boards to pay due attention to the repair or renewal of such roads.

Improvement of roads.

ANDHRAPATRIKA Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

24. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th January, writes:—. . . I learn from the Natural History Lecturer in the Purasawakam High School that there have been of late some rat-falls in the Sundaramurti Vinayakarkoil street in Triplicane, in which he is putting up and that the Corporation authorities have been disinfecting the infected parts. Another friend tells me that a Professor of the Engineering College who was to have returned to-day from his camp at Saidapet, with his staff, having come to know this, made up his mind to stop there for three days more. But the Health Officer reports that there have been no rat-falls in Triplicane for the last two or three days. The Corporation Commissioners in Triplicane are requested to state which of these conflicting statements is correct.

Plague.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 14th Jan. 1919.

25. Adverting to the reference recently made by the Government of Madras to the presidents of district boards and non-official presidents of taluk boards, at the instance of the Government of India, to ascertain their opinion on the suggestion of the Government of India that an executive officer responsible to the Government be appointed to look after the administration of local boards which are presided over by non-official presidents, and to the Government Order publishing opinions received thereon, the leading article in the *Manorama*, of the 14th January, on 'Local self-government' expresses itself to be in complete agreement with Mr. F. B. Evans, Collector of Malabar, in thinking that the suggestion is undesirable and that instead of appointing a non-official president and a paid executive officer, it will advance the cause of local self-government much more to appoint the elected non-official president himself as the paid executive officer.

Local self-government.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 22nd Jan. 1919.

26. The *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 22nd January, remarks in its leading article on the Malabar District Board that all who know the affairs of the District Board will unanimously admit that several noteworthy benefits have accrued to the Board during three or four years during which it was administered by Mr. F. B. Evans, Collector of Malabar, and that this was due to his ability, sympathetic dealings with the Members of the Board and his attention in carrying out acceptable suggestions offered by them:—Adverting to the question of the appointment of a non-official president for the district board, the article refers to the good opinion expressed by Mr. Evans about the work now being done by non-official presidents of taluk boards in the district and observes that since it is evident that men of the right type are not wanting in Malabar there is every reason to believe that the appointment of a non-official president for the district board will be as satisfactory as in the case of the taluk boards and as in the case of the district board of the adjoining district of South Kanara, and that such an appointment will please the people. What the Collector will lose in that case, in respect of contact with representative leaders of the people, he can make good during his circuits.

The Malabar District Board.

(*h*) *Railways.*

27. Referring to the statement of the *Pioneer* that the question of Government taking over the direct management of railways will be considered only after normal conditions are restored, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 21st January, observes:—Messrs. Bonar Law, Churchill and Lloyd George have emphasised the fact that great benefits have resulted by the Government taking over the management of railways in their own hands. Further, it is well known that all of us are unanimously urging that the railways in India should be under the direct management of the Government. The necessity for postponing the consideration of this question still further is not apparent. The great war has well demonstrated the expediency of State management. Have our authorities alone not realized this lesson?

Indian railways.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919.

Remarking that the reservation of separate railway carriages for Europeans and Anglo-Indians has to be strongly condemned, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd January, says:—All those who are dressed in the western fashion are allowed into these carriages. The authorities should understand that the Indians will no more brook this invidious distinction, which causes much inconvenience to the passengers.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

(*j*) *Salt and Abkāri.*

28. Referring to an order recently passed in the United States of America strictly prohibiting the manufacture, sale, import and export of all alcoholic spirits, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd January, observes:—All the countries of the world can take a lesson from America. Though a resolution was moved last year in the Imperial Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma, that steps should be taken in this country to put an end to the consumption of liquor once for all, it fell through. Those that then opposed the resolution will now do well to note the present decision of America in this matter.

The drink evil.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras. 22nd Jan. 1919.

Observing that, in view of the baneful effects of drinking, the Government of the United States in America have prohibited the manufacture, sale and import or export of alcoholic spirits there, the *Lokopakari*, of the 27th January, remarks that, in India, drinking has not been prohibited because of the revenue it yields to the Government, and that it can be rooted out only if India gets *swaraj*.

The drink evil.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

29. Referring to the proposed prohibition of liquor in America, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 24th January, writes:—The United States is the home, as it were, of all types of bold enterprise. President Wilson who started with the object of laying the foundation of the world's peace seems now determined to put an end to the drink habit in America with a single stroke of his pen. Would it be a mere beggar's dream if we should ask that in India too our beloved Emperor should promulgate a similar measure?

Temperance reform in India.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 24th Jan. 1919.

(*k*) *General.*

30. The *Desabhimani*, of the 4th January, contains an English leader under this heading, from which the following is an extract:—" . . . 'The report of the Reform proposals ends with this pregnant observation, 'Far greater issues still hang in the balance on the battlefield of France—it is there and not in Delhi or Whitehall that the ultimate decision of India's future will be taken.' So far as the issue might be said to hang on the battlefields of France, the issue has been decided and decided in favour of liberty. . . Whatever might be our contribution, if the principle in the name of which this most terrible war has been fought out is put in force practically—apart from all solemn declarations, Royal and Parliamentary—India should be given a place in the gallery of Nations inferior to none—if not at once, at least at a near date and the way must be paved by giving substantial Reforms for training her up in ways of Government. How

A retrospective look.

DESABHIMANI, Cuddalore, 4th Jan. 1919.

much of it shall be given and how carried out and what is adequate should not be weighed out in a niggardly spirit but the situation requires all the energy of constructive statesmanship and thorough sympathy. . . That for over a century and more we have been trained and educated and our aspirations stimulated by the most advanced Government, none can gainsay and it would be poorest compliment to England herself if she were to be taxed with incapacity to train us in the ways of self-government. Except for certain interested clique of persons—English Nation should admit that she has stood by the principle of Macaulay as regards her Mission in India and that Indians were not slow in catching her ideals and teachings. To say we are behind, we are unfit, western institutions can't grow in eastern soil and such catch phrases is to say an untruth and if said by an Englishman it is unpatriotic and un-British on his part. It would be an admission of a breach of trust, a falling off from principles set out by English Nation as a Nation—in fact it would be a proclamation from housetops as it were of 'Incapacity, breach of faith and every other vice of such nature' on the part of such individual. That we wish to continue subjects of the British Crown and hope for greater and greater opportunities to develop ourselves by connexion with her, none can deny. That we are grateful for what we have received hitherto (and we have received much) is an undeniable truth. Our only wish is that we should be given responsible government and in the words of the Pandit 'the measure thereof should be judged and determined in the light of the principle of self-determination which has emerged triumphant out of this devastating war.' Then might England boast that she has fulfilled her mission and India as a Nation, inspired with a grateful feeling for her who contributed to make her such, be a source at once of pride and power and then alone can she be called the brightest jewel of the British Crown. . ."

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

Improvement of the sugar manufacture.

31. The *Swadesamitran*, in its supplement to the issue of the 18th January, observes that, in spite of the existence of ample facilities in India for promoting the manufacture of sugar in this country, these facilities are not properly availed of and that large quantities of sugar are being annually imported from foreign countries especially from Java, and reproduces in support of this statement an article contributed by a correspondent to the *Englishman* advocating the increase of the import duty on sugar in this country which will give an impetus to the promotion of the manufacture of sugar.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 20th Jan. 1919.

The silent workers in the Fort St. George.

32. The *Dravidan*, of the 20th January, reproduces in Tamil a long leader under this heading from the *Justice* of the 18th idem.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919.

Two addresses.

33. The *Dravidan*, of the 21st January, publishes in Tamil a long leader reproducing the same observations as those contained in the *Justice* of the 20th idem under this heading.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

The Civil Service and the *Indian Patriot*.

34. Referring to the comments of the *Indian Patriot* that the members of the Civil Service deem themselves to be the leaders of the public and not their servants, that they desire to continue to exercise authority as usual in all political matters and that they do not relish the interference of the people, in whom such powers should naturally vest, in the exercise of their authority, the *Dravidan*, of the 22nd January, observes:—Nobody is justified in preventing the civilians from safeguarding their position; nor can any one deny that they have every right to do so and look to their advancement in course of time by legitimate means. But the *Indian Patriot* denies them this privilege, because it apprehends that complete Home Rule which it advocates for the progress of the Brahmans might thereby be obstructed. We never say anything against real Home Rule. But what we object to, is to secure for the Brahmans all kinds of powers in the name of others. None of our party will accept the views of the *Patriot* which is interested in establishing the Brahman oligarchy in this country. The present administration by Civil Servants is undoubtedly better than that by Brahmans.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

Cattle in Tuticorin.

35. Referring to a petition recently submitted by the residents of Tuticorin to the Collector of Tinnevelly and to His Excellency the Governor of Madras regarding the shooting of

cows which, by mistake, enter the limits of the reserved forest on their way from the grazing ground and remarking that a perusal of this petition makes one shudder, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd January, observes:—The statement that cows are sometimes shot even when they do not enter the forest reserves, deserves notice. It is said that this iniquity is done at the instigation of the beef merchants in Tuticorin. We very much regret to learn that the Reserve Police and the Forest officials help these merchants in this matter. If this kind of shooting is permitted to continue, nobody can maintain a cow in Tuticorin. If it is true that cattle get into reserved forests, cannot action be taken under sections 57 and 58 of the Forest Act and the owners of such cattle fined, which will serve to give a warning to them besides adding to Government revenues? It will not then be possible for the Policemen or other officials to misappropriate the penalty levied. How can the Hindus, who consider it sinful even to touch the cow by their feet, brook to see it being shot dead in their very presence? How can officials who are supposed to know the subtleties of the law, act unjustly out of selfish motives? It is not edifying to the authorities to allow hard-hearted people to torture cows in this way seeking their gains. Hereafter at least the Government should take proper steps in this matter, as this kind of shooting will cause immense mental pain to the Indians. The authorities should understand that not only the residents of Tuticorin but all the Indians will be enraged at this and rise in agitation. Can such an atrocity be then permitted under the British rule? Now at least, the Government of Madras should get a little sober casting off their slumber. We request that those who have been the cause for the slaughter of over 100 cows in this manner should be brought to book.

Lord Sinha.

36. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd January, expresses its pleasure at the exaltation of Sir S. P. Sinha to the peerage.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

While writing about the peerage of Sir S. P. Sinha, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 23rd January, makes the following observations among others:—Apart from the support gained by the Government by his appointment, it will now be possible for Sir Sinha himself to do real service for India as a member of the House of Lords. Further, it is certain that ample opportunities will be afforded for an Indian holding office for the first time as a member of this House to give practical proof of the fact that he is in no way inferior to his English friends in his knowledge of politics, keenness of perception and capacity for the investigation of facts.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

Lord Sinha.

Expressing its satisfaction at his appointment as Under Secretary of State for India, the *Desabhimani*, of the 18th January, observes in English:—"While the appointment of an Indian to this great office is unique in itself, the choice is doubtless the happiest in the circumstances, foreshadowing, as it does, the future liberal policy of the British Government towards India."

DESABHIMANI, Cuddalore, 18th Jan. 1919.

Almost the same sentiments appear in the Tamil columns of this paper.

Lord Sinha.

Expressing its satisfaction at his appointment as the Under Secretary of State for India, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 20th January, observes:—Every Indian is bound to be grateful to the British Government for the appointment of an Indian for the first time as a member of the British Cabinet. The Indians should take care not to get deceived by having secured one or two responsible offices just at a time when a beginning has been made for the introduction of reform measures.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 20th Jan. 1919.

Lord Sinha.

The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 24th January, writes:—The elevation of Sir Sinha to the peerage is truly indicative of the high regard which British statesmen have for India.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 24th Jan. 1919.

On the same subject, the *Vokkaligara Patrika*, of the 22nd January, says:—The appointment of Sir Sinha to a place in the British Cabinet must be regarded as a landmark in the history of the British Administration in India. It is indeed very fortunate that the announcements made by His Majesty and his ministers from time to time that India is entitled to equal partnership in the affairs of the empire are now being carried into action. India will be truly grateful to Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Montagu for all time for appointing an Indian to so

VOKKALIGARA PATRIKA, Bangalore, 22nd Jan. 1919.

exalted an office as the membership of the British Cabinet. His elevation to the peerage is particularly welcome as Indian aspirations are apt to be stifled, if, when the Reform Scheme is introduced into the House of Lords, there is not even one in the House to meet the arguments of the opponents of reform.

MYSORE STAR, Mysore, 19th Jan. 1919.

The *Mysore Star*, of the 19th January, writes:—Though the Home Rulers might be dissatisfied with the appointment of Sir Sinha, because a leader of their own party such as Tilak or Pal has not been chosen for that honour, there can be no doubt that all true well-wishers of the country will welcome the appointment, as we may be sure that with Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State and Sir Sinha as Under Secretary, the administration will progress steadily, without the remotest likelihood of precipitate action.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 24th Jan. 1919.

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 24th January, remarks:—The population of the whole empire is four hundred millions, of which India represents three hundred and ten millions. The appointment of Sir Sinha as Under Secretary means that there will be 59 British members and one Indian in the ministry to guard the welfare of that vast population. Hitherto there was not even one to protect the interests of the 310 millions. Indians are, therefore, now in raptures that they have now at least one to represent them. The Indians are grateful even for small favours. We cannot say to what extent Sir Sinha's appointment will really benefit India. But it will give handle for the assertion that he represents India, that the reforms were carried out with his consent and that thus India has been given responsible Government. India has reason to regret that even her 310 millions have not been given the right of *electing* a representative of their own. If we learn to forget our differences and acquire the capacity to fight for our rights and liberties with perfect unity among us, our rights and liberties are likely to find some consideration at least a hundred years hence.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

37. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd January, refers to a manifesto recently issued by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerji and certain other 'moderates' warning the nationalists as well as the officers of the Civil Service and the Sydenham party, and threatening that if the nationalists do not accept and give their support to the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, some of the reforms contained even in this scheme might be dropped, and observes:—If what the moderates threaten could really happen, it appears that they have not understood the very purpose with which the British Government have resolved to bring about the reforms. We hold that the Government resolved on effecting the reforms only after recognising the necessity of modifying the system of administration. If so, how can that necessity mitigate by our declining to support the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals? From this manifesto it is apparent that the moderates have not rightly estimated the British Ministers. Shakespeare has in one of his plays made one of his characters utter in jest the following words:—"I am Sir oracle and when I ope my lips let no dogs bark." Are the British Ministers like that oracle? Are they such as to say "unless you accept what we propose, you cannot get anything?" The nationalist party have, on the other hand, every confidence in their rights. They make known their needs with due respect to the dictates of their conscience. It is only the future that will prove whose contention is right. We trust that the authorities will pay attention to the statement of the moderates themselves that care should be taken to see that the people of India do not get discontented.

The warning of the moderates.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

38. Remarking that many of the bureaucrats in the different provinces attempt to revolt against the introduction of reforms in the administration of this country, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd January, observes:—The civilians in this country belong to the ruling class and are exercising autocratic powers holding positions from a member of the Government of India down to a District Collector. Lord Landsdowne and Sir John Hewett are contending that, for the British spirit to be maitained in the Indian administration, the British should necessarily continue in it. What is the object of their contention? It is nothing but the continuance of the present system of bureaucratic rule. But, according to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, the Indian trait should hereafter characterize the administration of the country; and popular leaders will thereupon strive to secure this. The future civilians should then be of a different mettle

The Indian Civil Service Associations.

altogether. So it will suffice if recruitment to the Civil Service is made from India. If persons of the stamp of the present day civilians continue to be recruited from England, Home Rule will be long delayed.

The Indian Civil Service Associations.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

Referring to the formation of these associations for protesting against the reform proposals, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 27th January, observes:—The Government are not bound to enact laws with reference to the approval or disapproval of the officers whom they have appointed to conduct the administration of this country on their behalf. The civil servants in India have only to carry out the laws framed by the Government. Their attempt to protest against the reform proposals is against Indian Civil Service rules and is improper. If they apprehend that their interests would be prejudicially affected by the proposals, they can individually represent their grievances to the Government who will act as they deem fit. The civil servants should not form a compact and do anything. If it is permissible for Mr. Justice Phillips to join such a compact and oppose the reform proposals, can there be any objection to the Indian Judges of the High Court joining the Home Rule Associations and working for India's cause?

The Indian Civil Service Association.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 22nd January, reproduces the leader of the *Lokopakari* of Madras of the 20th idem abstracted on page 115 of Report No. 4 of 1919.

The Indian Civil Service Association.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 24th Jan. 1919.

38. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of 24th January, writes:—There is a proverb which says that the man who drops his coconuts sometimes weeps even more bitterly than the man who spilt his oil. We are reminded of the proverb when we look at the doings of the officers of the Madras Civil Service. When all peoples in the world including even the uncivilized races of East and West Africa are chanting the hymn of 'self-determination' and India too has merely joined the chorus and a few of our leaders are struggling for a small measure of reform in her administration, in view of the steadfast loyalty which she displayed during the war, the civilians of Bihar and some time back also of Madras, whether with the object of ridiculing the Indians or of mocking at their cry for liberty have organized associations to bewail their fate in the event of the grant of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. We wonder what purpose is served by mocking at the Indians in this manner when they know for certain that the Indians will not be granted the reforms which they have demanded even in the proportion of four annas in the rupee.

The Central Publicity Board.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

39. Adverting to the dissolution of this Board in Bengal the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd January, observes:—The Central Publicity Board in Madras has not yet been abolished, though the war has ended and the journal *War News* which this Board was publishing has now been stopped. It is not known what further work this Board has got to do. It would be well if it is abolished and the money spent on it is utilized for better purposes. When would the Madras Government attend to this?

Need for Agricultural Associations.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

40. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd January, observes:—Our people are well aware of the measures taken by the authorities to improve the fertility of the soil, and any discussion of it will therefore be a useless task. In past years the Agricultural Department was getting the requisite seeds and supplying them to the ryots through agricultural associations. Now the complaint is prevalent everywhere that, either on account of its carelessness or of other reasons, this department is not in a position to supply the required seeds to the ryots in time. The remedy for this is to start agricultural associations in villages with taluk associations at their head.

A call to the patriots.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

41. In the course of a lengthy article contributed to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd January, by a correspondent exhorting the Indians to form an association of patriots to work in the cause of the country, the following observations find place among others:—Friends! Patriots! True sons of Mother Bharata! My brethren! Wake up, follow me and array yourselves for the war of liberty. Our mother is wailing. A beloved

brother of ours is tired of having fought out a just fight with manliness and within constitutional limits. Seeing that another friend summons us. He is ready to train us as warriors and lead us. So start. Do not hesitate. Do not shrink from serving our mother Bharata. We shall all go to T. V. Kalyanasundaram, the editor of the *Desabhaktan*, who is a precious son of the mother, a good patriot working conscientiously and one daily infusing into us deep devotion, supreme wisdom and courage of conviction, and with his help organise an association called "The *Samaj* of the Patriots" We shall locate it in a secluded place and set up therein the image of our mother Bharata with the portraits of several patriots beside her. We shall request the editor of the *Desabhaktan* to be the President of the *samaj*. Every one who enlists himself in this *samaj* should prostrate before the image of the mother and swear that he has dedicated himself to the mother, that his sole duty will be to serve her, that he will strive for her until all her troubles are ended and she enjoys happiness, and that he will continue to work with undiminished enthusiasm and without any delay or hesitation regardless of all incidental troubles. We will tour through different places and take up the work left by our Varadan. We shall impress upon the people at large our political knowledge and the true condition of the mother and her boundless suffering. We shall explain to them that the sons of the mother should not be beguiled by the sweet words of the bureaucrats and that their supreme duty is to put an end to the suffering of their mother, and remind them that, for this, constitutional agitation is necessary. We shall wake up all, prepare them and induce them to agitate. . . Our leader exhorts us to come. Ever since he heard of our Varada's imprisonment, and ever since he returned after touring through several places to serve his country, he is crying out through the *Bhaktan*. Have you not read his leaders? Is it proper for us to be quiet even now? All of you assure him at once that you are resolved to serve the country. Seek his help. If he knows how many of us are ready, he will make the necessary arrangements for starting a *samaj* and attending to other things connected therewith.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

Condition of India.

42. Referring to the large population of India and extolling her ancient greatness in civilization, wealth, learning and industries a correspondent to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th January, writes :—O India! Is your heroism gone? What has become of your courage? Have your sons lost their manliness and self-respect? You, who owned riches in abundance, have been reduced to abject poverty. You, who were highly religious have become irreligious. You, with your vast population, have become subject to pestilence. Your sons, descended from Désing and other kings who were known for their valour and their skill in the use of arms, and who single extirpated 10,000 warriors and won the laurel of victory, have been rendered weaponless widows. Your raw products are being taken to foreign countries, and brought back to you as manufactured goods and sold to your sons for immense profit. Your vast resources are being robbed away by foreigners without any hope of their return, while your children suffer for want of food and raiment and die of hunger. What is your fate, alas! alas!! When the whole world is striving for liberty and every country is attempting to progress, you, with all your fertility and resources, have become extremely poor, have lost your freedom and have become helpless.

SWADESAMITRAN, & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

43. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th January, publish in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held in Tanjore on the 16th idem in connexion with the conviction of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd January, publishes in Tamil an extract from the comments of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* on this conviction to the following effect :—If the bureaucrats resort to such measures to stifle the Home Rule movement, there is no doubt that they will get disappointed. Such acts will only tend to strengthen this movement.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 20th Jan. 1919.

Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

Expressing its regret at the conviction of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 20th January, observes among others :—In western countries, the Government, without curbing by repressive measures the patriots who are agitating for

political reforms, leave them to the good sense of the people, whereas in India any patriot who comes forward to preach about political matters is at once charged with sedition, although the bureaucrats know very well that, for a country to attain progress, there should be patriots to explain to the people the affairs connected with it. On account of the misrepresentations made by some of his enemies, the authorities entertained wrong notions about Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu. It is their general belief that no one preaches politics in good faith. Whenever there is a charge for sedition, there always exists a difference of opinion between the authorities and the people. The main reason for this is their distrust in the patriots. The Government should clearly understand that, so long as administration is carried on without mutual confidence, the people will have to suffer very much.

The bail application of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919.

Referring to the grant of bail to Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu by the High Court, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st January, remarks:— . . . Those who argue that the present system of administration is not conducive to the advancement of the country and that it should, therefore, be replaced by a representative government cannot be disloyal in the least. They ask for this change, because they are prompted by loyalty to the British Empire and because they believe that it is important for the permanence and well-being of the Empire. No Indian politician can venture to condemn the system of the Government of India in stronger terms than Mr. Montagu. And yet, will any one attribute evil intentions to Mr. Montagu on that ground? . . . In Mr. Vaidya's case, the judge has set aside the conviction on the ground that the Home Rule movement is not opposed to loyalty. We look in vain for such a liberal spirit in the judgment of the Deputy Magistrate of Madura, which was based on antiquated notions. We trust that the High Court will consider well the pros and cons of the matter and do justice, taking into account the attitude which has newly grown in the country.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

An address to the students.

44. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th January, writes:—There is none ignorant of the fact that at present there are too many restrictions upon the Indian students. The rulers have understood where the responsibility of India rests. At present the students hear lectures, read newspapers and take part in scout movements. If they stop with this, it is certain that they will forget their country when they grow up. The elders must, therefore, seek the means for the labours of youth turning out to be useful when they grow up. They must strengthen the soul force of the present day students as otherwise these will not be able to bear the responsibility of India but will have to lead a life of slavery Repressive laws are daily increasing in India, and the use of physical force to oppose these laws will be both unconstutional and unwise. As Home Rule leagues have been established at present in several places, associations for inculcating passive resistance should also be started, where bachelors should practise truth, courage and *swadeshism* which have been preached by Gandhi and attempt at once to attain the soul force for doing good to others. Students! Don't direct your attention in other ways. Don't forget mother Bharata!

The same paper also contains a lecture entitled 'our duty' delivered on the 19th January 1919 by one S. Bhagavate Anandham under the auspices of the Saraswati Students' Association, Tuticorin, which contains an appeal to the students to realise their future responsibility in the matter of the advancement of India and befit themselves to bear that responsibility.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 13th Jan. 1919.
DRAVIDAN, Madras, 11th, 13th, 15th to 18th, 20th and 22nd to 24th Jan. 1919.

The second non-Brahman Confederation.

45. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th January, publishes in abstract and the *Dravidan*, of the 11th, 13th, 15th to the 18th, 20th and 22nd to the 24th idem *in extenso* the proceedings of this confederation recently held in Madras.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919.

Government and industries.

46. Observing that in view of the welfare of their own country the British Government have decided to retain under their direct control certain indigenous industries in

England, the *Desabhakatan*, of the 21st January, says:—Many of the Indian industries continue at present to be under Europeans, and the profits thereof go to foreign countries. Industrial experts come from foreign countries, get high salaries here and with the amount earned by them leave for their own countries a few years hence. Friends! have we neither capitalists nor experts in our country and have we not the raw products required for industries? We have all these; but what do we lack? We are lacking perseverance. Unless India attends to her own industries, it will be impossible for her to lift her head in the midst of other countries. So it is the duty of the Government to cheer her up in that branch. At the outset, the Government should start certain model factories and work them themselves for a time. Indian youths, besides being taught industrial sciences, should be sent to foreign countries to receive higher education. We request the Government would care more for the advancement of the Indians than for the interests of foreign traders. They should realise that, if India grows strong, it will add to the strength of England.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

A public meeting at Kumbakōnam.

47. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd January, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, the proceedings of a public meeting held at Kumbakōnam on the 19th idem in which Mr. Subrahmanya Siva is said to have delivered an address on the needs of the Indian community containing the following observations:—In order that our country may obtain salvation, that is *swaraj*, we should develop fraternity, union, patriotism, love of language, nationality and other virtues. There should be no factions in our country. A number of our brethren are now confined in prison and are doing penance there and nobody now comes forward with a resolve to set them free. At present famine of a virulent type is prevailing here and none has come forward with any relief measures. Though our brethren have a strong desire to obtain *swaraj*, yet they do not adopt the required measures for obtaining it. We should only progress by our own perseverance, and it is certain that we cannot do so with the help of others. We can obtain liberty only by remaining passive. We should sacrifice our wealth, body and soul for the sake of Mother Bharata. All the youths of our country should carry out the dictates of Mother Bharata. If we do this, we can confidently assert that we can obtain *swaraj* ere long.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th January, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an account of another lecture delivered at Kumbakōnam by the same person at the close of a procession with Doctor Varadarajalu Nayudu's portrait on the 20th idem, in which the lecturer is said to have spoken to the following effect:—We should strengthen self-reliance, soul-force and fraternity in our people. Soul-force cannot be suppressed by anybody. We should without any cost adopt the ancient forms of physical exercise which will give us strength. The people in the north are growing stronger while those in the south are continuing to be weak. In the great war our Indian soldiers have crushed the Germans by their heroic deeds and have shown their valour in Mesopotamia. No kind of liberty can we attain by depending on the Labour Party. We should therefore be intent on our own purpose, improving union, fraternity and soul-force among ourselves.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

Repression as a remedy.

48. Observing that some of the authorities here think that repressive measures are a panacea for the present situation, and reproducing in Tamil a statement of Mr. Asquith to the effect that the best way of disposing of the Seinfein Party is to grant Home Rule to Ireland and that that party would disappear the moment Home Rule is granted, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 23rd January, observes:—Our authorities should deeply consider the statement of Mr. Asquith who was for many years Prime Minister. Though there may be a few persons in India who forget themselves and act in unconstitutional ways, they cannot be compared to the Seinfeiners. In spite of this, Mr. Asquith himself admits that *swaraj* is the surest panacea for doing away with the tactics of the Seinfeiners, whereas some of our authorities say that the Rowlatt Bills are the best remedy.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919.

The Madras Tramways.

49. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st January, repeats the arguments advanced by the *Hindu Nesan* of the 4th idem against the reservation of front seats for ladies, referred to in

paragraph 24 of Report No. 2 of 1919, and detailing the several inconveniences which may be caused to them in those seats, suggests the desirability of reserving the last two rows of seats for their use.

50. Referring to an article contributed by a correspondent to the *Times of India* requesting the Government to consider the large quantities of foodstuffs supplied from India to allied countries during the war, and regulate the steamer freight and relieve the sufferings of the people here by getting them supplies of rice and other food-stuffs from Burma and other places, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th January, observes :— There is no doubt that the request of this correspondent is perfectly legitimate. During the last four years all the allied countries were supplied with plenty of agricultural products from India, while now she is hard pressed for want. The cry that the prices have become unbearable, has begun to rend the air everywhere. We will wait and see how far the Government pay heed to this request.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

The food situation.

51. Observing that it is understood, from Reuter's telegrams, that information has been received from Moscow to effect that the Bolsheviks have decided to send their men to China, India and Persia with money to spread their views there, the *Dravidan*, of the 24th January, observes :—We cannot definitely say that in case the Bolsheviks happen to enter our country they will not get suitable accomplices here. As it is, there are sufficient inflammable materials in our country, and to add to this, if the Bolsheviks also should join them with funds, then they will catch fire of their own accord. We regret that such injurious materials are spread all over our country. The grant of extensive privileges in regard to political propagandist work is the main cause for this anxiety. The Government should adopt immediate precautionary measures in this connexion. The rules, the brutal acts and other views of the Bolsheviks when combined with the unconstitutional agitations in our country will only add fuel to the fire.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

The Bolsheviks and India.

Speaking about the genesis of Bolsheviks in Russia and their creed of general devastation and of defiance and destruction of all authority and the danger of the spread of their satanic propaganda throughout the world, a note in the *Samadarsi*, of the 18th January, says that it is reported that at a recent meeting they have decided to send some of their party to India. If holy (mother) India, already saddened with the dissatisfaction and disquietude of her offsprings who are without arms and quite helpless, has to suffer the wicked and cruel onslaught of these terrorists, she can only bewail her fate as Pānchāli did in the midst of the Kauravas. What a terrible outlook ! When we peep into the future of the world everything looks so terribly dark. Are these the evil signs of the end of the world or good signs like the tempest, thunder and lightning before approaching showers of blessing ?

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 18th Jan. 1919.

The Bolshevik menace and India.

52. Remarking that almost all the Native States in India are far advanced in industries and education, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th January, observes :—Some years back, an Industries Commission was appointed in British India, and it has recently published its report. It is not known how many centuries will elapse before its recommendations are carried out. But, the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, which was constituted after the Industries Commission, will become an Act next month. Ah! How sympathetic are the Government of India towards Indian industries? However, there is a separate member for Indian industries and trade in the Government of India ! Many wise people doubt whether that member is there simply for opposing any resolution on industries that may be brought before the Imperial Legislative Council by any non-official member. We trust that he will not be cross with us when we say that it will be advantageous in several ways if the Government of India follow at least the Native States.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

India and industries.

53. Referring to the comments of the *Pioneer* regarding the attitude of the Provincial Governments on the Reform Scheme, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th January, observes :— It is obvious from these comments that many of the

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

The Provincial Governments and reforms.

Provincial heads are against certain items in this scheme and that the attempts of His Excellency the Viceroy to effect a compromise, proved to be practically of no avail. It is quite patent that both the authorities and the people are against appointing two classes of administrators in the Provincial Governments. In these circumstances it will be seen that the resolution passed at the session of the Delhi Congress, as regards Provincial Governments, is very appropriate.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

The Legislative Councils.

54. Referring to the notification of the Government of India that no opportunity will be allowed to the representative members to move any resolutions other than those connected with the budget at the session of the Imperial Legislative Council which will be held shortly for the consideration of the budget, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th January, observes:—The rights of our representatives on Legislative Councils are already very limited. It is impossible to keep silent when attempts are being made to restrict these rights still further The Legislative Councils in our country meet only about three or four times in the year. Though our representatives are eager to get from the authorities particulars relating to matters of public interest, they have to wait till the Council meeting. As if this is not sufficient, the authorities say that, during budget discussions, other subjects should not be considered at all.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

Western civilization and new diseases.

55. Remarking that the greater the spread of the western civilization, the greater is the growth of new diseases in India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th January, observes that the Government should not give room for the spread of infectious diseases which have several baneful effects on the people and invites the attention of the Government to the necessity for the establishment of a special sanitary department to attend to these diseases in India.

DESABHAKTAN Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

Mr. Lionel Davidson.

56. Referring to his appointment as a permanent member of the Council in place of the late Mr. Gillman, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th January, expresses the hope that, unlike Mr. Gillman, Mr. Davidson will become popular all over the Presidency and hold this office for a long time.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th Jan. 1919.

The Home Rule League, Trichinopoly.

57. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th January, publishes the presidential address delivered at the second anniversary of this league recently held at Trichinopoly, while the *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th idem, publish the proceedings of the anniversary, at the end of which Mr. Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar is said to have given an address in Tamil, wherein he makes mention of the industries and trade of India having been ruined and the country reduced to a slavish condition, the heavy burden of taxation and the policy of the Government in offering reforms on the one hand and resorting to repression on the other, and pointing to the fact that the European war would not have been brought to an end so soon but for the help and valour of the Indians, and to the necessity for India being granted liberty if the resultant principle of the war is to do away with the policy of one nation keeping another under subjection, calls upon the Indians to muster strong with courage and truth for securing not commercial superiority or conquest but liberty, fraternity and equality.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

"Another new republic."

58. The *Dravidan*, of the 25th January, reproduces the sentiments expressed in the *Justice*, of the 24th idem in its leader under this heading.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

The Government and the labourers.

59. Referring to the suggestion of the *Pioneer* that the Government of India should pay attention to the formation of Arbitration Boards to set right the differences that crop up between capitalists and labourers, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 27th January, observes:—While such boards are in existence in western countries and are producing good results, why cannot a similar arrangement be made by the authorities in India as well? As anticipated both by the Government and the people, industry is likely to make great progress in India in future, which will naturally effect an increase in the number of capitalists and labourers. As differences between these two classes in regard to wages and hours of work are inevitable, we would again urge on the authorities to do the needful even at present as a precautionary measure.

60. Reproducing in Tamil an extract from an English Journal to the effect that the Japanese are evincing great enthusiasm in the manufacture of sugar and are likely to increase their sugar trade in all Indian trade centres and that the Government should take proper steps to develop the Indian industry, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th January, suggests that, in consideration of the injuries likely to be caused to Indian trade and industries, import duty should be levied by Government on foreign sugar.

Indian sugar and Japanese competition.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

61. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th January, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article in which the following finds place among others:—The main question is, why are the Indians famishing without a living? The answer is not far to seek. It is nothing but the want of liberty for our Indian brethren which is the birth-right of every individual. They are at present in a condition of slavery. It is likely that a doubt may arise whether it is consistent with British justice to keep the Indians in this position Friends! The ideals of British justice are very ennobling, equitable and flawless; but the ways of the bureaucrats that carry out these ideals are not at all proper. Puffed up with the pride that they belong to the ruling race while the Indians only belong to the subject race, they exercise autocratic powers as if they were specially created by God to rule over Indians. They enjoy high salaries and pensions unknown in other countries. Their ignorance of the vernaculars, the short duration of their stay in India at the end of which they return to their country with plenty of money and their indifference to the interests of the Indians preclude them from associating themselves closely with the people. They make all the arrangements necessary to improve the outturn of products such as cotton and groundnut which are necessary for the working of the factories in their country and carry them away as raw products They are affording necessary facilities to the European merchants and spoiling our industries and trade; because they fear that, if these are allowed to flourish, their countrymen will lose their living and the inordinate profit they have been making till now. Brothers! You are eye witnesses to lakhs of people becoming victims to famine and pestilence. Do not be sleeping still. Come forward to work and completely replace the unlimited authority of the bureaucrats and keep India under the control of the people's representatives We cannot enjoy happiness unless India attains liberty.

The thirst for liberty.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

62. Dwelling at length upon the opulent condition of India in ancient days and quoting extracts from the Report of the Indian Industries Commission and the opinions of eminent men in support of the same, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th January, remarks that it was the wealth of India that attracted the European merchants to this country and describes how, when the Government of India was taken over by the East India Company, they utilized their powers to destroy Indian industries and made India a producing feeder for the manufacturer in England.

The present condition of India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Jan. 1919.

The same paper, continuing this article in its issue of the 21st idem, refers to the theory of the 'selfish' Anglo-Indians that India is only an agricultural country and can never become an industrial one and, quoting extracts to prove how, if India had been able to pay England in the same coin, when the latter protected her industries by levying heavy import duties on Indian goods, she would have preserved her industries intact, observes:—The present condition of the people is so bad that, if it is not improved, famine is sure to afflict the poor, and the Government should note this. The future of the Indians is gloomy. It is the opinion of economical experts that the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, either with additions or omissions, will not relieve the distress of the poor. As carrying out of these reforms will entail greater expenditure, new taxes will have to be levied to raise the money required therefor and the people will therefore be put te greater hardships. The only party who can improve the condition of the people is the Government and the best way in which they can do it is by giving effect to the recommendations of the Indian Industries Commission. These are very useful to the advancement of Indian industries. The Government should convert India into both an agricultural and industrial country as it was in olden days. There are many things

which the Government should do to improve the agriculture of the country and they should attend to these without delay. These measures by themselves will not do. Unless the Indians are given fiscal responsibility, India will not be benefited in the least.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

A call to patriots.

63. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th January, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article in which the following observations occur:—Dear children of mother Bharata! are you still asleep? Just realize in what condition your mother is at present. She is big with the child of liberty. The time for her confinement is close at hand. She is loath to see new ways and adopt the modern western civilization. Just as Sita, during her preganancy, evinced a desire to see the old forests, so our mother Bharata wishes to see her old heroic sons, her old fertile lands, her ancient wealth and ancient trade and industries. She desires that she should have the rights enjoyed by other countries, that her children should feel happy and that she should, like other women, grandly wear a crown and attend public conferences. The duty of enabling her to gratify her wishes devolves on us. Some carry away the cotton required for spinning the thread with which her cloth has to be woven. Some blind many of her sons so that they cannot see where the wealth of their country goes. Some act traitorously to our king and prejudicially to our mother. Some of the patriots knowing all these come forward to deliver public speeches to thwart the schemes of their enemies to gratify the wishes of their mother, to rouse a patriotic feeling and encourage loyalty. Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu is one of these; he is a great patriot and a loyal citizen. He has served his mother. Whose duty is it to see to the happiness of the mother? So wake up. Many should now come forward to agitate constitutionally with loyalty and patriotism.

SIRTIRUTTAM, Madura, 8th Jan. 1919.

Vēdavritti mānyams.

64. A correspondent to the *Sirtiruttam*, of the 8th January, points out that the Brahmans, to whom these *mānyams* were originally granted for the purpose of promoting a knowledge of the *Vedas*, have neglected their functions and even mortgaged or otherwise conveyed some of these and that the Government do not care to see that the manyamdars are properly discharging the duties for which these *manyams* were granted and suggests that the Government should issue a circular to the Tahsildars directing them to see that those *mānyamdārs* who are not versed in the *Vedas* take to a study of them, to issue a notice to such mānyamdārs that, if they do not do so within five years of the notice, their *mānyams* will be forfeited to Government and to report to Government the result of their action twice in the year.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 9th Jan. 1919.

Airships and the exodus of the Governors to the hills.

65. The *Vartakamitran*, of the 9th January, reproduces in Tamil an article from the *Modern Review* on this subject which contains the following observations among others:—As in the near future, ærial communication between India and England will be possible, and as mails can be carried from here to England in a less space of time than is required at present for their being carried from Bombay and Madras to Simla, it will be convenient to govern India direct from London. However, the statement of Mr. Goodley, the representative of New Zealand, that he would prefer his country being governed by a Nero on the spot to its being governed by an angelic board from London is of course against our suggestion. But his objection in a way applies to the 'tingods' who proceed to Simla, Darjeeling; Ootacamand and Mahabaleshwar.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 9th Jan. 1919.

Indian's help to England in the war.

66. Publishing in Tamil a summary of an article appearing in the *London Times* relating to the great help rendered by India during the recent war, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 9th January, remarks that it is evident from this that, if India had not rendered such help, this great war could not have ended victoriously.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 9th Jan. 1919.

India and self-determination.

67. Remarking that the word 'self-determination' implies the cutting off of all connexion with others, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 9th January, refers to the promises by Mr. Lloyd George and other statesmen, of granting liberty and the right of self-determination to the German colonies in Africa after the close of the war and

observes:—We do not believe those promises will be kept; for it cannot be taken that all promises made by these in peril will be fulfilled by them when they are free. It is already known to the wise that self-determination will be denied to these colonies by the Allies on some plausible ground or other such as that they are incapable of governing themselves or that they prefer being governed by others like the English, the French, etc. So there is nothing strange in the British statesmen now contradicting their original statements or even in the Allies trying to divide the German colonies among themselves. The case of Ireland may be quoted as another instance of promises made at a critical moment not having been kept later when the danger was over. In the case of India, self-determination is quite indispensable. She has also been striving for it as hard as Ireland. Economic prosperity is impossible for a country, which lacks self-determination in matters of education, industries and trade. To expect these to be improved by the British traders and bureaucrats is an anomaly and this has been proved. For example, though efforts have been made for the last 50 years to make elementary education free and compulsory, nothing has yet been done in this matter. At the time of the war, the Government, just to satify the people, said that they themselves might, with the permission of the government, take steps in this direction, but that no pecuniary help could then be given by the Government. When funds were available, there was not the will and when there was the will, funds were wanting. Would there be so much delay in a country possessing self-determination? When any steps are taken here for the improvement of trade and industries, the question how they will affect England has to be taken into consideration. It is quite an untenable position for India. The condition of India is different from that of other countries. Though administration of India, as far as it pertains to the peace of the country, should continue under the supervision of England, education, industries and trade will not progress, unless India is granted self-determination in regard to them as also the necessary powers and funds.

The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 13th January, also refers to the statement of President Wilson that the greatest benefit derived from this war is the application of the principle of self-determination to all nations in the world and, remarking that the liberty obtained by a nation after attaining perfection in the several stages fixed for being granted responsible government, can never be considered an exercise of the right of self-determination, observes:—While the people of Mesopotamia and the German colonies in South Africa are to get freedom, are the Indians and their leaders less qualified than they to govern their country? The English statesmen should consider impartially whether the Indians have sacrificed their lives and wealth for securing democracy and freedom to countries which have lost their kings in the war, or for securing such right of self-determination in regard to the government of their own country as has been promised by President Wilson to other countries. It is not in the least justifiable to think that certain reforms granted by the bureaucrats at their pleasure will be sufficient for the Indians. The Indians should be permitted to determine the form of government that will suit them and to place it before the Peace Conference. If they cannot get even the right of electing their representatives to the Peace Conference, how can they acquire the privilege of self-determination? We trust that the words of the British statesmen that the war has been waged for securing freedom for the nations in the world will not go in vain. It is very necessary that Indian representatives should be sent to England to disabuse the mind of the British public of the wrong impressions created against the loyalty of the Indians and to apprise them of the actual condition of India under the guidance of the bureaucrats.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 13th Jan. 1919.

68. Remarking that the villages where the majority of the population live are at present being neglected, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 16th January, urges that the public should themselves seek the means of improving the villages instead of depending upon the authorities whose attention is directed more towards improving the economic condition of the Europeans than towards improving that of the Indians.

Improvement of villages.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 16th Jan. 1919.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 20th Jan. 1919.

A shooting incident at Poona.

69. Referring to an incident in Poona in which Lieutenant Stanley of the Military Accounts office is said to have shot at the driver of a hackney carriage for having demanded a high fare, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 20th January, observes:—Doctor Nayar and other members of the non-Brahman party should note what has been the lot of the black man who is subject to the foreign rule. It is not known how those who do not require self-government, but would prefer a foreign rule, are going to account for the barbarous acts of the whites in shooting men like birds. Perhaps they may even justify the action of the Lieutenant. Let them realize at least hereafter that it is hard to put up with the cruelties of the foreigners until we are free from slavery and attain liberty and the right of self-determination.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

The Telegraph officials.

70. Referring to the order of the Government of India increasing the pay of these officials from January, the *Lokopakari*, of the 27th idem, observes:—As a majority of these employees are Eurasians, their pay has now been raised in order to relieve them from hardship on account of the high prices of foodstuffs. What about the Indians working in other departments?

DRAIVDAN, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

A provincial board of agriculture.

71. Adverting to the proposal of Sir Harcourt Butler to form a provincial agricultural board composed of officials and non-officials in the United Provinces, the *Dravidan*, of the 27th January, observes:—It appears that the object of this institution is to create a greater affinity between the Agricultural Department and the general public It has now become indispensable for this department and the Government to acquaint themselves with the views and grievances of the public who have vast experience in agricultural matters and take steps with due reference to the remedial measures suggested by them. We urge that similar reforms should be introduced in other provinces also.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919.

The real position.

72. Commenting on the speech of Mr. S. Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar about his visit to England and France, delivered at a public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 21st January, observes in its leader under this heading:— . . . We learn another fact from Mr. Ayyangar's lecture. He said that His Majesty George V, our Emperor was of opinion that the people of Madras were unfit to be soldiers. It is not known who created this notion in the Emperor's mind. Even admitting for the sake of argument that the people of Madras are wanting a little in manliness, we can say that it was the fault of Lord Roberts and not of the people. We remember that it was he who brought this charge. We have been connected with the army for generations. If the Madras sepoys had not fought with valour in the Bengal mutiny the situation would have been very dangerous. To say that the successors of the Madras Subedars who could uphold the British Flag by fighting with exemplary courage in the battles of Ava and Srirangapatam and elsewhere, are unfit to serve in the army is, we firmly believe, to call light darkness. When sepoys were treated worse than coolies, respectable persons refrained from joining the army. That is the reason why members of martial families are not seen in the army to-day. We venture to say that, given proper and respectable treatment, the Madras sepoys would make the best soldiers. We submit that the honour of Indian soldiers may, better, be kept up hereafter at least by duly encouraging the Madras sepoys.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

Co-operative Credit Societies.

73. Reviewing in its leader the Report of the Co-operative Credit Societies Department for 1917–18, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd January, observes:— . . . Though co-operation and industries are closely related to each other, in India co-operation is not contributing so much to the improvement of industries. It is not so in the western countries. Many small industries therein are being successfully pursued through co-operative societies. . . The Provincial Bank should try to strengthen the mutual bond among the several central banks. Otherwise, those banks cannot have a permanent status. The report does not show any improvement in this respect. It is but proper that earnest attempts should be made in this direction hereafter at least. . . The co-operative movement has not yet so

widely spread in the Andhra country. The Andhra leaders and Co-operative department will do well to work earnestly in the matter. On the whole, Indians are forward in this field, which is most eloquent testimony of their fitness for self-government.

74. With reference to the contradiction of the *Pioneer* of the message published by the Associated Press that the Government would grant passports to fifteen persons who proceed to England on behalf of the Congress, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd January, remarks:—. . . It is not just that Indians should not be given an opportunity to represent their views freely to the English public, even after the war has come to an end.

Passports.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

75. Referring ta the declaration of Irish Independence by the Sinn Fein Constituent Assembly, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd January, says:—. . . We pray that the British authorities may soon be blessed with the ability and farsightedness which are required for a satisfactory solution of the Irish problem so that internal trouble may be prevented while the Peace conference is going on

A Parliament in Dublin.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

76. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th January, observes:—. . . The reasons given by the Director of Agriculture and the Principal of the Madras Veterinary College why the thirteenth Ongole cattle-show was not popular are not worth believing. . . In these circumstances, that Mr. Stuart should think that the export of good breed of cattle and the consequent loss to the country could not be a cause for the failure of the show, cannot but appear strange. . . Since notices giving the dates of the show and the details of prizes were circulated along with the District Gazette of the 17th January, there is no reasen to suppose that information about the show did not reach the ryots in time. . . An examination of the circumstances will make it clear that the show is detrimental to the growth of cattle in the country. . . We suggest that the cattle-show committee should meet soon and discontinue the show, if they think that such shows do more harm than good to the country.

The Ongole cattle-show: should it be held in future?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

77. Referring to the resolutions of the Delhi Congress, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th January, writes:—. . . Since the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission will shortly be passed into law, it will be seen how necessary it is to have the departments of Law, Justice and Police in the hands of the people. . . The Congress Committees and the Home Rule Leagues should bestir themselves now and educate the people on the Congress resolutions. . . If Indians have faith in the uprightness of their cause and dedicate themselves to the attainment of its triumph, all obstacles will soon disappear, and they will be able to reach the goal easily.

The Congress resolutions.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

78. With reference to the Village Officers' Act Amendment Bill, a correspondent to the *Avdhrapatrika*, of the 24th January, writes:—. . . The hereditary right of village officers should be completely rooted out and their appointments should be made by the people by election. But to give the Tahsildars the power of appointing them is unjust and will be detrimental to the progress of the village. If this power is given to the people, their lives will be happy.

Village offices.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

79. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th January, observes:—. . . The problem of self-determination should be solved now. The International League cannot be of any use, unless self-government is granted to all nations and dependence is driven out of the world. . . The problems of India and Egypt should be solved at once. The Peace problems are not ordinary. But if the Allies rely on *Dharma* and follow just methods for the sake of the well-being of the world, the Peace conference will be a success. We wish for a speedy attainment of this object.

The peace problems.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919.

Administration in Goa.

80. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st January, writes:— Speaking on self-government Indian Political Reformers are apt to refer, for example, to the governments of such countries as the Philippine Islands. They do not seem to have thought about the Government in Goa which is at hand. The *Amritra Bazaar Patrika* has been able to gather some new facts from some inhabitants of Goa. It seems that the Goa people enjoy greater rights than the subjects of the British or the French-India. . . A citizen of Goa can become the Governor of Goa. and two have been Governors. . . Though the Goa people lag behind their brethren in British India in point of education, they are forward in the matter of bearing administrative responsibility. Those who think that danger will result, if Indians are granted self-government will be silenced, if they look at the condition of Goa a little.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

Public roads.

81. Referring to the grants of money to District Boards by the Government for the improvement of Local Fund roads, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 22nd January, observes:— . . . It takes years for Local Fund engineers to repair the roads in their charge. We believe that lack of proper powers and freedom in the hands of our taluk and district boards, municipalities and unions is responsible for this miserable state of affairs. . . We regret very much to have to say that the Government cannot yet fully understand that our local boards, with leisure too scanty to carry on their correspondence with Collectors, District Medical Officers, Educational authorities, Sanitary department and the Government, are not in a position to do anything . . . We request the district boards to spend wisely the money granted to them by the Government for the improvement of public roads, by carefully checking and supervising the work done by their subordinate officers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

Village officers' conferences.

82. Referring to the Kistna District Village Officers' Conference held at Gudivada to protest against the amendments proposed by the Government to the existing law about village offices, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th January, says:—. . . Both the President of the Conference and the Chairman of the Reception Committee explained that the newly proposed amendments would not only interfere with the hereditary right attached to these offices, but would also disturb the village life by affording room to subordinate officers for the exercise of arbitrary power. . . We request the Government to note the public opinion on the enhancement of water-rate and on the Village Officers' Act Amendment Bill which are now strongly agitating the Andhras and to withdraw both of them.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 25th Jan. 1919.

Preparations for self-government.

83. Referring in its leader under this heading to the inquiry of the Reform Committees at Madras, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 25th January, observes:—. . . We cannot say that Mr. Fetam, the President of the Subjects Committee can discharge the duties attached to his office with ability, as he has very limited experience of our administration. . . We cannot but say that this committee will lag behind the Franchise Committee in point of liberality and desire for reforms. . . As against the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, the one mild Brahman from Madras, there are on the Committee Mr. Subbarayulu Reddi and Mr. Swamikannu Pillai ready like the lion and the tiger to swallow witnesses. There is Lord Southborough who has come with an unbiassed mind from England. There are also Mr. Sly and Mr. Hayley who belong to the Civil Service which has helped the non-Brahman movement and brought it to prominence. . . It was Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar who moved a resolution asking for the repeal of the Bill providing the punishment of putting Paraiyas in stocks. Though it has been four years since the Bill was withdrawn in response to a promise by the Government the punishment has not yet been abandoned. Who are responsible for this? Brahmans or the Government? . . Without understanding all these circumstances which decide success in elections, to condemn Brahmans for this man or that man not having been returned to the Council cannot be a sign of political wisdom. To say that those who have been returned have not worked well is a greater falsehood still. . . If the grievances of ryots have not been redressed,

if the disadvantages under which the Panchamas suffer, including the punishment of stocks, have not been removed, it is not the Brahman nor the non-Brahman representatives but the Government that must be held responsible for it and blamed. If social legislation has not been passed, it is the fault of non-Brahmans in not having introduced such Bills. To work and get rebukes in return for it, falls to the lot of the Brahman representatives. Be it as it may, what were the objects with which the non-Brahman movement was started on the eve of Mr. Montagu's visit? . . Each community like Panchamas, goldsmiths, etc., then asked for separate representation. But the leaders of the non-Brahman movement as well as the Madras Government which is backing them up from behind now require that the number of representatives of Brahmans should be first fixed, and then that of the non-Brahmans embracing Kammas, Kapus, Velamas, Reddis, etc, in a single community. One of their leaders, Mr. Tulsiram, writes from Madura that barbers and washermen should be excluded from the non-Brahman community and included in the Panchamas. When have all these various sects met, given up the separate representation they originally wanted, defined that they are all one community, and resolved that they are part and parcel of the non-Brahman community? If three or four self-constituted leaders agree to such an arrangement, does it mean that they carry with them the approval of the people . . The number of non-Brahmans among the non-official members of our taluk and district boards is already greater. . . On the whole, of the 3,204 voters in the Presidency 1,025, i.e., less than one-third are Brahmans. . . For the development of democratic government, therefore, popular representatives will have to be responsible to the whole body of the people. . . Any arrangement which is opposed to this principle is against reason, against worldly experience and against democratic ideals.

84. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 29th January, observes:— . . . Writing on 'the Rowlatt Bills,' the *Indian Social Reformer* says that the accumulation of all penal powers in the hands of one Government must be looked upon as bad as the multiplication of excessive armaments in any particular country. The popular mind is being agitated by the scheme of reforms on one side and by the 'Rowlatt' Bills on the other. It is the duty of the educated classes to see that the reforms are not rendered futile by the 'Rowlatt Bills'. There is no doubt that fearless expression of public opinion without mincing matters is an important means of achieving this object. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

Reforms: some strange views.

85. In the course of an appeal for the formation of the Andhra Ryots' Association, two correspondents to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th January, remark:— . . . The Government have introduced the irrigation system, after considering well that rain water could not be a reliable source of supply and that sure and steady supply of water could be had by building anicuts across rivers. Instead of famines disappearing as a result of this arrangement made by the Government, circumstances have arisen which have made famine a permanent feature in our country, as has been shown by our revered leaders like the late Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji and Mr. Gokhale. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

The agricultural movement.

86. Under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 25th January, says:— Though the evidence given by our leaders before the Reform Committees at Madras was taken down in camera, we give below some details which have reached our ears by hearsay.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 25th Jan. 1919.

The Reforms Committees: questions and answers.

The *Patrika* then gives some details of the evidence taken from certain individuals.

87. With reference to the entertainment given to Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Achari, the Sarishtadar of the District Court, Masulipatam, in honour of the title of Rao Sahib accorded to him by the Government, a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 25th January, writes:—. . . A doubt having arisen in our minds as to what Mr. Achari has done to deserve the title, we have naturally fallen into discussion, forgetting the real business at hand. There have been many demands on the

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 25th Jan. 1919.

An entertainment.

country due to such causes as famine, pressure of war, recruitment and the war fund. But Mr. Achari does not seem to have fallen into the sin of showing any concern in any of them. He is a stranger to the people and the people are strangers to him. We asked within ourselves: how has he then got the title? The District Judge was not generally in the habit of going to camp without him. He is very fond of touring and does more touring than other District Judges. Perhaps, Mr. Achari used to see that there was nothing wanting in these camps for the District Judge, and was useful to him in court in all ways. We thought that the District Judge, very well pleased with him, might have recommended him to the Government. . .

HITAKARNI, Ellore, 12th Jan. 1919.

Conflict.

88. In its leader under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 12th January, writes:—There is now a conflict between hope and despair in the political world. . . The hopes of the Indians are blighted. Self-exertion is their only resort. . . As the conflict progresses, the flame of unrest will spring up, and this is not safe to the people nor to the Government.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore 24th Jan. 1919.

Excess profits tax.

89. Referring to the objection raised by the Indian Merchants' Association to the excess profits tax that the unsettled condition of the market, on account of the termination of the war, is likely to mar the war profits of a very large number of merchants, and to the suggestion that the Government may, instead, increase the import duty from 7½ per cent to 10 per cent, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 24th January, remarks:—The suggestion is by no means novel; but, do the mill-owners, particularly the owners of jute mills who have earned 250 to 300 per cent profits during the war also object to the tax? The Home Government have not refrained from imposing a tax on excess profits. If the Government should increase its financial resource by enhancing the duty on goods imported from Europe and at the same time encourage indigenous industries, we shall by no means object to such a policy. But if England should object to the enhancement of duty by the Government of India on their manufactured goods sent to this country and if at the same time the mill-owners and others who have earned enormous profits during the war should also object to the taxation of those profits, would it not be an injustice if, after all, the Government should order that the ryot, who may be likened to the village oil-monger who has hardly enough to eat, should supply the oil required for working the machinery of Government?

MALAYALI, Quilon, 25th Jan. 1919.

The conference of Ruling Princes and the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme.

90. Referring to the conference of Ruling Princes recently held at Delhi for considering the recommendations in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme in respect of the Native States, the *Malayali*, of the 25th January, remarks:—'That Maharajas of States in alliance with His Majesty should assemble annualy in Council at Delhi under the permanent persidentship of the Viceroy and that the Viceroy should have full freedom to decide questions of succession and to deprive the Ruler of a State of his rulership—these will never be acceptable. If the British Government do not endeavour to introduce such reforms as will enable the subjects of Native States to determine their own affairs, to introduce the reforms in such a manner as not to allow even a particle of their present powers to be lost to the Ruling Princes, and in view of the love and concern for the Empire recently manifested by these Ruling Princes, to remove all the disabilities and embarrassments that lie hidden in old treaties and usages and to enhance their powers—if these things are not done, in our opinion, the future of Native States will not be bright.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 14th Jan. 1919.

Food grains.

91. The *Manorama*, of the 14th January, again urges the necessity of prohibiting the transport of rice from Malabar to the Cochin State or to any district outside Malabar and suggests that this is the first thing to be done to solve the problem of food shortage and high prices.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 21st Jan. 1919.

Vaccination.

92. Referring to the Vaccination Report for 1917–18 and the increased mortality under small-pox during the year in the Presidency, the *Manorama*, of 21st January, observes that at least 25 per cent may be added to the number of deaths recorded,

to arrive at the real figure, because village officials do not report cases of small-pox if they can help it, and they report only about 50 per cent of the actual cases. Regarding the failure of vaccination, the article refers to the opinion of people in Malabar that the lymph supplied from the King's Institute is not so effective as the locally-prepared lymph, which was in use in Malabar before the present system was introduced.

Mr. F. B. Evans, M.A., I.C.S.

93. In a long article under the heading "Mr. F. B. Evans, M.A., I.C.S.," the *Malayala Manorama*, of the 28th January, says:— Mr. Evans is a very able man who, even before he was appointed as Collector of Malabar, had served in the district in various capacities and had acquired a thorough knowledge of the actual conditions of Malabar and its people. . . His administration was not only blameless in all respects, but also reflects special credit on him in some of its features. The Collectors of Malabar generally fall under two classes, the peoples' Collector, intensely solicitous about the welfare of the people irrespective of opinions held by Government, and the Government's man who pledges himself to give satisfaction to Government not minding the people very much. Mr. Dance and Mr. Pinhey may be quoted as examples. Each of these two classes may be subdivided again into two—able officers and inefficient. Mr. Evans is an able officer who combined solicitude for the welfare of the people with the execution of the will of the Government. There may have been a still different class of Collectors who did not care very much either to please the people or to please the Government but wanted only to assert their own authority. Mr. Evans had a special ability to direct the administration along paths of public welfare without prejudicing his own authority. The remaining portion of the long article refers to the tact shown by him in dealing with the food problem, the stimulus he gave to local self-government, the attention given to the inter-relation of janmis and tenants and his mastery of the way of moving with Indians of varying status from the Prince to the coolie, in which matter his knowledge of Malayalam helped him considerably. In short, within recent times Malabar has not had such an able Collector.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 28th Jan. 1919.

The worship of liquor by westerners.

94. The *Malayala Manorama*, of the 25th January, points out that in the wake of Christian Missionaries carrying a humanising influence to barbarous races European merchants follow with intoxicating liquor. The harm done to the world in this way—even by Englishmen—is incalculable. Reference is made to the accusation brought by a Scottish Priest against his own nation, that they have destroyed the native peoples throughout the Empire by the introduction of the drinking habit among them. After noticing the great change that has now come over the westeners' devotion to drink and the action taken by Russia, France and America in respect of prohibition, the article concludes with the remark that if drink could be prohibited in Europe and America it can certainly be prohibited in our country also, and that if the Government of India, out of consideration for the welfare of the Chinese and by the pressure of English Missionaries, could give up opium trade with China worth twelve crores of rupees per annum, the Government should similarly be prepared to bear the loss that will result from the prohibition of liquor trade in India.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 25th Jan. 1919.

An appeal for a crore of rupees to help Indians whose relatives have fallen in the war.

95. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 23rd January, in a leader on the marginally-noted subject, writes:—Although India has borne its share in the war according to its means, and already subscribed generously to the various funds. In view of the fact that the necessaries of life in India are fast getting beyond the reach of the poor and the middle class, the appeal is inopportune. At the same time, they cannot well ignore an appeal to assist the families of the wounded and killed. Response is indeed incumbent upon, and is a sacred duty of our compatriots.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

The *Madras Mail* and the Khalifate.

96. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 23rd January, criticises and endeavours to traverse the argument advanced in the leader on the Khalifate which appeared in the *Madras Mail* of the 22nd January.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

III.—Legislation.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919.

97. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 21st January, observes:—

The Rowlatt Bills.

The object of these Bills is to perpetuate the special powers granted to the Government by the Defence of India Act, which will cease to be in force six months after the end of the war. With the existing constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council, there will be nothing to prevent any Bill approved by the Government being passed into law. Public opinion is sought only as a matter of formality. So we are afraid that, unless there is some miracle, the important provisions of these Bills will soon become law. Coming to the provisions, we shall take the amendments in the Penal Code first. One amendment renders even the possession of a seditious document an offence. If a person in this country receives a seditious letter or book from the enemies of the King in foreign countries and is found in possession of it, or if such is received by his people and kept in his house, he becomes guilty. Another curious amendment is that any document containing matter likely to intimidate an official is also a seditious document. Let us suppose that one is provoked with a petty official and writes a letter to a friend to punish this official, one who is in possession of this letter becomes guilty. This provision will make it impossible to criticise any class of officials and the liberty of criticising any system of administration will therefore exist only in name. Evidence of previous conviction can now be let in only to determine the punishment after the offence against one is proved. But the present Bills permit the letting in of such evidence even to prove the guilt of an accused person. It is against all principles of British justice to let in any evidence that is likely to prejudice the mind of the judge against an accused, before the guilt of the latter is proved. But anything is perhaps proper in India! The amendments in the Criminal Procedure Code are still more curious. They take away even an existing power of the High Court and we do not see why. They also empower the judges trying a case to direct that any particular witness should be heard in comera. This may set a premium upon all those who are prepared to give false evidence.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th January, wonders whether the introduction of these Bills indicates the end of the *Kaliyuga* and, remarking that even a law passed for hunting animals cannot be so mean as these Bills, observes:—Is there such a law in any other part of the world? Is it in existence in Ireland, the birth place of sedition, or in England where charges are often brought against Government officials? No. We do not know what sin we have committed that such barbarous laws should be introduced in India, where truth and virtue reign supreme. Even an idiot will laugh at the principle enunciated in these Bills that the mere possession of a seditious document will render one liable to imprisonment for two years. One may scribble a few ideas about a Government official by way of pastime and may have no idea whatever of publishing it. All the same he will become a victim to this cruel law, which is incompatible with British principles. Alas! What offence has India committed to merit this law? Perhaps this is the reward for her having poured in her wealth and blood in this war, without expecting any return, or for her having helped England in various ways for the last 150 years! It was Sir James Stephen, who introduced section 124-A in the Indian Penal Code. But it contained a clear provision that one could be punished under this section only if there was an overt act committed. In 1898, this provision was cancelled and the mere publication of seditious matter was rendered punishable. Now in 1919, when the sun of liberty has dawned, a law is introduced rendering even possession of such matter punishable. The rising of the sun of liberty in the western countries synchronises with the introduction of an unjust and slavish law in India! As the Police cannot divine the possession of a seditious document by one, this law will surely lead to their searching all places they suspect. How can there be any protection for the property or rights of man then? We are afraid that this law may nullify the promise of Queen Victoria that, under her rule, no harm will be done to the property or rights of man. As civilisation advances, it looks as if India will be having new laws at every stage. Next year, a section 124-C may be introduced declaring even the harbouring of seditious ideas to be punishable. A new instrument may perhaps be inverted to find out the ideas of the people and used by the Police for the purpose! We heartily agree with the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*

when it expresses the fear whether, if these Bills are passed into law, the Police may not, to acquire fame and to convince the authorities that sedition exists in the country, throw some seditious documents in the house of an innocent man and accuse him later of sedition. This will only convert good men into bad men and loyal people into seditionists, leading eventually to unrest and chaos. This will be the only result of these Bills. A Government exercising autocratic powers may pass any laws they want. But, if they transgress the rules of truth and justice, they will surely reap the fruits of it. We give this warning to the Government of India.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Jan. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th January, reverts to this subject and says:— The stringent provisions in the Bills are based on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee Report, which is in turn based on the evidence of the Police. The report itself says that it is only a small community in Bombay that are connected with conspiracies in India and that such conspiracies have become rooted only in Bengal. Even in Bengal, according to a recent statement made at a meeting of the Legislative Council there, the Government need be anxious only about 226 detinues. Should permanent changes be introduced in the laws safeguarding the birthrights of the people throughout the country, for the sake of these 226 men? Even the Rowlatt Committee did not make their recommendations with reference to these men. Their proposals were intended only as the basis for the drafting of a new law in place of the Defence of India Act, if such is necessitated by the way in which the war comes to an end. Though the war has come to an end, has the nature of its termination necessitated the drafting of a new law? The conspirators might have thought it easy to do an injury to the Government during the period of the war seeing that the attention of the latter was directed to many points. But can they have such an idea now that the war has ended in a permanent victory to the British and the Allies? The exitement among the Muslims is attributed by the committee mainly to the instigation of foreign countries. Now that Turkey and other countries have surrendered helplessly, how can there be any room for trouble hereafter? No Mussalman kingdom lying between Turkey and India will ever be in a position to incite the Indian Muslims against the British Government. Then again the 'League of Nations' to be formed by the Peace Conference will prevent all war hereafter. All the conspirators being educated men, as described by the Rowlatt Committee, should be fully aware of these things and they will not make any vain attempts hereafter. The Government have released many of the detinues only on the conviction that there is no danger in their release. It is only an imaginary fear that the others can disturb this Government or the public peace. This cannot be a justification for an attempt to alter legal processes which had lustre to the English rule. It can, under no circumstances, be reasonable to alter the Penal and Procedure Codes and the Law of Evidence in such a manner as to make the people tremble at the sight of even an ordinary official. Will the excellent doctrines accepted by British statesmen and the high principles laid down by President Wilson after all lead India to this pass? Is this the time to deprive the people of their natural rights as subjects?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Remarking that obedience to uncivilized laws is tantamount to murdering righteousness and justice and pointing to the end of the despotic kings in Russia and Germany, who "oppressed their subjects by means of uncivilized laws," as proof of the fact that the wrath of the subjects does not go in vain, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th January, observes that it is only those that try to get rid of uncivilized laws, even suffering many hardships therefor, that can be called men and, calling upon all those who have the privilege of being called British subjects to come forward to frustrate any attempt of the bureaucrats to enact uncivilized laws, which are against British spirit and justice, declares that he who tries to do away with a law that oppresses crores of people should be worshipped as god. The same paper reproduces in Tamil the letter of Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar of Salem to the press on these Bills and adds:—We agree with the suggestions made in this letter. The introduction of these Bills is against law and justice. Leading lawyers in England should be consulted as to whether the Imperial Executive

Council have the power of passing these Bills, inasmuch as the Rowlatt Committee themselves have expressed their doubts about it. Our question is how this Council, consisting of bureaucrats, can have the power of passing a law which aims at forfeiting the birthright of man. We take it that these Bills are to be passed only after the consent of the Secretary of State for India has been obtained. We cannot see how the latter agreed to their introduction. Our opinion is that they are against the rule laid down by Parliament. So what we should do now is to shake off our lethargy, set aside our differences and condemn these Bills throughout the country. Some are trying to fetter mother India who is already suffering much and who can be said to be in prison now. Is it fair on our part to see her fettered? In no land has the birthright of man been forfeited. Now, in India, the rights and property of man are endangered. As a result of the British having governed India for 150 years and as a sequel to the announcement of the 20th August 1917, we have these Bills! So they should not be passed into law. Wake up and relieve the distress of mother India, who seeks your help.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th January, reverts to this subject and observes:—The Indian Penal Code is one of the fundamental laws of the English administration in India protecting the rights of man. The bureaucrats, afraid of the political efforts of the people, began to curtail its glory twenty years back and to widen the scope of the section dealing with the offence of sedition. This process has been going on and they are now trying to strengthen the law of sedition. For this purpose, they propose to embody in the present Bills a provision from the Defence of India Act about the possession of a seditious document. But in doing so they omit the reservation in the Act that the possession should be coupled with the intention of publishing it, thereby making a law intended for the ordinary times more stringent than one intended for a period of war. Similarly an amendment in the Criminal Procedure Code exceeds even the recommendation of the Rowlatt Committee. The committee was of opinion that there was no harm in slightly amending section 343 of the code so as to render innocuous the making of a promise to an accused, by the Police or other officials, of protection from affliction by others and their argument was that, as it was their duty to protect people, there could be nothing wrong in their promising to discharge that duty. The framers of the Bills have gone a step further and worded this amendment in such a way as to make it innocuous even to offer any other promise which will be helpful to that mentioned above. These words are capable of any interpretation. A law of this kind, empowering the offering of any promise to an accused so as to induce him to confess his guilt and also betray others, does not seem to exist in any other country. The provision in the Bills permitting the lotting in of evidence of even the association of an accused with one convicted of sedition also exceeds the recommendation of the Rowlatt Committee. The result of this provision will be, to take a concrete example, that the court trying an accused under the new law can presume his guilt if evidence is let in to prove that he was associating with Mr. Tilak, who was convicted for sedition. Thus this law will make it impossible for any one to associate with another, if the latter had been punished for sedition, whether he committed the offence or not and however much he may deserve the love of the people. The British rule is said to be conducted on a legal basis. But the provisions of the new Bills are incompatible with this very basis.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th January, refers to the frequent mention of the names of Messrs. Tilak, Pal and Swami Vivekananda in the Rowlatt Committee Report, which forms the basis for the present Bills, and remarks:—The committee did not hear Messrs. Tilak and Pal, whom they consider to be agitators, to know the nature of the agitation that was carried on India. It is clear that, though the members of the committee were able lawyers, they had not sufficient experience in inquiring about such matters. We cannot again understand what logical connexion there is between the religious teachings of Swamis Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and Vivekananda and the seditious movement in Bengal, as pointed in the report. When Europeans and Americans deem the sayings of Swami Vivekananda to be divine ones, how can the Indian members of the committee,

who are his own countrymen, be ignorant of his greatness? All these things only go to show that the committee took the words of the police to be gospel. The report does not contain any reply to the question how the members concluded that the religious teachings of Vivekananda, which were intended to wean the wicked from their ways, would incite to sedition. The present Bills, based on this report, aim only at tightening the bondage of the Indians, who are already suffering by repressive laws.

The same paper observes that it will not do to merely condemn the Bills in papers and, in making an appeal to the people to raise a constitutional agitation against the proposed legislation, even when it is in the form of a Bill and when there are papers and workers enough to carry on the agitation, remarks:—If we are careless now, the Bills will be passed into law and begin to oppress us and it will not be wise to agitate then. Oppressive laws are introduced only to intimidate and suppress those carrying on a constitutional agitation. Past experience in the case of the Press Act shows that there is every likelihood of these Bills becoming law, as the popular leaders are in the minority in the Imperial Legislative Council. It was because Mr. Gokhale and others believed in the assurances given by some officials at the time the Press Act was passed, which have since come to nothing, and refrained from agitating against it that this Act is now in force striking at liberty. At that time, the nationalists were kept down by the moderates and those who could agitate were sent into custody. But now nationalists are found everywhere and there are sufficient facilities to do away with the Rowlatt Bills. So protest meetings should be held everywhere and the resolutions communicated to the Secretary of State for India, the Prime Minister and the President of the Peace Conference. If this does not avail, we should resort to passive resistance. If these Bills are passed, nationalist papers cannot exist. It is these that are wanted now. If these papers and patriots become victims to this law, we cannot acquire Home Rule. So raise a mighty agitation against the Bills.

Remarking that, though India is a part of the British Empire, the Indians are not enjoying the rights of the British subjects and attributing this to the executive officials in India, the *Lokopakari*, of the 27th January, says that, in spite of India having been under the British Empire for 150 years, the authorities in India have been saying that the Indians are not yet capable of exercising the privileges of British subjects and passing barbarous laws like the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, etc., to keep down the Indians and adds:—The last of this series of Acts was the Defence of India Act, the rigorus application of which is too well known. As a result of this Act, many papers and printing presses have ceased to be and many patriots have been suppressed. It is this horrible law that the present Bills are intended to replace. According to these Bills, even ordinary offenders may come to be regarded as seditionists and punished therefor and their condition, after release from prison, will be worse than that of people convicted for theft or robbery. When the thirst for liberty is spreading throughout the world as a result of the war and when the aim of the British Empire has been declared to be the grant of Home Rule to the Indians, it is not sound statesmanship to introduce laws which tend to oppress the people here. History shows that the more the oppression the greater will be the unrest in a country. If the people are always distrusted and repressive laws introduced to curb them, it will only create a mutual hatred between them and the Government. If the authorities in India realize that the Government exists for the people and vice versa, they will never think of introducing such laws as these.

| Lokopakari, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 23rd January, and the *Lokopakari*, of the 27th idem, reproduce in Tamil the comments of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* and the *Punjabi*, respectively, about these Bills.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919 & Lokopakari, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

The Sedition Bills: who has power to pass them into law?

98. Adverting to the letter of Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar of Salem urging the necessity of collecting expert legal opinion as to the power of the Imperial Legislative Council to pass the newly proposed Criminal Law Amendment Bills, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th January, writes:—The letter of Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar about these bills, which was published in the *Hindu* makes

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

new suggestions. The people will do well to give immediate effect to those suggestions. . . The opinions of lawyers like Doctor Sir Rash Bihari Ghosh and Mr. B. Chakrabarty should be ascertained first. Expert legal opinion in England also should be at once consulted. Proper action should be taken in English Law courts and in the Parliament. The members of Parliament should be convinced that this matter should be considered by the Parliament alone along with the Scheme of Reforms. A lawyer should be sent to the Viceregal Council to urge before it how it is not empowered to pass these bills. There is no doubt that Mr. Achariyar's suggestions are very important. The new bills are no ordinary bills. They are opposed to the fundamental principles of law. They upset personal freedom. They would violate the birth-rights of man defined in the permanent statute book of the Parliament. In these circumstances, it is of paramount importance to examine whether the Viceroy's Council has power to legislate in contravention of Parliamentary enactments and legal procedure. It has been till now an important principle of criminal law that the accused should be presumed to be innocent till his guilt is established. . . But this time-honoured principle is reversed by these new bills. . . Instead of the prosecutor proving the guilt of the accused, the accused himself will have to prove his innocence. Such a provision is opposed to the traditions of law. The bills contain many provisions like this which interfere with personal freedom. . . It is the duty of Indians to try in all possible constitutional ways to prevent these bills from being passed into law and thereby to uphold the honour of British law.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd Jan. 1919.

The Sedition Bills.

Referring to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and the Emergent Criminal Powers Bill published by the Government of India, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd January, observes:— . . . The disapproval of these Bills by the moderates is to be found nowhere in their manifesto or in the resolutions passed at their conference. On the other hand, they say that repression will increase in case the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme is not accepted. . . The Anglo-Indian journals are sure to find additional support for the passing of these Bills in the news cabled by Reuter and received to-day, that Russian Bolsheviks are making arrangements to send their representatives to China and India with necessary funds to spread the revolutionary movement in those countries. Germany has not been able to shake the loyalty of Indians in the least, and nobody can think that the attempts of Bolsheviks will meet with greater success. . . Be it as it may, it is by granting soon self-government to India that peace and permanent good can be promoted. The adoption of repressive measures by the Government will only increase unrest among the people and will have no other useful effect. The people should now express their disapproval of these Bills in every village and communicate it to the Government. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd Jan 1919.

Sedition Bills.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd January, publishes in Telugu an extract from the *Punjabee* regarding the Sedition Bills, which contains:—. . . We request that no criminal should be punished, whatever be his offence, unless it is established in the ordinary courts of law. No Government which calls itself civilised can approve of such Bills as have now been published.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

The Village Officers' Act Amendment Bill.

99. Adverting to the prolongation of the period during which public representations on the Village Officers Act Amendment Bill will be received, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd January, remarks:—Meetings in the Guntūr and the Kistna districts declare its evils . . . May not this Bill become law, on account of the determination of the people of Madras! May the Government respect public opinion!

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

The Imperial Legislative Council.

100. Referring to the constitution of the Select Committees in connexion with the Sedition Bills which will be introduced at the session of the Imperial Legislative Council commencing from the 6th February, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th January, remarks:—. . . It is worth noting that none of Messrs.

Jinnah, Sarma, Rangaswami Ayyangar and Kamini Kumar Chanda has been appointed to these committees. Be it as it may, it is sure and certain that the Council will pass these Bills. The people should boldly urge that the Viceroy's Council has no power to pass these Bills, and that the British Parliament alone is authorized to make such enactments, and they should at once represent to the English nation how these Bills are a menace to the established principles of law.

Prohibition of drinking.

101. Referring to the request of the Muhammadans in the Punjab that the British Government should prohibit drinking in this country as has been done in the United States, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th January, says:—. . . The Government will deserve the everlasting gratitude of the people, if they boldly adopt the action of the United States Government in the matter, without caring for loss of revenue.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Hindu Inter-marriage Bill.

102. In a leading article discussing the possible effect of the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Bill on the future of Hindu society, the *Swadesh-abhimani*, of the 24th January, observes:—The Bill which the Hon'ble Mr. Patel has introduced for the benefit of a few will undoubtedly mean great trouble and inconvenience to by far the larger section of Hindu society. The Bill, instead of upholding the principle of self-determination only tramples it down. We shall not discuss at present the clever sophisms of the reformers who tell us that Hindu society being divided into too many small sects, the Bill will afford a wider scope for choice in marriage and that the Civil Marriage Act compels us to ignore our conscience inasmuch as it requires the parties to marriage to declare that they are not Hindus.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 24th Jan. 1919.

The Moslem Marriage Registration Bill.

103. Referring to three public meetings of Mussalmans held recently in Cochin, at which resolutions were passed in favour of adopting the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hassan's Moslem Marriages and Divorces Registration Bill, the *Malabar Islam*, of the 17th January, meets arguments raised against the Bill, viz., (i) that the Bill drags the Government into religious matters, (2) that the fee imposed by the Bill for registration of marriages is too high for the majority of the Mussalmans of this Presidency and (3) that the option allowed by the Bill destroys all its virtue. The article observes that the introduction of a register recognised by Government for the registration of marriages, which, however, are conducted purely in accordance with religion, is certainly not dragging the Government into religious matters, (2) the argument about the fee is quite lame as the fee is only Re. 1-4-0, and (3) that the option allowed is necessary as it is not wise to jump from current loose practice at once to compulsory registration, and that the advantages of the system to be introduced by the Act may make compulsion unnecessary.

MALABAR ISLAM, Cochin, 17th Jan. 1919.

IV.—NATIVE STATES.

Cochin Administration.

104. Reviewing the report on the Administration of the Cochin State for the year 1093 M.E. and referring to the satisfactoriness of the financial position of the State as indicated by the increased closing balance left at the end of the year in spite of increased expenditure, the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 20th January, observes that it is "a creditable record, indeed, for which Mr Bhore may rightly claim to be congratulated."

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 20th Jan. 1919.

The *Samudra Theeram*, of the 16th January, expresses the same opinion.

SAMUDRA THEERAM, Trivandrum, 16th Jan. 1919.

Cochin Diwanship.

105. The *Lokaprakasam*, of the 20th January, reproduces an article from *New India* of 17th January, which protests against the idea of appointing a European Diwan for the Cochin State.

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 20th Jan. 1919.

The kind of Executive Council wanted for Travancore.

106. In the course of an article suggesting the desirability of establishing an Executive Council in Travancore, which will be responsible to the people and not to the Government, a correspondent of the *Malayali*, of the 18th January, remarks:—"If an Executive Council which is under the control of the

MALAYALI, Quilon, 18th Jan. 1919.

Government should be established in Travancore, the irregularities of British India will have free play here also. It will only be like disturbing a nest of hornets. It will only add to the power of Government to wrong the people. The people will derive no benefit from it.

Malayali, Quilon, 22nd Jan. 1919.

The much spoilt public servants of Travancore.

107. The *Malayali*, of the 22nd January, in its article on "Newspapers and highhandedness (of public servants)", expresses regret that signs are evident to show that fear as a motive for good conduct on the part of public servants, has altogether disappeared under the present administration and sounds the warning that overkindness to public servants is productive of much harm to the people.

Samadarsi, Trivandram, 25th Jan. 1919.

Adverting to the same subject, the *Samadarsi*, of the 25th January, remarks that it is only when the evil doings of public servants increase and pass beyond all bounds, that some of them come to the light. If the Government loses the rare opportunities thus afforded them to take disciplinary action on the evil doers, will not the latter embolden themselves to openly wrong the people? To speak quite openly, highhandedness and evil-doing have increased beyond measure amidst the present-day public servants of Travancore.

Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 28th Jan. 1919.

The leading article in the *Malayala Manorama* of the 28th January, dealing with the same subject, points out that though the Government of Travancore and the High Court seem to have quietly passed over several cases of alleged corruption on the part of Judicial officers who were known to the people as corrupt, the Government seem to have taken very serious notice of mischievous allegation on some public servants much esteemed by the people. And most of these were Christians. The remaining portion of the article points out specific instances.

Errata.

Report No. 3 *of* 1919.

Page 71, line 25, *for* 'with Mr. Montagu' *read* 'will Mr. Montagu'.
,, 72, paragraph 23, line 16, *for* 'scanty' *read* 'scant'.
,, 79 ,, 45 ,, 12 *for* 'in report' *read* 'in a report'.

Issued, 5th February 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 6 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 8th February 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*d*) *Education.*

1. The *Hindu*, of the 6th February, states:—"The Government order on the proposals of the Educational Conference held in Madras in March 1916, which appeared in these columns yesterday, should have caused surprise and keen dissatisfaction in the public mind. . . The reasons for delay adduced in the order would not stand a minute's scrutiny. It is stated that as some of the recommendations affected local bodies, a reference to the latter had become necessary in order to ascertain whether they were willing to bear their share of the increased burden. In the first place, we are by no means satisfied that the process of making this reference and obtaining replies should have taken such an unconscionably long time. In the second place, if the Government had been animated by the same zeal to remove certain disabilities under which education laboured as those who have been asking for them, then the question as to the means need not have deterred them from providing the necessary relief as early as possible. . . The absurdly long time given to the matter and the mouse which the mountain in labour has brought forth are illustrative of the obstacles which the most urgent reforms have to face under a system of Government which owes no responsibility to the people and whose power is not derived from them. . . All this circumlocution could well have taken place during the long incubatory period which has elapsed, and the dilatory procedure adopted proves how the impulse for progress has become almost deadened in the authorities. We now come to the really reactionary decisions of the Government. . . But we are astonished that at a time when the introduction of a scheme for free and compulsory primary education is long overdue, the Government should exhibit such unwillingness and timidity in approving of the proposal of the Conference and seek to save Provincial finance from the insignificant inroads made on it on behalf of a serious responsibility. . . We regard the attitude of Government in respect of the proposal to permit managers of secondary schools to incur an expenditure up to 10 per cent of the fee income for the purpose of granting scholarships to indigent pupils as thoroughly unjustifiable. . . Even such attenuated reforms are apparently too much for the Local Government to swallow, and we are faced with the spectacle of their rejecting proposals which by themselves were inadequate three years ago and are now absolutely insufficient and out of date".

Hindu, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

The Government order on the Madras Educational Conference.

(*k*) *General.*

2. The following appears in the *Hindu* of the 1st February:—"'There was no revolutionary crime to speak of in other Provinces' except Bengal. In the face of the foregoing facts, admitted in an important public record, where is the necessity, we ask, for the proposed legislation, under the Rowlatt report, for all India? . . . In these circumstances it is inconceivable why the character of all India for loyalty and devotion to the throne should be smirched, and the country menaced and disgraced with an unconstitutional measure. . . Granting for the sake of argument that a special repressive law, similar to the law under the Indian Defence Act, is necessary, or rather desirable, for Bengal, why should the fair fame of provinces in which there has been and is, no revolutionary crime, be tarnished and made subject to the application of such a drastic, unconstitutional and menacing measure? . . . The marvel is that revolutionary crime is confined to one province. The surest method of creating such crime in other provinces is to make them subject to repressive measures,

Hindu, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

The Administration Report of India.

which unscrupulous officials would welcome and not hesitate to find reasons to apply, for no sufficient reason, to persons innocent of sedition, but who may be constitutional agitators and politicians."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

British Censorship on Indian papers.

3. *New India*, of the 3rd February, writes:—"*India* informs us that it has received a notification to the effect that it has been decided to relax the Censorship regulations which have hitherto been in force against some courageous Indian papers like the *Bombay Chronicle*, *Patrika*, the *Hindu* and ourselves. The un-British act of the Censor was a disgrace to the whole British people, for it was a dishonest and political move on his part, no doubt engineered by vested interests, to stifle the voice of real India, thus preventing it from making itself heard in the British Isles."

HINDU, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

In a leader on this subject, the *Hindu*, of the 4th February, remarks:—"It may be remembered that the journals which were subjected to this abuse of Censorship for political purposes were the *Hindu*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *New India*, although, as our London correspondent points out, it was the fact of the non-delivery of the *Hindu* in England that gave occasion to the subject being brought to the notice of the Secretary of State. It is important to know under what circumstances the abovenamed journals were kept out of Great Britain, while Anglo-Indian papers, and Indian papers such as the *Bengalee*, the *Leader*, the *Servant of India*, and the *Indian Social Reformer* had free admittance. . . Our contemporary *India* states plainly enough that the prohibition was an unwarranted abuse of Censorship for political purposes. The expression 'Censorship' is not rightly used in this connexion. Particular articles or particular portions of the newspapers concerned were not cut out, but there was a wholesale stoppage of the papers for weeks and months together. There was no provision of law under which it was done, and the newspapers concerned were not given any notice of it. The prohibition was an absolutely highhanded and unscruplous exercise of arbitrary power."

HINDU, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

The *Hindu*, of the 7th February, says:—"We cannot accept the accuracy of the statements contained in the reply given by Sir William Vincent in regard to the prohibition of Indian newspapers. . . We have no hesitation in saying that, whether the act of prohibition was by the Military or Civil authorities, it was an unwarranted abuse of power. The plea that the prohibition of the papers was in view of their exploitation by German authorities for their own purposes is a futile and absurd one. . . Even the Military authorities are not above the law, nor are they relieved from the obligation of discharging their duties in accordance with the dictates of justice and commonsense. It is one of the first duties of Government to see that its agents do not commit abuses of power in its name. Government of India have, in our view, failed in its duty in this respect."

HINDU, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

Mrs. Besant and the *Hindu*.

4. The following appears in the *Hindu* of the 5th February:—"That high authority Sir Valentine Chirol has explained away the significance of certain inter-racial incidents in this country as being due to a temporary aberration caused by the inconveniences of railway travel in a tropical climate. With so confirmed a traveller as Mrs. Besant the excuse loses much of its force, albeit it is difficult otherwise to account for the sub-acid note in her references to this journal which we find in yesterday's *New India*. With our remarks on centrifugal political activities, as instanced in the Madras Vakils' meetings, as a text, Mrs. Besant with more acerbity than point, implies that the offices of the *Hindu* have been employed to harbour gatherings of conspirators against accepted leaders. . . Loyalty to the President of the Congress for 1918 is one thing; loyalty to the Indian National Congress is entirely another. If we plead guilty to counsels which savoured occasionally of lése majesté in the former behalf, we are not put out of court if we deprecate centrifugal activities which might have the effect of discounting the decisions of the Congress. That in the present case Mrs. Besant happens to be against us rather than with us does not mitigate the force of our argument, which indeed we remember to have been urged by her with her usual eloquence more than once in dealing with schisms which had not her high sanction behind them. For the

rest, her bitterness against a stiff-necked generation that refuses to maintain an attitude of constant genuflection, aggravated by the amenities of railway travel, may surely be received by the public with the tolerance that the circumstances justify."

In a leader under the heading 'Conspirators *v.* Leaders', *Justice*, of the 6th February, remarks:—"Generally, what passes between 'My dear Kasturiranga' and Mrs. Besant does not interest us. We knew not how and by what process, for instance, the *Hindu* that did not see to eye with the Adyar heroine a few years ago in connexion with a certain litigation suddenly became a follower or comrade-in-arms of Mrs. Besant in her new character as Home Rule agitator, champion-in-chief and authorised interpreter of political Brahmanism." JUSTICE, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar and the Madras Legislative Council.

5. In an 'In the line' note headed 'Well done!' *New India*, of the 5th February, says:—"The high-handed conduct of the President of the Local Legislative Council led the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar to leave the Chamber as a protest. We congratulate the Honourable Member whose example, we hope, will be taken to heart by his colleagues. The official world must be made to realise that non-official members are not going to put up with superior airs or autocratic conduct." NEW INDIA, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

Justice, of the 6th February, says:—"The budget session of the Legislative Council is usually a field day for the non-official members of it. Year after year they prove more exciting than the previous one, but the excitenent did not precede the presentation of the financial statement. This year, however, they went one better, thanks to the genius of the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar who, taking his cue from the Irish Nationalists of old in the House of Commons, moved for an adjournment of the House, at least for four hours, before the budget was introduced, and when he was ruled out of order he left the Council Chamber to demonstrate his 'protest,' but happily for the Government of Madras and the good government of the people of this Presidency, he did not 'demonstrate' for a long time but returned to the council after lunch. We congratulate him on his uncommon courage and good sense—courage in making the exhibition and good sense in returning to sanity without tarrying for long." JUSTICE, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

III.—LEGISLATION.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

6. The *Commonweal*, of the 31st January, observes:—"That the bureaucracy has no imagination is illustrated by its proposal to bring in two pieces of repressive legislation on the 9th February. We refer to the Rowlatt Bills, or what are properly called the Black Bills, which apart from their menacing nature to Indian freedom, seem to be subversive of even the elementary principles of jurisprudence. . . It is a pity that these Black measures should have been brought forward when the country is on the eve of a political advance, and responsible statesmen engaged in the task are anxious that their aims should be appreciated and their efforts strengthened. How can Indians enthusiastically support any scheme of reform when their elementary rights of liberty are thus threatened?" COMMONWEAL, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

The *Hindu*, of the 6th February, has the following:—"The motion of which notice has been given by Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee that the Rowlatt Bills be deferred till six weeks after the passing in Parliament of the Bill containing the Reform Scheme, is a direct negative to the proposal of the Government. . . If the Government should oppose the motion for postponement and defeat the same, by reason of the official majority, the only course which should commend itself to the non-official members is to withdraw from the Council. . . The impression in England will, in our opinion, be that the non-official members are men of self-respect, of manliness, and of such genuine patriotism as to fearlessly act upon their convictions. There can be no more pernicious piece of legislation in regard to the fundamental rights of citizenship than the Rowlatt Bills. They are unjust, uncalled for and inopportune. . . A Bill, however, which is passed by the Government into law in the absence of the whole body of non-official members loses all the moral weight due to a measure which is passed into law by a duly HINDU, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

constituted Legislative assembly. The withdrawal of the non-official members would also have a striking influence on the opinion of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. A Bill passed into law under such circumstances would stand a sure chance of being vetoed. . . We hope the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council will rise to the occasion and act in accordance with the universal popular expectation."

KARNATAKA, Bangalore City, 5th Feb. 1919.

The food situation in Mysore State.

7. The *Karnataka*, of the 5th February, observes:—"It is, as we have so often said, an unmistakable testimony to the obsolete character of the *system* of administration now in vogue in Mysore that, with all the large changes in the offices for the direction and control of food-grains, in the rules for regulating the traffic and sale of food-grains, and also in the *personnel* of the Government, the situation continues to be one of great hardship to the mercantile and the general public. . . If measures of food control have succeeded in England and elsewhere, that was because the officers in charge of those measures were persons drawn from among business men. We in Mysore have copied those phrases and those forms without having men of that quality, and the result could not have been anything else than what it is now seen to be—Failure. Our officers are accustomed to live in a spilendid isolation of their own, far from the unattractive scenes of the bazaar and the common life; and it must be a novel and by no means agreeable experience to them to have to deal with what is, after all, the earthy and vulgar and prosaic side of domestic polities—namely, the question of foodstuffs."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

India and the Peace Conference.

8. Observing that it is clear from the words of President Wilson that the delegates to this Conference have gone to it only as the representatives of the people and not of the governments of the countries which have sent them, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th January, makes the following observations among others:—The members of the Conference may perhaps think that Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir are there as the representatives of the Indians. The Indians have elected Mr. Tilak as their representative and sent to the British Government many telegrams to that effect, and they have all been discarded. It is to be regretted that, while other countries have sent only people's representatives to the Conference, India alone has not been permitted to do so. How is the Peace Conference to be apprised of this? Only two persons nominated by the Government have gone to the Conference as the representatives of the 35 crores of people in India. Alas! In what condition is India now? We would boldly declare that India has rendered greater assistance than other countries of the world in the cruel war that was recently raged. While so, what is the reason for the aspirations of India alone not being represented in the Conference? All impartial men will say that meet recompense has not yet been made to India for the help she has rendered in the war. We are afraid whether it will be declared in the Peace Conference that the British have done to India what all they should do by appointing an Indian as Under Secretary and by approving in a way the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals. But we have great faith in British justice and we hope the Britishers will not say so. The statement that the Government of India act in accordance with the wishes of the Indian public will indeed become manifest in the Peace Conference!

Desabhaktan, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

The future of Turkey.

9. Referring to the decision of the British Government, as reported by Reuter, to leave the case of Palestine, Mesopotamia and other countries to be settled by the League of Nations, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 30th January, observes:—This is clear proof that England does not covet to possess the territories of others. But it is the wish of the Mussalmans that the territories of Turkey should not be subjected to the control of non-Mussalmans. This the British are well aware of. The constitution of the League of Nations should be unobjectionable, if the future of these territories is to be decided by it. President Wilson has said that the League should have sufficient powers to do such acts as will create satisfaction to all the countries and the people of the world. If the League is so constituted, and this question left for its disposal, then we can hope that nothing unsatisfactory to the Mussalmans will be done in this matter.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

Turkey and the Mussalmans.

10. Referring to a telegraphic intimation about the future of Palastine and Mesopotamia, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th January, observes:—The Anglo-Indian papers state that these countries will not be restored to Turkey. The Mussalmans were under the impression that, if the matter was to be settled at the Peace Conference, it would be advantageous to them. They now feel sorry that their last ray of hope has gone since they come to know that it is the League of Nations that has to settle this matter. Who form this League? Is there any Mussalman or Indian representative in it? The Christian powers in Europe have seized every country of the Muslims, such as Morocco, Algeria and Tunis and there is room to think that the allied powers will attempt to retain for themselves Mesopotamia, Palestine and other territories and that the League of Nations will decide only in their favour. Are not the British Government aware of the fact that, according to the tenets of the Moslem religion, Mesopotamia, Hedjaz and other territories should be under the sway of the Sultan of Turkey? It is only to allude to this belief of the Moslems that the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the recent

Desabhaktan, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

Congress said that the poorest of the Moslems will not consent to make obeisance to a new Caliph even if all the great powers of the world should compel him to do so. We again urge that it is not desirable for the great powers to slight the religious sentiments of the Moslems. The sole object of our writing on this subject at length is that the Peace Conference and the League of Nations should so decide the question as not to give room for record being made in the world's history that all the Christian countries joined together and crushed the only remaining Moslem country.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

"Republic" in Ireland.

11. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th February, reproduces in Tamil from *New India* a message said to have been sent by some Irishmen to America on the formation of a "Republic" in Ireland.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

The Peace Conference and the German Colonies.

12. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st February, writes:—. . . It appears that Japan and Australia are both claiming the German Pacific Colonies and that the British Colonies are not in favour of the internationalisation or the disposal by self-determination of the German Colonies as proposed by President Wilson. . . It is self-evident that the opinions of these countries are not in accordance with the objects of the war. It is but proper that the Imperial Cabinet should accept the view of President Wilson. Desire for conquest will overlook the progress of the people concerned, will set at nought the principle of self-determination and will encourage ambition. It is only after considering all these aspects that President Wilson has advanced his theory. . . There is no doubt that Doctor Wilson's method of internationalizing the German Colonies is better than leaving them to the mercy of some despotic power. If every people is allowed to develop freely on its own lines in accordance with the principle of self-determination, many difficulties will disappear. Government by foreigners who call themselves guardians and trustees will not only create complications at some time or other but will violate the principle of self-determination. . . The objects of the war cannot be attained, unless all the Allies completely give up the spirit of self-aggrandisement and work for the establishment of peace, prosperity and freedom in the world.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

The peace conference.

Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 30th January, writes:— . . . For the protection of the peace of the world, we think that the enactment of an International Labour law is also of the same paramount importance as the formation of the League of Nations.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 1st Feb. 1919.

The German Colonies.

Referring to the question of the German Colonies, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 1st February, remarks:—Proclaiming from the beginning that it was not for the acquisition of territory that Great Britain had entered the war, can it be anything other than self-contradiction to place the German Colonies now under the British Government? Some were very anxious that the British should also swallow Mesopotamia which has been set free from Turkish domination. All these attempts have been shown to be unjust at the Peace Conference. . . It has been resolved at the Peace Conference that none but the League of Nations to be formed shortly will have power to decide the fate of these Colonies. Already Newzealand and South Africa are chafing at this resolution. This is, forsooth, their love of freedom!

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 6th Feb. 1919.

The peace proposals.

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 6th February, writes:—The state of affairs at the Peace Conference and the condition of things in the world go to show that eventually all nations are likely to resort to conscription and try to grind down one another. An uproar is being raised that which the Peace Conference is talking of its arrangements to protect the smaller nations of Europe, the bigger nations have begun to act in a highhanded manner.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

The Peace Conference and the question on the League of Nations.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 28th January, referring to President Wilson's speech at the Peace Conference in which he stated "we are not representatives of Governments, but representatives of peoples. It will not suffice to satisfy Governmental circles anywhere, it is

necessary that we should satisfy the opinion of mankind", writes:—This is indeed a political point which, if observed, can bring about peace throughout the kingdoms of the world. Every question should be decided not from the Governmental point of view but from the people's angle of vision. The authorities or the leaders, who incur the displeasuse of the people in order to please the Government, or the Government which, in order to gain its own ends, frustrates the requirements of the people, are not true and independent ones.

In the same connexion President Wilson has mentioned another political principle that every nation in the world has the right of electing its own King and controlling its own destinies not as we wish but as it wishes.

If this is the principle of the Peace Conference the world may rest assured that the question of National Government will be disposed of freely, and in an straightforward manner. No nation will be forced to yield to another's desire, and it will be a political blunder to compel an independent nation to change its form of government according to the proposals of other nations.

We consider this principle will prove quite true with regard to the Turkish territories and we are sure that our British Government which possesses far more enlightened views than the United States of America in understanding political philosophy will take this point into consideration.

The resolution of the Peace Conference.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 28th January, referring to the last resolution submitted at the Peace Conference "that a commission composed of two representatives each from the five Great Powers and five representatives, elected from other Powers, be appointed to inquire into, and report upon, the international requirements of ports, water-ways and railways, etc., observes:—It is evident that the last proposal is a very involved and perplexing one. It will be a difficult matter, should per chance persons, who have already given proofs of their shortsightedness, be nominated. Muhammadans requested their British Government not to place Constantinople, etc., under international Government and Mr. Balfour replied that this question would be decided at the Peace Conference. Now the question has been referred to the commission and the satisfaction of Muhammadans will depend on its report. Even now we should appeal to the sympathetic British Government.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

India and the arrangements of the Peace Conference.

13. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd February, writes:— . . . The *Daily Mail* understands that India may have the mandate for Mesopotamia and for a large portion of German East Africa as a field of emigration. Even supposing that this information is correct, India will not have much advantage. Before assuming the responsibility of administering other countries, Indians should enjoy self-government in their own country. The condition of Indians in German East Africa cannot admit of improvement, unless the Government of India becomes responsible to the people. It was for this reason that the proposal of Sir Theodore Morrison failed to rouse sufficient enthusiasm among the Indian people. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(*b*) *Courts.*

An Imperial Court of Appeal.

14. In an article urging the establishment of an Imperial Court of Appeal, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 30th January, writes:—At present, the decisions of the Privy Council are unsatisfactory. Even the points urged by the appellants are seldom taken into consideration. Althoug the British are a democratic race, instances come to the notice of the House of Lords and the Privy Council from time to time showing how the British authorities, blinded by passion, behave like Nabobs here and there. Unless they are properly curbed in the course of the appeals, they are apt to undermine British prestige. Further, European members of the Privy Council get £5,000 per annum, while Indian members get only £400. This comes to Rs. 50 per mensen for which even coolies would not go to England from here. It is easy to rouse caste and religious hatred by saying that the Brahmins are bad. The resigned nature of the Brahmins becomes evident when we see the

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 30th Jan. 1918.

sense of British justice revealed by the fact that the Europeans get £5,000 while the Indians get only £400. Let that pass. The European population of the Empire numbers only 90 millions in all and these people are urging the establishment of an Imperial Court of Appeal. If these get the privilege, the remaining 310 millions in the empire which consist of Indians will also get the privilege. If we understand how to fight for our rights, we should be able to get equal privileges for Indians.

(*c*) *Jails.*

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

Management of the jails.

15. Observing that the jails in India are not properly managed in spite of repeated references to this fact in the press and on the platform, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st February, remarks:—In 1914, the Government accepted a resolution brought on this subject in the Imperial Legislative Council and promised to appoint a committee to inquire into the administration of the jails. But the matter then stopped with mere promise. Now, the *Punjabi* states that the Government have resolved to appoint such a committee very soon. It is not known how far this is true. It is regrettable that the Government should delay this important matter as they like.

(*d*) *Education.*

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

Education in the Madras Presidency.

16. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th January, observes:—It is rather unfortunate that the people of the Madras Presidency alone have not progressed in educational matters while the other provinces have effected many reforms in this connexion. The authorities here invariably oppose the proposals of the non-officials to adopt the system of compulsory education even to a small extent. It was stated in the last year's administration report of the Educational Department in this Presidency that, unless elementary education was made compulsory, no facilities could be afforded for the improvement of efficiency and for the growth of education. But the present Director of Public Instruction holds solemn silence on this matter and his report is dull and uninteresting. The provincial Government sent Mr. Duncan himself to the Reform Committees for opposing the proposed change in the educational system. While the bureaucrats are not agreed as to the spread of education among the public, it is by no means meet to say that Indian ministers will spoil the efficiency and growth of education. It is only the efforts of the patriotic and enthusiastic representatives of the people that will prove highly beneficial in this matter. As regards higher education, the authorities say that, if it is left under Indian ministers, the efficiency of and the need for education will decrease. This is only ridiculous. The ability of the Educational Department is manifest in one thing, and it is so particularly in the case of this Presidency. The art of making students appearing for examinations fail in them seems to be a great feat of the Educational authorities in India. The greater the number of candidates an examiner mercilessly plucks in an examination, the more efficient is he considered to be. Before giving the question papers, the examiners fix a percentage of passes. How can they then foresee that only so many will get through? The chief examiner gives instructions to his assistants that only so many students should get through and these assistants adjust the number of passes accordingly. Both the University and the Educational Department have been developing this system year after year. If such defects are noticed in Indian ministers, they would be removed in one moment. Sometimes a cry is raised for the improvement of efficiency in education solely with the object of hindering its progress. The number of high schools should be further increased. It is regrettable that even the suggestions made by the conference in 1916 still remain unattended to. The public are under the impression that, on account of the great stringency of the rules regarding the sanctioning of grants, schools managed by Christian missionaries get more grants than private institutions managed by Indians, however efficient they may be. The fate of an Indian private school competing with a missionary institution can well be imagined by the refusal of the Director to recognize the Kannan Chettiyar's school at Tiruvallur. Progress in education will be attained only if the control of the Educational Department is delegated to the representatives of the people.

Education in the Madras Presidency.

The *Manorama*, of the 28th January, in its leading article notes that the report on Public Instruction for 1917-1918 shows some progress in all directions. Adverting to the statement in the report that from the Imperial grant received during the year the pay of trained teachers of elementary schools has been raised to Rs. 11 per mensem, *the paper* observes:—The Government themselves are aware that the price of food and clothes has risen to five or six times the old rates. . . How are these poor teachers to pass their days with an allowance insufficient even for their food? Can it be the intention of Government that these teachers should do their work starving and lifeless? This is a matter deserving of the special attention of Government.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 28th Jan. 1919.

The article further notes that no country is more backward than India in point of literacy, that no good can come until this state of affairs is changed and that this ought to be the object to be striven for by Indian leaders and the first duty of the Government.

The *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 29th January, also observes that the pay of elementary school teachers is quite insufficient and that although elementary education has received some stimulus during recent years its progress is still slow.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 29th Jan. 1919.

The Kannan Chettiyar's Secondary School, Tiruvallur.

17. Referring to the attempt of Rao Bahadur C. Kannan Chettiyar to raise the standard of the middle school in Tiruvallur to that of a high school, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 30th January, observes:—The Director of Public Instruction of this Presidency thwarted this attempt by advancing many arguments against it, the chief being the apprehension that the students of the existing missionary school in that place will join this, and that there is no need for two high schools there. Were not the two high schools there before? Neither of the reasons advanced by him is convincing. The people consider that he prevents the growth of this school only to safeguard the interests of the missionary institution. The sympathy of the Government with the missionaries can be guaged very well from their words that, in the case of pupils who are unwilling to learn lessons on Christian religion, the missionaries will arrange not to urge such lessons on them. It is only with the main object of spreading their religion that the missionaries are maintaining schools at such a heavy cost. It is said that Mr. Kannan Chettiyar is even prepared to give a promise not to admit into his school students of the IV form of the missionary school, realizing the anxiety of the authorities not to weaken the strength of the missionary institution. Authority and justice are far removed from each other. The existence of two schools in a locality will only promote healthy competition between them and lead to efficiency in both. We trust the present Director will without delay accord the required sanction.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

Continuing its comments on this subject, the *Hindu Nesan*, in its issue of the 1st February, observes among other things:—The Director of Public Instruction has manifested that he has the power in his hands and can use it as he likes. Perhaps he thinks that the Indians are still lacking knowledge and experience to distinguish between good and evil. We are highly disappointed at his order declining to reconsider his original decision against raising the Hindu School at Tiruvallur to a High School. The inclination of the Educational Department is too well known. Instances were now and again forthcoming to justify the impression of the people that the department is foremost in favouring missionary institutions regardless of the consequences to the Indians. It appears that the missionary school sent up more than twelve candidates last year for the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate examination and none came out successful. In no way has any case been made out to show that no other high school except the missionary institution is needed at Tiruvallur. Without considering this, the Director has passed orders, which every one is bound to characterize as wrong. He has thus given room for the opinion that he has belittled the rights of the Hindus giving undue weight to the words of the missionaries. This is very much to be regretted, especially when the need to encourage secondary education in this country is increasing.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

The Tamil lexicon.

18. Referring to the public opinion that the expenditure incurred by the Government in connexion with the preparation of this lexicon is excessive and that the progress is very slow, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 30th January, observes:—The absence of proportion will upset everything. It is but fair to give the pandits engaged in this work adequate rewards and salaries. If the Committee had worked recognizing the truth of this, the lexicon might have been published long ago. The work done with a proper remuneration will also be satisfactory.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

Pial schools.

19. Referring to the recognition by the Government of Bihar of instruction being given to the public in pial schools, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st February, observes that the main purpose should be the spread of education among the public and not keeping schools in decent buildings and opines that, undoubtedly, much good will be derived from this system if the Government of Madras too adopt it.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

The system of education.

20. Adverting to the address of Sir Harcourt Butler at the recent convocation of the Allahabad University, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st February, observes:—The education that is now being given to Indian students is of such a nature as to denationalise them and make them violate their social observances. Like Sir Harcourt Butler many Provincial Governors, statesmen and educationists have referred to this defect. What has been the result after all? Indian students like to become efficient clerks as soon as they finish their collegiate career. Is this not due to the system of education now given to them?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

Indian students in England.

21. Referring to the work of the advisory committees formed in the Provinces to give advice to the Indian students proceeding to England for receiving higher education, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 1st February, observes that, for the information of the villagers who happen to send their sons to England for the purpose of higher education and for avoiding their anxiety in the matter, it is highly desirable that wide publicity should be given in the villages by means of notices in the vernaculars of the constitution of these committees and the ways in which they would be serviceable to the Indian students.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th Jan. and DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

The present system of education.

22. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th January, and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd February, publish in Tamil extracts from the views expressed by Sir John Woodroffe of the Calcutta High Court about the present system of education in his reply to the Universities Commission, and the latter paper comments thereon as follows in its issue of the 4th February 1919:—We have often remarked that the present system of education in India is such as to ruin her very nationality. It is highly creditable to Sir John Woodroffe that he has so clearly expressed this opinion which is shared by many Indians in general. We can state with certainty that the present moral degeneracy of India is due to the system of education now in vogue. When the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme comes into effect, education should be one of the "Transferred" subjects. If this department is to continue in the hands of a class who are quite ignorant of the religion, language, habits and customs of the people, how can they impart instruction suited to the conditions of the country?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

American Universities and the examination system.

23. Comparing the Examination System of the Madras University with that in vogue in American Universities, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th January, writes:—

. . . In our country, examinations are dreaded as fatal ordeals. . . Though it is a convenient method to throw the blame on the heads of students for the high percentage of failures in the Madras University a little consideration will show that it is the fault of the system of education and not of students. The like of our system of education cannot be seen anywhere else. My present subject is the system of examination and not the system of education. . . Sixty or 70 per cent of our students fail in examinations, on account of the system of education and on account of the stupidity of our teachers. How can students be responsible for this? . . .

National education.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

24. With reference to the answers given by Sir John Woodroffe before the Calcutta University Commission, the *Andhra-patrika*, of the 4th February, writes under this heading:— . . . He (Sir John Woodroffe) has said that the present system of education is detrimental to the national spirit of Indians, that it is acting as a canker to their self-expression and that it is producing anglicised men, and has suggested the establishment of national education as the best remedy for all these defects. He has urged the complete handing over, to Indians, of the department of education, the imparting of instruction through vernaculars, the necessity of giving prominence to Indian culture and Indian wants, and the improvement of agricultural education. It remains to be seen from the report of the Commission what weight has been attached to his opinions.

Mission schools and compulsory religious instruction.

KERALA KESARI, Ernakulam, Chingom-Kanni, 1094 M.E. Aug. to Oct. 1918.

25. * The *Kerala Kesari*, of Chingom-Kanni 1094 M.E. (August to October 1918), argues that if the "fam (notori?) ous" G.O. No. 559, passed for curbing the thoughtless zeal of inexperienced youths in matters political, is justifiable, then at least in one other matter also such an order is necessary, i.e., in the matter of religion. The article contains a criticism of foreign Missionaries praising their own religion and crying down those of India befere inexperienced boys in their schools thereby undermining the faith of these boys in their own religion and creating endless mischief. If the non-interference of Government in the matter is due to their confidence that the activities of the Missionaries will not in any way prejudice the authority of Government, this attitude taken up by the Government seems to be quite undesirable. The article advocates agitation to secure the issue of a circular by Government prohibiting compulsory religious instruction in schools and colleges conducted by the Missionaries.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

The Ayurvedic system of medicine.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

26. Referring to the opinion expressed by the authorities that it is not desirable that the Corporation of Madras should help the Kannikaparameswari Ayurvedic Hospital in Madras, with a grant from its funds, the *Swadesa-mitran*, of the 29th January, remarks:—Those that speak with disgust and disregard about the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine will certainly be not in favour of this grant. But we appreciate the action of the Corporation in having decided to continue it. Though the authorities might not be inclined to come forward to render financial help themselves, still if they attempt to prevent others from rendering such help, we trust the local self-governing institutions will not tolerate it. If the authorities attempt to prevent financial help being given, these institutions should come forward to assert their rights.

The plague in Madras.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

27. Pointing out the urgency and necessity for preventing the spread of plague in Madras for fear of its extending throughout Southern India, the *Dravidan*, of the 3rd February, observes:—The city of Madras is very much congested. To relieve this congestion it is necessary to extend its limits and provide the extension with facilities for tram communications. This extension should include, within the municipal limits of the town, Saidapet on the south, Perambur and Konnur on the west and Tiruvothiyur on the north. In consideration of the present insanitary condition of the city, prompt steps should be taken in this matter.

Plague.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

Regarding the prevention of overcrowding in streets and lanes in the city which creates a favourable atmosphere for the spread of plague, a correspondent to the *Andhra-prakasika*, of the 29th January, writes:—. . . The Government must now come to the relief of the Corporation. An Improvement Trust Board as in Bangalore and Mysore will have to be established. With the financial help of that Board, lanes may be broadened and tramways laid to distant corners in the city. . . If there is the convenience of tramways, people would live in distant localities. It is better to form the above Trust Board soon.

* Received on the 29th January 1919.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

Plague in Madras.

Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 1st February, writes:— . . . They say that there have been rat-falls and rat-deaths in Triplicane. We do not know how far the Corporation authorities are taking trouble to examine those rats and find out whether they contain the plague bacilli. . . Our Health officer Mr. D. Raghavendra Rao has not passed the hygiene test. . . It is hygiene that teaches about the measures to be adopted for the prevention of epidemics and other diseases. We suggest to the Corporation that it is their duty to appoint experts in hygiene at least on such occasions as the present. Should the Corporation decide out of favour or for some reason to get on with the present Health officer only, we submit to the Government that they should interfere and do this great service to the people. . . As has been remarked by the Governor of Bengal, much money is required for the prevention of plague. But our Corporation is short of funds. In that case it is highly necessary that the Government should come forward with help in the matter. . . Should they also plead lack of funds, we request them to apply for fund to the Government of India to which they are contributing more meney than the other provincial Goverments and to spend it for this purpose.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

What sort of interest is this?

28. Referring to the proposal of the Hon'ble Mr. T. Rangachari to train up the present corporation Health officer in hygiene, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 31st January, writes:— . . . We cannot understand what patriotism it is to propose the training of Mr. D. Raghavendra Rao, the Acting Health officer of the corporation, in the elementary principles of hygiene at a cost of one lakh of rupees from the corporation fund. . . To appoint as the Health officer a man who has not passed examinations in hygiene is the first mistake of the authorities, and then to try to rectify that mistake at the cost of one lakh of rupees is the second. We are glad to hear that the corporation has not consented to commit the second mistake which is the graver of the two. Are there none available in the world who have passed the hygiene test? Or is it that our corporation does not want them? Are the Government taking notice of this matter? How long is the city of Madras to be in charge of one who is ignorant of the laws of hygiene?

(*h*) *Railways.*

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

The South Indian Railway Company Agent.

29. Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 28th January, writes:— Mr. Murhead, the Agent of this company, is going to Mesopotamia on camp duty. Regarding the appointment of Mr. Scott in his place, a correspondent to the *Railways* has observed that it has caused disappointment to those who have a claim to it. Mr. Scott is the brother-in-law of Mr. Priestley, the Managing Director of "the Humboard Railway Executive Committee" in England. For him, Mr. Priestley created the post of an additional Traffic Manager and appointed him to it, overlooking the claims of about twenty District Traffic officers who have got greater merit, experience and service. By this unnecessary appointment, he has caused loss of money to the share-holders of the company and the Government. . . A nephew of Mr. Priestley who is a subordinate officer, having taken casual leave for some days, went to England without informing the superior officers. He returned and rejoined his duty. Had it been any other man, what would have been his fate? Because he is Mr. Priestley's nephew, all departmental rules were suspended for him. . . When the above irregularities alone were quite enough to cause dissatisfaction to better qualified and more experienced officers, Mr. Priestley appointed his brother-in-law as the Company's Agent. . .

(*i*) *Salt and Abkāri.*

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

The drink evil.

30. Referring to the proposal of the American Government to introduce a legislation to prohibit the manufacture, sale, export and import of any kind of liquor, the *Dravidan*, of the 28th January, dwells at length on the evils resulting from drink and observes:—It is the duty of the Government to root out this evil in India while it is in its infant stage. To our rulers who have routed the Germans, this is not a difficult

task. That day augurs good to India, on which the Government enact a law similar to the one to be enacted in America.

The drink evil.

Observing that communities, which consider drinking to be a sign of civilization, are adopting measures to discourage it on the ground that it is prejudicial to the progress of the country and regretting that there are many facilities for encouraging this evil in India which views drinking as one of the most heinous sins, the *Lokopakari*, of the 3rd February, says:—Drinking would have been completely prohibited in India, if, as in America, legislators here had been Indians. That day when India begins to be governed *for* the Indians will be the day on which she will shine like a jewel in the crown of the British Empire.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

The prohibition of liquor.

31. Referring to the news of the prohibition of liquor in the United States, the *Mysore Star*, of the 2nd February, writes:— It is a standing criticism that though India forbade the use of liquor from time immemorial, the drink habit has been steadily spreading among the people, ever since the country came under the suzerainty of the west which has no objection to liquor. The Government have organised an Abkāri department; and being reluctant to give up the immense revenue which the department yields, wholly overlook the degradation to which the people are driven in consequence of the drink vice, and though they profess to be mindful of the evil, do not take adequate steps to ward it off. When the Imperial Government itself is so apathetic, how can we expect the Native States under them to be different? Who is free from the greed of wealth and what is there which money cannot do? In order to escape public criticism, the Government proclaim that they have taken steps to put down the drink evil. The enhancement of duty, the decrease of the number of shops, the limiting of the hours of sale, and the establishment of tea and coffee shops close to the public houses are some of the tricks which they resort to and which they point out in proof of their efforts. But these have failed to produce the desired effect. They are as ridiculous as the attempt to catch a crane by placing some butter on its head in the hope that the butter would melt and run into eyes and help to catch the bird. A Government which feels that its true source of revenue lies in helping the people to abandon vice and extravagance and live a life of virtue, health and moderation would certainly regard the revenue derived from the Abkāri department as the very blood wrung from the necks of its subjects. Russia and the United States have both prohibited liquor, despite the enormous revenue from that source. What excellent statesmanship! When will India have that good fortune? Can we expect it in case India gets self-government? If that were possible, why have not the Native States which are practically enjoying self-government now begun the reform?

MYSORE STAR, Mysore, 2nd Feb. 1919.

(*k*) *General.*

The Congress and the Prince of Wales.

32. The *Kaliyugavartamani*, of the 11th January, observes:—The new party in the last session of the Congress, for some reason or other, postponed the consideration of the question of presenting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales during his proposed visit to India. This action will be viewed with much displeasure by the Indian public. Can any loophole be allowed for the Anglo-Indians to question the loyalty of the Indians and find fault with them?

KALIYUGA-VARTAMANI, Madras, 11th Jan. 1919.

The value-payable system with foreign countries.

33. Referring to the fact that at present this system is obtaining only in places where the Indian coin is current and to the proposal of the Government to make it applicable even to the British Isles and other countries, the *Kaliyugavartamani*, of the 11th January, observes:—The Trades' Association object to this proposal, and it is but natural that they should do so. It should be seen, however, whether this objection is made in the interests of the public. We trust that the Government will not give up this great convenience for the sake of a few merchants.

KALIYUGAVARTAMANI Madras, 11th Jan. 1919.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

Mr. Aftab Khan and the non-Brahman movement.

34. The *Dravidan*, of the 28th January, reproduces in Tamil the substance of an article published in the *Justice*, of the 25th idem, about Mr. Aftab Khan's recent lecture in Madras on the duties and responsibilities of students.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

A call to the Indians.

35. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th January, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article under the heading "prison house, a house of penance" in which the following finds place:—Prisons were in ancient times intended for sheltering liars, thieves, etc., and rectifying them. But at the present time good signs are seen for the conversion of these into places for patriots to do penance. One of such places of penance was constructed in Mandalay in 1908 for Tilak, another at Coimbatore for Mr. Pillai, and now one at Trichinopoly for our patriot Varadarajulu Nayudu. We are specially grateful to the authorities concerned for the selection of one such place for Mr. Varadarajulu on the banks of the sacred Cauveri. Just as gold gets more and more refined the oftener it is heated in a furnace, a patriot gets purer the oftener his body is subjected to the fire of the house of penance. Messrs. Tilak and Gandhi are purified patriots of this type and every son of Mother Bharata should come forward to undergo this process of purification. Friends, prepare your minds to perform a penance in the manner of our hero Rajulu, the Champion of Justice in the Tamil Country. Prison house is the house of penance for patriots, the prison rations their food, the prison dress their ascetic garb and the prison work their service of penance. Mother Bharata is the deity worshipped by them. *Vande Mataram* their basic mantra, and Home Rule their salvation. Those that do such penance will be deemed to be sons of Mother Bharata. It is a rarity of rarities to get an opportunity to do service to the country in this precious human life. Avail yourselves of this opportunity and come forward to fight out the battle within constitutional limits. Providence, equity and justice are in our favour. Come. It is certain that justice will win.

The same paper publishes, from the pen of another correspondent, an article referring to the patriotic work of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu who is described as an incarnation of goodness in which the following finds place among others:—The rumour, that after the close of the war there would be an incarnation of God, spread like wild fire. According to the belief of the *Vaishnava* sect, 12 saints should be the precursors of such an incarnation. So get up at once The inauspicious month of *Marqali* is past. The song of the dawn to awake the Lord has been sung. With the advent of the month of *Tai* liberty has dawned in the western countries. One saint has already made his appearance. Only eleven more are wanting among the 33 crores of people. Come forward at once! Saints are wanted!

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

The *Madras Times* and the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq.

36. Referring to the comment of the *Madras Times* about the statement of the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq, the President of the All-India Moslem League at Delhi, that Great Britain cannot efficiently rule a country conquered by it, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th January, observes:—It is needless for us to point out that the comment of the *Times* is false. We would affirm that, as observed by Mr. Huq, the bureaucrats do not know how to rule India properly. India has been under the British sway for the last 150 years, and the number of educated persons in British India is still small. Whose fault is this? Similar defects exist in other departments as well. It is the opinion of the wise that the failure of the bureaucrats to understand the right way to govern India is only due to the differences that exist between them and the Indians in point of religion, language, habits and customs. It is not known why the *Times* doubts Mr. Huq's statement. We ask the *Times* in what way India has progressed since the advent of the British rule. The industries of India have perished and the heroism of the Indians has waned. Who is responsible for all this? We cannot understand the observations of the *Times* that the Government should not fail to note the false statements made by vernacular papers, and curb them properly. If so, we wish that the Government should at once take repressive measures against this paper which is uttering lies. These Anglo-Indian papers find fault with the Indians in many ways. Why are the Government inattentive in regard to this? By the statement of the *Times* that vernacular papers contain mostly untruths, will not their reputation suffer?

37. Referring to the statement in *New India* that there is a strong rumour that the security furnished by the *Desabhaktan* will be forfeited, the latter paper, in its issue of the 28th January, observes:—*New India* has many times forfeited its security. Many papers in Bengal have shared a similar fate. Forfeiture of security has thus become a very common affair in India. Generally all that *New India* refers to as rumours prove to be facts. We trust that the security of the *Desabhaktan* will not be forfeited as, from the very beginning, it has not written anything disloyal. It is well known throughout the Tamil world that this paper has taken upon itself the duty of condemning the bureaucratic system of administration and that it greatly reveres the British rule. It is not known whether the Executive Council of the Madras Government is aware of this. Wisdom consists only in understanding aright the views of a paper thoroughly but not in getting confused, without noticing the true significance, taking into consideration only a statement which is found in a corner of the paper. We firmly believe that Lord Pentland will not on the eve of his departure be hard on the *Desabhaktan* which is toiling in the service of God. If by chance it should so happen that he should be cruel towards the *Desabhaktan*, we wish he will be pleased to note the following:—Your Excellency Lord Pentland: Do you love liberty or hate it? Does India enjoy the liberty enjoyed by England? Is a constitutional agitation for liberty necessary or not? Is it just or unjust to punish those that seek liberty? How do you make out the true significance of newspapers written in the vernacular? Are extracts from these papers translated into English in consonance with the views of the editors?

The *Desabhaktan* and the Government.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

38. Referring to the present scarcity of kerosene oil in the country, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th January, observes:—From the reports of our correspondents in various places it is seen that the price of a bottle of kerosene oil varies from six to eight annas in important places such as Chingleput, Chidambaram, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tuticorin. The companies dealing in this oil do not take notice of the inordinate gain obtained by the sub-agents. The sufferings of the people are indescribable. Why should not the Government come to their rescue? Though it is about two months since the war came to an end, railway facilities have not been properly afforded as yet. It is understood that the companies have sufficient stock of oil with them. It is only want of railway transport facilities that is the cause for the high price of this oil in mufassal stations. Mr. Wood, the Controller of Civil Supplies, should attend to this suffering of the people and avert the kerosene famine. The Government should issue strict orders to the district authorities, until transport facilities are restored, to see that the price of kerosene oil does not increase. They will be considered to have failed in their duty to the people if they keep quiet under the impression that everything is going on properly.

Kerosene oil.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

A note in the news columns of the *Manorama* of the 28th January says that the price of kerosene-oil now varies from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 annas a bottle. The abuses in connexion with the sale of kerosene do not seem to have decreased. It trusts that the authorities will soon do the needful to get the rate reduced.

Rising price of kerosene-oil.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 28th Jan. 1919.

The *Manorama*, of the 31st January, reports that the price of kerosene-oil has risen to the unprecedented rate of As. 10 a bottle, and trusts the Emergency Committee and the Collector will specially attend to this matter.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 31st Jan. 1919.

39. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th January, points out that while in England the labourers work only for eight hours a day, in India they are required to work for twelve hours, and, observing that the labourers in India have other kinds of grievances as well and that the bureaucrats themselves even threaten the few persons who come forward to work in their cause, remarks that the people concerned should note that it is a great sin to consider those that volunteer to work for the advancement of the labourers to be seditionists.

Indian labourers.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

Adverting to the fact that, in the case of European labourers, the Governments in their respective countries also take trouble for ameliorating their condition and that, though the prices of articles have at present doubled themselves

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

here, the capitalists complain of the injustice of the demand of the labourers for an increase of 30 to 35 per cent in their wages, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 30th January, observes:—Even if the demand of the labourers for an increase of 35 to 40 per cent in their wages is granted, still it cannot be said to be exorbitant in view of the present situation and their past condition. It is essential that both the capitalists and the Government should evince sympathy with the movement to ameliorate the condition of the labourers in India. This is perceptibly lacking.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

Epiphany and the Muslims.

40. Observing that the *Mussalman* of Calcutta has condemned a piece of writing in the *Epiphany* which is said to wound the religious feelings of the Muhammadans, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th January, remarks that the Anglo-Indian papers are often creating religious and class differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans and that it is not right for the Government not to put a stop to their evil deeds.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

The *Epiphany* and the Muhammadans.

With reference to the publication in the *Epiphany* of a letter wounding the religious susceptibilities of Muhammadans, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st January, remarks:—. . Room was afforded by a Christian paper called the *Epiphany* to wound the feelings of the Muhammadans and rouse their indignation for a second time. We do not know why the Government should not apply the Press Act to such papers. . . The Muhammadans will not be satisfied, unless proper punishment is meted out to such papers.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

Crimes in India and in England.

41. Adverting to a telegram recently received that two culprits who were imprisoned in February 1917 for having conspired to murder Mr. Lloyd George, have now been released under licence, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th January, says:—The Anglo-Indian papers used to blab that it is very rare to find seditionists in England and that they are found in large numbers only in India. What are these papers going to say now? None in India would venture to put an end to the life of high Government officials. While murderers are now being set free in England, innocent young students in India are being kept in prison without any trial. While the Defence of India Act, under which these youths and several other innocent persons have been kept in custody, has not yet been repealed, Rowlatt Bills are to be introduced in addition. What more does India want? We need not describe what kind of agitation would have been started in England if such measures had been introduced there at present. When murder, robbery and treason are very low in India, new laws are being enacted here, while in England such laws are decreasing as the evil deeds increase.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

Increase of telegraph rates.

42. The *Swadesamitram*, of the 30th January, observes:—These rates have, of late, been increased considerably. When the rate for an ordinary telegram was raised to As. 12, the authorities said that the increase was made only to reduce the press of work during the war time in telegraph offices. Now that the war has ended and the income to Government from both the Postal and Telegraph Departments goes on increasing, why should not the rates be reduced as before? There is no justification whatever for continuing the increased rates.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

The telegraph rates.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 3rd February, also advocates a reduction in these rates on the ground that there has been a steady increase of receipts and decrease of expenditure during the past three years in the Telegraph Department.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

Co-operative Societies.

43. Referring with satisfaction to the increase in the number of Co-operative Societies during the year 1917–18 as shown in the administration report concerned, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 30th January, observes:—Only if, in every village, one credit society and one agricultural or other industrial society are started, the object of the co-operative movement can be considered to have been accomplished. It is because the people are still ignorant of the benefits of co-operation that a larger number of societies have not yet been formed. If a credit society is opened in each village, the poor can very well afford to avoid the professional money-lender and get

loans on easy terms which they are often in need of. We learn that in certain places the subordinate Government officials, being under obligations to the village headmen, have discouraged people working in Co-operative societies. It will be good if the Government should point out that it is the duty of the Government officials to help these societies as much as possible and improve them. Madras, the headquarters of the Co-operative Credit Department, has not derived even a tenth portion of the advantages it is possible to obtain from co-operation. There are only 34 societies in this big city, whereas every street here can afford to have two societies. The absence of a larger number of societies has enabled thousands of usurers from other provinces to come and thrive here. If one society is started in each street, a greater portion of the stress of the people of the city will disappear. We trust that the head of this department as well as those interested in the co-operative movement will pay attention to this suggestion.

Students and politics.

44. Referring to the advice said to have been given by Mr. Surendranath Bannerji in a lecture recently delivered by him in Bombay suggesting the desirability of students taking part in political movements, the *Dravidan*, of the 30th January, remarks: —This advice will in the long-run prove to be disastrous. Home Rulers argue that in Oxford and Cambridge Students' Societies give the students a training in politics and that eminent statesmen spring up only from those quarters. It is true. But wise men will never forget the difference between the students in England and those in India. English students are never excited by unnecessary agitations. The spirit of mixing in political agitations and dancing to the tune of the agitators even at the sacrifice of their own studies, prevails in a very high degree in the Indian students and it has become deep-rooted in them through the improper actions of the Home Rulers The way in which students behaved when Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal came for the first time to Madras heralding Home Rule, is proof enough to show that the Indian students are not fit for taking part in these movements. We wish, therefore, that there should be some definite restrictions in this matter. If students freely enter into political matters, their studies will surely be hindred and through them harm will certainly to be done to others. We urge upon the Government to take proper steps for preventing the students being thus ill-advised.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

A protest meeting.

45. Referring to a notice recently issued in connexion with a public meeting in Madras for protesting against the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, the *Dravidan*, of the 30th January, observes:—The signatories to this notice are mostly Ayyars and Ayyangars and a few non-Brahmans who dance to their tunes. Nothing serious will result from this, as our Brahman and quasi non-Brahman friends are accustomed to convene meetings and pass resolutions of protest for anything and everything.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

Appointments welcomed by India.

46. Expressing its satisfaction at the appointment of Mr. Montagu and Sir S. P. Sinha as the Secretary and the Under Secretary of State for India, respectively, the *Yatharthavachani*, of the 18th January, observes:—This augurs well for the future of India. Mr. Lloyd George, who appointed Mr. Montagu, did so with the object of getting the reform scheme sanctioned easily. Mr. Montagu is capable of carrying through his point in the teeth of the strongest opposition. Besides doing so out of consideration for the welfare of India, he is in duty bound to see that the report prepared by the Viceroy and himself at the instance of the Parliament is passed and not discarded.

YATHARTHAVACHANI, Kumbakōnam, 18th Jan. 1919.

Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

47. Remarking that the conviction of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu for sedition is unexpected, the *Yatharthavachani*, of the 18th January, observes:—Our doubt is whether Doctor Nayudu is aware of the constitutional ways of working to overthrow the English Government. There is not the slightest justification for England to grow suspicious of India. India has no army, navy, arms, wealth or steamers to sail overseas. She is famishing, giving away for State expenditure the little gain she gets by sending to foreign countries the grains grown by the sweat of her brows and the few articles made by her. It is really inconceivable that under such

YATHARTHAVACHANI, Kumbakōnam, 18th Jan. 1919.

circumstances the Indians can be disloyal. By this, however, we do not mean to say that India is perfectly flawless. At the outset of the war, when Germany was in the ascendant, there might have been here and there some talk about the future of India, in case Germany should become victorious. All this is mere empty talk. It is not usual to mete out punishment for mere talk. We regret very much the mishap that befell Doctor Nayudu. It would be well if the authorities should show pity and order his release before he prefers an appeal to the High Court. Lord Pentland is on the eve of his departure from our country. We wish that he would do this as a last act of goodness to make the people bless him for ever.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919.

The ignorance of the Englishmen about India.

48. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st January, reproduces an article from the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, which, referring to the statement of the *Englishman* that those in England have not a correct idea of India and, the Indians, remarks that the Anglo-Indians in India are no better and, pointing to their impression that India is prosperous even when famine and disease have made an abode of this country, their 'false' idea that dacoits have been hovering about Bengal for the last ten years and their 'foolish' view that they are the representatives of the Indians, as instances of this, condemns their advocacy of the application of the principle of communal representation in India. The article refers also to the theory of the Anglo-Indians that Home Rule in India will mean the Brahman rule and observes that, judged from this light, even England has not a true representative government, inasmuch as the labourers there have never had a large number of representatives in the House of Commons and the position has not improved even in the case of the new Parliament.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

The Chiefs' Conference at Delhi.

49. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd January, reproduces an extract from the *Servant of India* which, while expressing its regret at this Conference not being held publicly, points to the fact that the clause in the report, that only Chiefs, who have complete liberty in administering their States, can become members of this council, will deny this privilege to nearly 87 per cent of the existing Chiefs, who have not this qualification, and urges that this point should be considered by the Conference, inasmuch as the objects with which the Council of Princes is brought into existence apply equally to all the Native States generally and the smaller States have also occasionally rendered assistance to the Government. The article refers to the ruin of many kingdoms in Europe after the beginning of this war, which it takes to be an indication of the end of absolute monarchy in the world, and wants the Chiefs to be informed that only such of them as co-operate with their people in granting responsible government to the latter can have a seat on this Council. It is also contended in the article that Indian Chiefs who have a permanent army should be given the privilege of organizing it so as to be conducive to the progress of their States and a fiscal responsibility so as to promote the industries of their territories.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

Indians and the army.

50. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd January, publishes an extract from a letter sent to the *Leader* of Allahabad by an Indian soldier about a conversation between him and an Australian Military official, while he was an inpatient in a hospital in London, in which the Australian, being apprised by the Indian that his countryman occupied a very low status in the army and that even the best Indian could not rise to a high position therein, is said to have remarked that, under such conditions, not even one Australian would come forward to enter the army and that he would care for self-respect first and then only for loyalty.

SIRTHURUTTAM, Madura, 22nd Jan. 1919.

The labourers.

51. Adverting to the recent strike among the labourers in the mills at Bombay, the *Sirturuttam*, of the 22nd January, advocates the cause of the labourers, and observes:—It is the foremost duty of the Government to suitably amend the 'Indian Factories Act' so as to bring about harmony and mutual love between the labourers and the capitalists. We suggest that it would be well for the Government to have some control over the capitalists. Further, the capitalists are generally not in favour of forming labour unions, the existence of which will prevent strikes. If they

themselves come forward to start such unions, then both the parties will be benefited, the progress of Indian industry which is desired by the Viceroy will be achieved and the country will become prosperous.

Labour unrest.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

Referring to the Labour unrest in Scotland, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd February, remarks:—. . . The unrest is increasing day after day, as the employers treat their workmen as machines. There were never such troubles in ancient India about industries. . . The development of Indian industries is necessary, but it behoves Indians to work out their industrial advancement on lines suited to their country.

Labour strikes.

DESAMATA, Rajahmundry, 15th & 22nd Jan. 1919.

Under this heading, the *Desamata*, of the 15th and 22nd January, writes:—. . . It cannot but be admitted that the condition of labourers is becoming more and more intolerable, as modern civilization is increasing. Under the conditions created by the modern civilization in the West, the highhandedness of capitalists is increasing. This is the reason why we hear of labour strikes both in the East and West so often. . .

Rice trade in the Madras Presidency.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 23rd Jan. 1919.

52. Adverting to the recent orders of the Director of Civil Supplies that export licences will be issued only to owners of mills and that rice merchants other than mill owners should carry on their trade only through them, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 23rd January, observes:—This only places the merchants under the mill owners and hampers independent trade. Though there may be harmony between the mill owners and these merchants, still it is not easy to sell rice at the prices fixed by the authorities. Without the regulation of the price of paddy it is impossible to fix the price of rice, and regulating the price of paddy means controlling the *mirasidars*. The paddy harvest in Tanjore has not been satisfactory owing to the failure of the monsoon last year. At this famine time some prefer to stock the required paddy for the year at any cost, and the *mirasidars* will not agree to sell paddy at reduced prices. Their grievances also are not without reason. They have to pay kists and buy several other necessaries only by the sale-proceeds of the surplus paddy, after reserving the quantity required for their own consumption. They ask whether the Government will remit a portion of their land revenue in the same way as they sanction special allowances to their employees for dearness of food. If the authorities, viewing the situation quite impartially, represent clearly to the Government the grievances of both the *mirasidars* and the people, then the Government will not hesitate to provide for the necessary facilities. This difficulty has been caused, because the bureaucrats have failed to realise their responsibility and represent to the Government the real state of affairs.

Aid to soldiers.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 23rd Jan. 1919.

53. Referring to the request of the Viceroy for a contribution of another 100 lakhs of rupees from India for the support of the soldiers crippled in the war and of the families of deceased soldiers, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 23rd January, expresses its sympathy with the object of the appeal, and observes:—Since the commencement of the war India has contributed towards the military expenditure both as loans and gifts plenty of money which, though small when compared with the huge expenditure in the war, is certainly considerable in her present condition. It is not proper to ask India for a gift of 100 lakhs of rupees at a time when she is afflicted by famine and her poverty has increased. The war has now ended and the military expenditure will be much less than before. Cannot the required aid be rendered to those affected by the war from the collections of the proposed Excess Profits Duty, which is also Indian money?

The tanning industry.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 23rd Jan. 1919.

54. Referring to the attempts made by the Tanning Committee since 1916 to get all the untanned skins from India tanned in the Empire itself, and to the recent lecture of a member of this committee before the Royal Arts Society in England that it is the desire of the committee to improve the tanning industry in India and to send skins for tanning to England, Canada, Australia, South Africa and other colonies, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 23rd January, observes:—With the exception of

England, all the colonies treat the Indians as untouchables. They say that their countries will be ruined if the Indians set foot on them. Why should the Indian skins be sent to them as if the required facilities for tanning them are not available here alone?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

Effect of the war.

55. Remarking that it is not in the nature of India to be false to her thoughts in word and deed, the *Desabhakatan*, of the 30th January, observes:—What benefits has India obtained in return for her services? She got the Defence of India Act at the very outset of the war. This Act is feasting on the patriots and newspapers that work hard for Mother Bharata and is belching. This makes even the fœtus in the womb tremble. The bureaucrats are going on with their repressive mission ten times more vigorously than before in the case of those that plead for liberty. The greater the progress of this mission of repression, the larger the chances of redress for the grievances of Mother India! The bureaucratic deity seeing that the time for the expiry of Defence of India Act is close at hand and desirous of extending this mission in a thousand ways, is attempting to crown Mother India with Rowlatt Bills. The coronation is fast approaching. Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar is to officiate as priest. Perhaps the (Legislative Council) sages and celestials will heartily witness the coronation ceremony! The day on which the Rowlatt Bills become an Act will be a gala day with the bureaucrats. India felt slightly anxious that, on account of the close of the war, the paroxysm of the bureaucratic deity might wane. Mother Bharata is immensely delighted to find that the zeal has now been quickened. Thus was decreed the fate of Mother Bharata. The Peace Conference has met there, while here a meeting is held to pass the Sedition Bills into law. Friends! Look at the benefits derived by India from the war! Consider well!! The God of Authority holds (the Rowlatt Bill) repression in one hand and (Montagu-Chelmsford) reforms in the other. Is there any one in the world who can take nectar and poison together? Lo, Mother Bharata is going to do it. It is not known what good will be in store for her in consequence. The holy persons that sing her praises will reach the hermitage (prison) and become ascetics. Wives bereft of their husbands, sisters of their brothers, and mothers of their sons will, with delight, spend their days worshipping the bureaucratic diety! O, Mother Bharata! We witnessed the services you rendered in the war and witness also the return you are now getting therefor. Has the God who created you no eyes? Will the sages and ascetics born of you appear again?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

The Indian Moslems.

56. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th January, observes:—It is shocking to describe the present pitiable condition of the Indian Moslems. While their wealth is being crippled on one side, their privileges are being forfeited on the other. Moslems have been kept in custody. Many Moslems have been deported. Many Moslem papers have been forfeited and it is known to every one that the Moslems were recently deprived of even the right to call a public meeting. Because the Government did not take any action on the *Indian Daily News* when it spoke disparagingly of the Islamic faith, the *Epiphany* of Calcutta has recently made disparaging remarks about Muhammad and the Islamic faith. It is our desire that the British Government, who are administering justice blended with mercy, should not be subject to the remark that they have remained quiet, while the Christian newspapers and Christian missionaries speak low of the Islamic faith and its tenets, because they are themselves Christians. The Moslems are eager to know whether the Government are going to punish these Missionaries and papers for their mean actions.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan* and a correspondent to the *Dravidan*.

57. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st January, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article in which the following finds place among others:—In the letter written to the *Dravidan*, of the 18th ultimo, Mr. T. V. Subrahmanyam, a correspondent, while quoting a passage from the *Desabhaktan* has given only extracts of sentences here and there and placed some dots in the intervening spaces. It is stated in that issue of the *Desabhaktan* "that those who govern us are not giants but the Britishers who are the embodiment of righteousness. British justice and liberty should be established." What to say of the

correspondent who omitted all this and put dots instead? Further, he has remarked "Will not the benign Government note this?" "Have they no eyes?" It is regretable that the correspondent to the *Dravidan*, who seeks the favour of the bureaucrats, having failed in his attempt to defend the bureaucratic cause, began to cry out whether the benign British Government that fought for the maintenance of liberty in the world and came out victorious, had neither eyes nor ears.

Officials in India and England.

58. Comparing the salaries drawn by the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary of State in England with those of a Lieutenant-Governor, a Division Commissioner and a Collector in India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st January, observes:—From this it is clear that for the salary paid to a Lieutenant-Governor in India, one with the qualification of the Prime Minister of England and for the salary paid to a District Collector one as capable as the Under Secretary of State can be secured. While so, why should the Government of India pay such high salaries to ordinary Indian Civil Service officers? Some may say that the high salaries are paid in consideration of the difficulty of the Europeans living in India. While Sir S. P. Sinha goes to England to serve on such a paltry pay, why not those that come from England accept lower salaries?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

Juvenile smoking.

59. Referring, with appreciation, to the proposal of the Travancore Darbar to enact a law to prohibit students from smoking and using tobacco, and pointing out the evil effects of smoking by students, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st February, remarks that it will be a great boon to the student population if the British Government also enact a law like the one proposed in Travancore.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

Students and smoking.

Referring to the prohibition of all forms of tobacco-smoking by boys under eighteen years in the Travancore State, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st February, remarks:—. . This one example will do to show how the Native States are forward in matters which promote the well-being of their subjects.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

Students and tobacco.

Referring to the proposed legislation in Travancore for prohibiting the use of tobacco by students under 18 years of age, a note in the *Manorama*, of the 31st January, emphasises the advantages that will accrue from the prohibition and advocates the adoption of a similar measure by the Government of Madras.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 31st Jan. 1919.

Administration report of the Government of India.

60. Remarking that no reason for the delay in the publication of this report for the year 1916–1917 has been given in it, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st February, observes:—Besides decrying the political propogandist work done in India, the report states that the Home Rule League was agitating with the object of securing complete self-government for India at once. Perhaps the compiler of this report has not noted the objects of the Home Rule League. If he gives out what is true, none would find fault with him or his report, but we say that his incorporating untruths into the administration report does not become the Government.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

The Indian Administration Report.

Reviewing the Indian Administration Report for 1916–17, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st January, observes in its leader:—. . . Since the report has been published so late, the matters dealt with therein cannot be read with much interest. . . The Government themselves admit that India has shown her loyalty during the war by rendering invaluable help. In these circumstances, one cannot but refrain from asking in wonder: is the enactment of the Rowlatt Bills the reward to India for having shown all this loyalty? We do not know what reasons have led the Government to think that India which has shown such unswerving loyalty in a great crisis like the war would be otherwise on the eve of the new era when she is about to enjoy self-government. . . The report shows that all the provinces except Bengal have been free from political crime. In that case, the people are at a loss to understand what necessity there is for the Government to enact repressive laws for the whole of India. . . A perusal of the

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

Government report will clearly show that the country is quite free from any sort of unrest which may lead to the commission of political crimes and that the Rowlatt Bills are uncalled for.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

Export of cattle.

61. Referring to the contention of the Director of Agriculture that cattle have not deteriorated in India as alleged by the people by their export to foreign countries, and that on the other hand this export gives an impetus for the breeding of good cattle here, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 1st February, remarks:—It is not worthy of a Director of Agriculture to argue like this. He knows by experience that, with the Indians, profit is not the sole concern. He has exerted himself to a great extent in furthering the cultivation in this country of the varieties of cotton that are in great demand in foreign countries. He is himself aware of the results of his advice to the cultivators in this respect. Is it proper for him to advocate now the export of cattle forgetting his past experience? We request that the Government will, hereafter at least, institute searching inquiries into the hardships and losses caused to us by the export of cattle from India.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

Repressive measures.

62. Dwelling at length on the loyalty and the self-sacrificing spirit of the Indians and the services rendered by them to the British Government during the Indian Mutiny sixty years ago and during the great European war recently, the *Lokopakari*, of the 3rd February, observes:—It is only with the conviction that the British Government, who are bent on securing liberty to the minor powers, will not fail to grant liberty to India also, that the Indians have sacrificed and are still sacrificing their life and property on behalf of the rulers. The Government of India, getting suspicious of the Indians, have come forward to make permanent repressive measures, and the Indian Civil Service party have begun to complain that granting liberty to India will endanger their powers and privileges. Is it in consonance with the British spirit for these Anglo-Indians to agitate against the Indians obtaining liberty, fraternity and equality which are the ideals of the British? One of the speakers at a recent public meeting held in Madras pointed out that the introduction of repressive measures was likely to cause unrest in the country. We hope that the Government will pay due regard to this warning.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

High prices.

63. Referring to the high prices of all articles, chiefly that of kerosene oil, the *Lokopakari*, of the 3rd February, observes:—If railway transport facilities are afforded, it appears these difficulties may be obviated. The Government should not be indifferent but should adopt all possible measures to mitigate the sufferings of the people. Mighty efforts should be made to regulate the prices of all articles indispensable for living.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

Public meeting in Madura.

64. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th January, publishes in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held in Madura on the 25th idem to protest against the work of the Indian Civil Service Association in Madras.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

"Our zeal".

65. In a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st February, complains that some "Fools", who are injuring this country in collusion with Anglo-Indians, are daily finding fault with it, and characterising this class of people as traitors to the country and a mean lot, indulging in vituperation and ignorant of a feeling of brotherhood, adds:—These people are adopting several devices to injure the *Desabhaktan*; and we learn that a few, who hold a peculiar view in politics, are also trying, owing to their jealousy of this paper, to suppress it. Some are afraid of us, as we are often condemning the actions of the bureaucrats. But we do not condemn all their actions, but only such of them as are against the British spirit and justice, and this only shows our devotion to the British rule. Nationalist papers and patriots should work with zeal hereafter. If the Rowlatt Bills are passed, mother Bharata will have to live in an eternal hell. To avoid this, numerous people should be prepared to undergo misery and nationalist papers should spring up in every corner. . . The just war to be begun by the *Desabhaktan* hereafter will be a mighty one, which requires the help of many, devoted to God, the king and the country. . .

66. In its leader under this heading the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd February, observes:—The bureaucrats are ruling India as they like and have begun to oppress the Indians who want a responsible form of government. On this account differences crop up between them and the people. The popular leaders wage a constitutional war with words, while the bureaucrats, without putting an end to this war by just means, resort to cruel repressive laws such as the Arms Act, the Press Act and the Defence of India Act. While repressive measures press the people on one side, the soul force of patriotism will be emanating on the other. The war now wages between the repressive force of the bureaucrats and the soul-force of the patriots. We do not know which of these will triumph in the end. The patriots should develop their soul-force to put down the actions of the bureaucrats supporting the Rowlatt Bills. Unceasing constitutional war should continue until the mischief of the bureaucratic administration goes down and responsible Government grows strong in India. Patriots! The bureaucrats are supporting the Rowlatt Bills. What are you going to do? Are you going to stop with mere words, or are you going to agitate within constitutional limits? The latter course will get you victory.

Unceasing war.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

67. Referring to the observation of the *Madras Mail* that, if there were no sedition in India during the last two or three years, there would have been no need to pass the Defence of India Act, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd February, remarks:—As a rule all innocent acts appear to be guilty ones to the Government of India. Whose fault is this? The Defence of India Act was enacted solely with the object of preventing the Germans and other enemies from coming to India and from any of their movements spreading here. But the bureaucrats have applied the Act as they liked. Who is responsible for this?

The *Madras Mail* and repressive measures.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

68. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th February, contains the following observations among others:—It is not our point to speak ill of the foreigners who do not care for the interests of India. What to call those Indians who work with them to the detriment of their own country? They should be classed only as traitors to the country. That traitorous party has originated only in this Presidency, having for its main duty service at the feet of the bureaucracy. When we are told that that party has come forward to support the Rowlatt Bills, how are we to describe its treachery? Is there any sin worse than that of betraying the country for the sake of titles and wealth?

A traitorous party.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

69. Referring to the benefits that are likely to result from the enquiries of this Committee, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th February, observes:—From a perusal of the list of members, some appear to be new names and we have reason to doubt if these will be experienced in Indian matters. The views of H.H. the Agha Khan are antiquated ones. Lord Inchcape, a big railway capitalist, who has tasted the privileges of the India Office, is not likely to be in favour of effecting great changes. Professor Kaith is the only member who can make known his individual opinion easily We need not say much about the views of Babu Bupendra Nath Basu. It is, however, a matter for satisfaction that the Marquis of Crew, who, while Secretary of State for India, has had a good knowledge of the condition of India, has been chosen to be the President of the Committee Though he is in favour of Home Rule being granted to India, what can he do singly?

The India Council Committee.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

70. Referring to the news that the power of supervising the administration of Mesopotamia and other countries will be given to India and questioning whether by 'India' is meant the people of India or the Government of India which, unlike as in other countries, is not identical with the people but is a body representative of the British Government, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 4th February, remarks that giving India power of supervision over the administration of other countries after first recognizing her status and granting her self-government will be in conformity with her condition, the assurance of the British Government and the object of the war, that unless self-determination is granted to India simultaneously with other

India's position in the world.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

countries in the world and India is thereby made inattractive to other nations, any number of Leagues of Nations will not secure peace in the world and that what India wants is not the power of supervision over Mesopotamia but the status of controlling Mesopotamia and other countries.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

A secret meeting.

71. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 29th January, gives a brief summary of the proceedings of a secret meeting for discussing the reforms said to have been held at the houseof Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar, in which the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma is reported to have, in contravention to the view expressed by him in the Delhi Congress and the Andhra Conference, proposed that the reforms of Mr. Montagu must be accepted as they stand as otherwise his scheme may fall through and we may be deprived of even what has been promised to us.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

The Indian Civil Service officers.

72. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th January, publishes in Telugu the letter of Mr. Galletti, the Collector of Chittoor, criticising the memorial of the Indian Civil Service Association.

DESAMATA, Rajahmundry, 8th Jan. 1919.

The National Congress.

73. With reference to the Delhi Congress, the *Desamata*, of the 8th January, received on the 24th, observes:— . . . It appears that the Government issued an order prohibiting the procession of the President. Such a wonderful order has never been issued in the last thirty-three years since the beginning of the Congress. . . We do not know what strong reasons there were in the view of the Government for prohibiting at Delhi a procession which they had permitted till then? Could it be that they regarded Pandit Malavya as a seditionist? It is no exaggeration to say that a more respected and loyal citizen it is not possible to find in the whole of India. The Government also know it. . . Nothing can be more foolish than to think even in a dream that in a procession conducted by such gentlemen there would be any room for apprehending danger. The prohibition of the procession by the Government in this manner will only raise the value of the Congress a thousandfold in the opinion of the public instead of lowering it. . . A resolution has been brought forward, asking for complete autonomy in the Governments of provinces such as Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. It has been accepted by the majority. . . The grounds advanced by the movers of this resolution, that it has been necessitated by the changes which have come over the country during the last three months, and that those changes show the expediency of making such claims, are sound. . .

DESAMATA, Rajahmundry, 15th & 22nd Jan. 1919.

The thirty-third Indian National Congress.

The *Desamata*, of the 15th and 22nd January, publishes fully in Telugu the speech of the President of the Delhi Congress, part of which appeared in its last issue.

DESAMATA, Rajahmundry, 8th Jan. 1919.

The Delhi Congress.

74. The *Desamata*, of the 8th January, publishes in Telugu a portion of the speech of the President of the Delhi Congress.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

Last week.

75. The *Andhrapatrika* weekly of the 22nd January, writes under this heading:—. . . People want at heart peace and happiness, but in practice they are naturally engulfed in competition. The great European war has shown that the selfishness of big nations is chiefly responsible for this state of affairs. All politicians have unanimously declared the destruction of this selfishness of big nations and the protection of the rights of all nations as the objects of the war. . . When we consider the constitution and members of the Peace Conference, the prominence of white races will be evident. . . In thirty years Japan could become a first-rate power. But the vast continent of India, the home of infinite resources, with her 330 millions of people could not get the status of even small States. . . The Indian representatives at the Peace Conference appointed by the Government have not the necessary ability and courage to urge there the claims of the Indians. . . Physical force and financial power have been the two main causes for the oppression of people in the world. Statesmen are glad that the war which has come to an end has destroyed militarism and established democracy. But what

the war has destroyed is German militarism and not the principle of brute force itself. The Powers that have met at the Peace Conference are trying to prevent the expansion of the enemy countries, by means of brute force and not by the power of right. When stronger nations are obstructing the growth of weaker ones, the fire of war cannot cool down. . . The social revolution which is spreading in Europe makes it clear that the very fundamental principles on which the social structure has been based in the West have to be modified. The strikes of labourers in the Bombay mills and of one lakh of workers in the ship-building docks also point to the same truth. . . There are signs of a social revolution even in Britain, as can be seen from the aggression of Sinn Feiners, the labour-strikes, the desire of soldiers for demobilisation and the declaration of freedom by labour leaders. . . The whole Anglo-Indian community in India is hostile to the grant of political reforms to India. The Anglo-Indian merchants, the Anglo-Indian papers and the Anglo-Indian civilians in the country are manifesting a reactionary attitude. . . The grant of high offices does not solve the problem of India; it will have to be solved by the principles of self-determination and freedom which are now agitating the world. Unless the British Government and the people of India understand this secret and work for the attainment of that end, India and the Indian nation cannot derive any benefit nor command any respect.

76. The issues of the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th and 28th January, publish the speech of the President of the Gōdāvari District Co-operative Conference, held at Amālapuram, which contains occasional remarks such as:—It is not just that the Government which derives a large return over the capital outlay on irrigation works should take advantage of the absence of competition like ordinary merchants, and increase water-rate as it pleases.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th & 28th Jan. 1919.

Gōdāvari District Co-operative Conference.

77. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th January, writes:— . . . The *Madras Mail* wrote yesterday that no paper conducted with decency and self-respect could have any ground to be afraid of the Rowlatt Bills. Whatever repressive laws may come into force, the Anglo-Indian papers know full well that they enjoy perfect immunity from them. . . The use of strong medicines in the absence of serious diseases will undoubtedly spoil health and create trouble; nor is it strong medicines that will invariably be useful in curing troublesome complaints. Modern medical men say that in many such cases simple antidotes will do very well. . Nobody objects to the punishment of an offender. But it is punishment without trial and on mere suspicion that pains everybody. The new Bills do away with the authority of law courts and afford room for the exercise of unbridled power by the Police. It seems that the Rowlatt Committee has found the Police to be quite above reproach till now. But this finding of the committee fails to be convincing, as it conducted its inquiry in secret and in disregard of the principles of legal procedure. It has been pointed out by some gentlemen that the Viceroy's Council is not authorized to pass these Bills. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

'No more fear'.

78. In its leader under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 26th January, writes:—. . . To add to these difficulties, the Indian Civil Service Association has come into being. They are rulers as well as opponents This is the unspeakable pity of it. All the efforts of the people of India to realize their ideals will appear to the authorities as anarchical methods. . . The Indian Civil Service Association and its memorial tell us plainly that the authorities are hostile to our union and to the realization of our ideals. . . Almost all Indian papers have condemned the action of the Indian Civil Service Association. The arbitrary power so natural to this service becomes, therefore, apparent. . . A new repressive policy, hitherto unknown in India, is about to come into existence. From the advice given by some of our countrymen after the advent of the Rowlatt Committee Report, it is clear that coercion is likely to become stronger, if the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme is not accepted. Mr. Bannerjea's speech at the Law College supports this conclusion. It has become the habit of the Criminal Intelligence Department to let free Anglo-Indian papers, however strong may be their language

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 26th Jan. 1919.

'Houses on fire'.

and to find fault with the Indian papers, however cautiously they may write. To serve the country of one's birth and to desire one's birth-right are looked upon as sedition. Two of the three delegates nominated to the peace conference are still here. The Reform Committees have finished their inquiry at Madras and have gone to Bombay. Their proceedings were all secret. There cannot be a graver crisis for the Indian ideals than this. . .

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 26th Jan. 1919.

Village officers.

79. Under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 26th January, writes:—G.O. No. 430, dated 5th October 1918, proposing some amendments to the hereditary rights of village officers is greatly agitating them. We do not know in what manner the hereditary right of these village officers of all things in the world has hampered the administration of the country. Every village officer is protesting against the proposed amendments. Numerous meetings, memorials and deputations are being got up for the purpose. Even the day fixed for receiving representations on the subject has been postponed to the 30th April. . .

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

The village officers.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th January, publishes a communication, from the pen of a correspondent, about the Bill of the local Government making certain changes in the succession to village offices, in the course of which the following observations occur among others:—This Bill seems to aim at rooting out the right of succession by the rule of primogeniture and, by gradually curtailing the right of hereditary succession too, reducing this office to the level of other offices. The village officers may not raise their voice against this, for they do not deem the salaries they receive as a source of living and have to incur much loss by holding these offices. The fact that the minority of the heir of the last holder of the office is also one of the disabilities operating against his succession, makes it clear that the right of succession by heredity exists only in name and that the will of the appointing authority is the main factor. It cannot be denied that the *monigars* have to spend from their own pockets to make it convenient for the subordinate officials visiting the villages and that they are rarely able to recoup the cost of supplying materials to the officials of different departments passing through their villages. The only thing that makes up for all these hardships is the prestige of heredity attaching to the office. The qualifying test for the post of monigar is so easy that any one may pass it and succeed in getting the place in competition with the richest and most influential landholder in a village. But as far as a village office is concerned, it is enough to see if an applicant belongs to a family which had held this post and can conduct the administration efficiently. Even one who cannot sign his name may prove to be an efficient monigar. But in these days when education has spread, there will be very few illiterate people. The settlement of disputes constantly occurring in a village requires tact and experience, which can be acquired only by heredity. If the principle of heredity is dispensed with, the incumbents of this post may begin to exercise their powers autocratically and this may lead to a disruption of the village administration. As it is, the authorities have the power of appointing any one they like in the place of a monigar going on leave, if they are not satisfied with his nominee. By the exercise of this very power, the authorities can regulate the village administration, without curtailing the right of heredity, which will reduce the morale of the applicants to this post.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

This article is continued in the *Swadesamitran* of the 29th January in which the correspondent takes exception to the provision in the Bill transferring certain powers now exercised only by Divisional officers to Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars on the same grounds that are adduced in an article about this Bill in the *Hindu Nesan* of the 13th idem abstracted in paragraph 81 of Report No. 4 of 1919.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

Village officers.

A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd February, writes:—. . . The wretched condition of villages cannot improve, unless the hereditary right of these village officers who care so little for the well being of the village people is rooted out.

80. Referring to the release of political prisoners by the Bengal Government, the *Hitakariani*, of the 26th January, remarks:— . . . The kindness and the liberality shown by the Bengal Government in the matter of releasing innocent men are really laudable. Of the remaining 385 prisoners, many are, we hear, innocent and deserve release. The highmindedness of the Government will be all the more commendable, if they order the release of these men also after a just inquiry.

The release of political prisoners.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 26th Jan. 1919.

81. Under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 26th January, publishes in Telugu an appeal made to the Indian leaders of various schools by the London correspondent of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, which contains:—. . . That India should be given the right of self-determination is the only fact to be specially emphasised. . . Papers like the *Times* here are trying to object to the application of the principle of self-determination to India. It is not necessary to prove the futility of such fabricated arguments. These very papers are expressing themselves in favour of deciding the question of the African and other colonies on the principle of self-determination. . . We have to place before the Peace Conference through the Prime Minister as firmly as we can the view that the progress of India is only possible under a self-conceived scheme of reforms.

An appeal to the Indian leaders of different shades of opinion.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 26th Jan. 1919.

82. Under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 26th January, publishes in Telugu from the Ceylon *Daily News*, extracts from the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Ramanadhan on political reforms in the Ceylon Legislative Council, which contain:—. . . The Governors are adepts in appointing dumb non-official members to the council. . . Another point. The Government are also in the habit of concealing from non-official members information relating to administrative matters. . . The authorities have forgotten that we are also members of the council along with officials, and that we are their equals. Whenever they saw us, they used to keep us at a distance like contemptible men. . . There was no lack of smiles and shaking of hands, but in reality they began to treat us as out casts by denying information required by us for the proper discharge of our duty by the sovereign and by the people, and by not caring to have our advice or consent.

'Dumb Councillors.'

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 26th Jan. 1919.

83. With reference to the Declaration of Irish Independence by Sinn Feiners, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 25th January, observes: —Further, we doubt if our Home Rulers like their Irish Sinn Feiner brothers may not enter Delhi and proclaim the independence of India. Already some are fondly asking whether an act which has not been regarded as an offence in Ireland would be considered so in India. Some are drawing wonderful inferences that as Lord French has not reprimanded the Irish Sinn Feiners, Lord Chelmsford also will not reprimand our Home Rulers for doing a similar act. . .

The Irish Republic.

ANDHRAPRA[illegible]KASIKA, Madras, 25th Jan. 1919.

84. Regarding the desirability of having the Hon'ble Mr. Wood as the Director of Civil Supplies, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 30th January, writes under this heading:—. . . There are some rumours that on the strength of special permits, some merchants are exporting rice in larger quantities to other localities than those fixed by the Director of Civil Supplies. . . Since it is difficult to expect from others the experience of Mr. Wood in working out the scheme prepared by him, in view of the complications that may arise out of it, we submit that it would be but proper to have him as the Director of Civil Supplies for a few months more at least.

Food-stuffs.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 30th Jan. 1919.

The *Manorama*, of the 28th January, notes that the reduction of steamer freight on rice, from Rs. 50 to Rs. 35 per ton, will help to reduce the market price but wishes the Collector of Malabar to try and get also the railway freights on rice and other foodstuffs reduced to the original rates.

The food problem.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 28th Jan. 1919.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

85. A correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 1st February, writes under this heading :—. . . Instead of retaining this right and ruining the country by appointing illiterate and unprincipled men, it is better to set it aside and appoint good and educated people.

The hereditary right of village officers: a bane to the country.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

86. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th January, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the Fifth Kistna District Ryots' Conference which met at Bezwada on the 25th January.

The Fifth Kistna District Ryots' Conference.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

87. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st January, writes :— Speaking at Indian Ruling Chiefs' Conference at Delhi, the Maharaja of Gwalior said that there would be much loyalty and contentment in the whole country, if the Montagu Reforms were still further widened to suit the present conditions and introduced very soon. When responsible Ruling Chiefs themselves are for improving the Montagu Reforms, it will be seen that the wishes of the people in this respect are but just. The Maharaja referred to reforms and not to repressive laws as the surest means to promote loyalty, and we request the Government to note his remarks.

The Montagu Reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

88. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st February, writes :— . . The *Madras Mail* has cast all decency to winds in its condemnation of the national leaders. It wrote thus in its yesterday's issue : "If anybody wants meaningless raving, it is enough if he reads the criticisms of extremists on the Sedition Bills. . .".

Perverse abuse.

ANDHRAPATHIKA, Madura, 1st Feb. 1919.

89. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st February, gives in Telugu the remarks of the *Bombay Chronicle* regarding the constitution of the select committees appointed by Government for considering the Rowlatt Bills :— . . It is worth noting that such a leading member of the Council as the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya does not find a place on the select committees appointed by Government to consider the coercive Bills. . . His presence on the Industrial Commission went hard with the Simla bureaucracy. His conduct in other committees too was not liked by them."

The paper then remarks :—It is strange that not only Mr. Malaviya, but Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Sarma and Mr. Iyyangar even should not be on the committees.

An important defect.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 26th Jan. 1919.

90. The *Hitakarini*, of the 26th January, gives a Telugu version of the article contributed by Mr. Baptista, under this heading, to the *Herald*. The same article appears in *New India* of the 16th January.

What does India want ?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

91. Referring to the constitution of the Committee to inquire into the working of the India Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd February, remarks :—. . . Whatever be the recommendations of this Committee, the people of India will not be satisfied, unless the India Council is completely abolished and the Government of India is made responsible to them.

The new Inquiry Committee.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

92. Regarding the proportion of Brahmans and non-Brahmans in the Judicial Department, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 3rd February, writes in its leader :—Non-Brahmans are to be hardly seen in this department like stars during the day-time. . . This department is manned by Brahmans from top to bottom. We think that may be the reason for such an uncommon state of things. . . Though both Brahmans and non-Brahmans are equal in qualification, the former have come into prominence in the department through favouritism. We request the authorities in charge of this branch to note the above fact and do justice to educated non-Brahmans. . . We do not know whether the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ayling, the appointing authority is unable to get suitable non-Brahman educated men for the posts of District Munsifs and Subordinate Judges or whether he is not aware of the meagre representation of non-Brahmans in his department. The number of Brahmans being only 15 lakhs, the 4 million non-Brahmans in the Presidency are dissatisfied that the claims of their educated men are not respected in the Judicial Department to

The Judicial Department.

the extent to which their numerical strength warrants. It will, therefore, be the duty of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ayling and other Judges to remove this dissatisfaction. . .

Then, after complaining that all the District Munsifs and Subordinate Judges in the Kistna district are Brahmans, the paper gives an instance of Brahman favouritism in filling up an acting clerk's vacancy in a District Munsif's Court. The facts are briefly these: A District Munsif recommended an unqualified Brahman for an acting clerk's post. The District Judge, while returning the application of that Brahman candidate, forwarded the applications of two qualified non-Brahman candidates, one a Muhammadan and the other a Nayudu, with the direction that qualified men should be appointed. The District Munsif did not appoint either of the candidates whose applications were forwarded to him by the District Judge; but he selected a qualified Brahman candidate.

With reference to the above incident, the paper observes:—. . . You ask: Has the Kistna District Judge calmly passed over the matter? . . . We are sorry that even European Judges are also stooping to such unjust practices? . . . Even European Judges are treating such highhandedness with indifference. We say that the Government and the Judges of the High Court will do well to take proper notice of such irregularities, and reprimand the officers at fault. . .

93. Referring to the donation of Rs. 30,000 contributed by Mr. Tilak to the Labour Party in England to convert the *Herald* into a daily, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 1st February, observes:-- . . . In every country having a democratic form of government, the Labour Party is coming into power. Though such a result has not happened in England for some reasons, the present ministry is not likely to continue long. Fresh elections are inevitable next year at least, though not this year. Labour candidates are sure to predominate then, and there will be a Labour Ministry. If this does not come about, a revolution in England is inevitable. It may be said that it is our misfortune that the Labour Party should have failed to be triumphant for the present. . . When in the same British Empire, one party is suffering misery under the tyranny of capital while another, under the dominance of a bureaucracy, it is but natural that both should join hands and try to get at the pinnacle of freedom. It is doubtful how far the movement of Indian self-government will succeed under the present Unionist Government in England, which is opposed to liberty. . .

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 1st Feb. 1919.

The practical wisdom of Mr. Tilak.

94. Reviewing Sir John Woodroffe's book, "Is India civilised?", a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 1st February, writes:— . . Sir John Woodroffe says: Any sensible Indian who has lived for a little while in Europe can understand the brutality, the drunkenness, the horrible adultery, the revolting deeds and the bad conduct of the people there and can silence any western by bearing testimony to the wretched condition of the west. But such a miserable condition has not yet befallen this country.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 1st Feb. 1919.

Is India civilised?

It seems that Mr. Elphinstone also wrote thus about India: Here, adultery is not so rampant as in the west. In this respect, India will teach a lesson to all the other countries. The westerners should be ashamed to look at the spotless character of Indians.

95. With reference to the rise of prices of foodstuffs, the *Sudarsini*, of the 15th January, writes in its leader under this heading:—All the strong hopes of the people that since the war has come to an end, prices of foodstuffs will go down and that there would be no more suffering for them, have been blighted, and prices are now rising higher than what they were during the war. . . Should the three hundred and thirty-three millions of men suffer for years together all sorts of troubles for want of food to eat and cloth to wear? O God! what kind of justice is this? It is proper if the European races who are going to benefit largely from the war suffer a little inconvenience just now; but why should those who have no hope and no advantage, suffer all this unbearable misery? . . When the people are restless under such a great famine, it is quite surprising that the

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 15th Jan. 1919.

The burning hunger.

Government should say that the conditions are not yet so dark as to require their action in accordance with the Famine Code. Already, the whole country is being greatly agitated. Should this continue for some time more, we fear that untoward conditions may arise. We request the Government who are the parents of the people to make arrangements without a moment's further delay for the supply of plenty of foodstuffs in every district and for the sale of cloth to the poor at special concession rates. . . Indians may or may not have self-government. It is enough if they can appease their burning hunger. . . The proposal of the Government to enhance taxes on land at the present juncture comes, like a rain of fire in the mid-summer. . . It does not become the political wisdom of such a liberal-minded Government as the British. To try to remove misery as far as possible is a sign of liberality. Will it not be cruelty to throw additional burden on these unfortunate people?

DINA BANDHU, Masulipatam, 10th Jan. 1919.

96. Under this heading, the *Dina Bandhu*, of the 10th January, which was received on the 24th January, writes:—. . .

The new year honours.

Of those who deserve to be honoured, Mr. P. Venkatarangayya who is spending his money so freely for the poor is one. It is very strange that among Government servants none of Mr. V. Bhogappayya Sastri, Mr. Appadurai Pillai and Mr. Muhammad Humayun Sahib who have done hard work in connexion with the war should not receive any honour. . . It seems that people are talking in different ways of the title of 'Rao Saheb' conferred on Mr. Srinivasaraghava Achari, the Sarishtadar of the Kistna District Court. But we believe that the Government will not honour any one without reason.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

97. With reference to the present Coalition Government in England, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th February, writes in its leader:— . . The *New Statesman* says. . . There may be fresh elections in 1920. The Labour Party will certainly come into power then, if it makes a diligent use of the opportunities before it.

The British Government: its present responsibilities.

The above lines were written a month ago Though they might appear then as conjectures only, it may be said that they will come out true from what has taken place since. The problems which the Government has now to face are so grave as to warrant such an assumption. . . One cannot but be struck with the doubt whether the Coalition Government can successfully deal with such questions as the Sinn Fein movement, the Labour unrest and the cry for complete independence for South Africa. In addition to these, it is necessary that the problems of India and Egypt should be solved at once. The responsibilities of the British Government are increasing day after day. The English people are not without the ability to solve such problems. If the present Government works in accordance with the wishes of the people, well and good. If not, there will be fresh elections soon and the Labour Party is sure to come to power then. . .

VILLAGE OFFICER, Tenali, 10th Jan. 1919.

98. The *Village Officer*, of the 10th January, gives the proceedings of the Bapatla taluk village officers' conference criticising the Village Offices Act Amendment Bill and the speech of the President thereof.

Bapatla village officers' conference.

The same paper gives the resolutions adopted by the Ellore taluk village officers' association criticising the said Bill.

VILLAGE OFFICER, Tenali, 10th and 25th Jan. 1919.

The issues of the *Village Officer*, of the 10th and the 25th January, give the criticism of some persons and some village officers' associations, on the Village Offices Act Amendment Bills.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th & 27th Jan. 1919.

The issues of the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th and the 27th January, publish the proceedings of the first Kistna district village officers' conference held at Bezwada and the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 3rd Feb. 1919.

99. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 3rd February, has the following in its news columns:—There is great excitement everywhere in India regarding the question of reforms. Some people are beginning to think why we too should not organise a republic. It is impossible to say what will happen in course of time.

India and the reforms.

100. Anent the punishment awarded to a Rangoon merchant for starting an unlawful combined lottery and *Kuri*, the *Manorama*, of the 28th January, urges the necessity for Government holding an enquiry immediately into similar *Kuris* now being carried on in various parts of the Presidency, so as to prevent unlawful schemes under which the poor are likely to suffer loss.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 28th Jan. 1919.

Lotteries and need for Government vigilance.

101. Reviewing the report on Co-operative Credit Societies for 1917–1918, the *Manorama*, of the 31st January, considers the progress made during the year to be 'very satisfactory', and it endorses the opinion of the Government that the active co-operation of non-official leaders in the establishment and maintenance of Co-operative Credit Societies is very necessary, and that if they undertake such valuable work it will be an important and lasting benefit to their brethren in this land.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 31st Jan. 1919.

Co-operation in the Madras Presidency.

102. A note in the *Manorama*, of the 31st January, refers to the statement made by a correspondent of the *Times of India* that 4,700,000 tons of various foodstuffs, 3,000,000 tons of wheat, etc., were sent to England from India during the last four years and that it is a great pity that at least in consideration of the heartiness with which India made the above contribution to England, the Government of India cannot find its way to place five or six unengaged ships for the transport of rice, etc., from Burma, to relieve the distress of the people of India consequent on the scarcity of food in India, and adds that this year's famine is unprecedented and it is specially to be regretted that the Government of India is not doing the needful to arrange for the supply of rice and such other matters.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 31st Jan. 1919.

The obligation of the Government of India regarding famine in India.

103. Referring to the withdrawal by the Government of Bombay of its prohibition to transport food grains from one district to another within the Province, the *Manorama*, of the 31st January, expresses its conviction that a similar withdrawal of prohibition in the Madras Presidency is likely to relieve the present situation and alleviate famine and distress. It commends the idea to the Government for consideration and necessary action.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 31st Jan. 1919.

Inter-district transport of food grains

104. *In an article calling upon the people of India in general and of Malabar in particular to praise, adore and imitate Doctor S. Subrahmanya Ayyar', the *Kerala Kesari*, of Chingom-Kanni 1097 M.E. (August—October 1918), pays him a glowing tribute for his selfless and courageous endeavours for the uplift of Mother India, and takes very strong exception to Mr. Montagu's 'disgraceful and unfounded' characterisation, in Parliament, of Mr. Ayyar's 'holy epistle' to President Wilson, as "disgraceful and unfounded."

KERALA KESARI, Ernakulam, Chingom-Kanni 1094 M.E. August—October 1918.

Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar's letter again.

105. In an article under the heading 'the origin of *Vande Mataram*, a correspondent of the *Kerala Kesari*, of Chingom-Kanni 1097 M.E. (August—October 1918) gives what he says is a compilation of the most reasonable portions of theories advanced by different people on the subject. He says:—It is a well-known fact that the East India Company, which came to India for establishing a match industry, used all sorts of devices, in and out of season, and thereby created splits among the Indian Princes, secured possession of the land and began to administer it. When Indians arose from their slumber what they actually saw was that the power of the English was firmly established in the land, and the land was filled with whitemen. The sons of India were extremely pained to contemplate the downfall of holy Mother India and consequently began to bestir themselves for the recovery of their lost glory. A Government conducted in accordance with the wishes of foreigners was not agreeable to anyone. But alas! What could be done! While we were sleeping they defrauded us and took everything under their control. . . During the administration of Warren Hastings a most terrible famine visited the northern parts of the country, but the administrators were not kind and sympathetic enough to make arrangements for the protection of the people.

KERALA KESARI, Ernakulam, Chingam-Kanni 1094 M.E. August—October 1918.

Vande Mataram.

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* Received on the 29th January 1919.

On seeing that the Government was indifferent to the peoples' safety, the hearts of the people were filled with a desire for revenge, and the calm tempered *sanyasis*, and other large-hearted people made themselves ready to drive the foreigners out of the land. Even the uneducated masses were touched by the agitation, and the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin shook with a tremor of vengeance. The *sanyasis* met in conclave and thought about plans to destroy the enemy. . . With *Vande Mataram* as their war cry, they began to loot the villages and kill all Europeans they came across. . . The Governor-General sent a large army against them, but it was impossible to defeat these irresistible people who were moved by the force of patriotism. They were also found to be great experts in carrying on a sort of gorilla warfare without giving the enemy an occasion for open fight. Wherever the trumpet sounded *Vande Mataram*, there, they were always victorious. . . The article concludes with a prayer to mother India to infuse the power of *Vande Mataram* in her children, who are striving with all their heart to restore to her freedom and prosperity.

MUKHBIR-I-DAKHAN, Madras, 22nd Jan. 1919.

India's Under Secretary.

106. The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 22nd January, referring to this subject, writes:—We should be grateful to the British Government for the treatment meted out to India. We are greatly indebted to the Hon'ble Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, and His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, for drawing up a reform scheme for India, which greatly surpasses Lord Morley's Reforms. Although the extremists have expressed their disapproval of the reforms, the Indian community unanimously declares that the Montford Scheme will gradually confer on India the dignity of self-government.

In spite of the change in the Government, the same Premier, the same Secretary of State for India and the same Viceroy continue to hold office and now the Premier has graciously been pleased to confer on Sir S. P. Sinha, that able son of India, the exalted position of Under Secretary of State for India. This is a fresh chapter opened in Indian politics in British History. No one ever dreamt that such a high position would ever be conferred on an Indian.

We hope that Mr. Sinha will assist the Secretary of State as far as possible in the matter of the Reform Scheme and in his present position prove an acquisition to the House of Lords.

Indian Muhammadans hope that Lord Sinha will take his cue from the Premier and laying aside all racial bias, and prejudice expouse the cause of Mussalmans as well as that of the other communities of India.

MUSHIR-I-DAKHAN, Hyderabad, 27th Jan. 1919.

Congratulations to Sir S. P. Sinha on his being raised to a Peerage.

107. The *Mushir-i-Dakhan*, of the 27th January, writes:—Sir S. P. Sinha, Under Secretary of State for India, is the first Indian to be raised to the Peerage. The people of India are unable to adequately express their appreciation of the honour conferred upon their compatriot.

The writer expresses sincere thanks to His Majesty the King-Emperor of India and in congratulating Lord Sinha prays that he may live long to enjoy the distinction and to be mindful of Mother India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st Jan. 1919.

Lord Sinha.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st January, publishes a contributton from Babu Bepin Chandra Pal to the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, in which, while welcoming the appointment of Lord Sinha as Under Secretary of State for India as a fulfilment of an assurance given in the Queen's Proclamation, he expresses the view that the principle of such appointments, which is based on the policy of Lord Morley in rallying the moderates to the side of the Government, will have a deleterious effect on public life in India.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

Mr. Tilak's suggestions.

108. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 28th January, referring to Mr. Tilak's suggestion that all India should elect a panel of twelve delegates, etc., observes:—Undoubtedly this is a sound proposal. Although the Peace Conference has to deal with mostly Islamic matters, yet no Muhammadan leader has been nominated. We again invite the attention of the Government to the fact that at least one Muhammadan leader is

necessary at the Peace Conference who will be able to explain matters and save the different communities and commissions from erring. When the Government kindly approves of the delegates of obscure communities, will it not appoint one from the renowned Muhammadan community.

109. The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 28th January, in a lengthy leader on this subject, writes:—The contribution (of a crore of rupees) demanded is undoubtedly a very large sum and difficult to realize in India especially in these hard times. It remains, however, to be seen whether immediate attention will be paid to His Excellency's request.

MUKHBIR-I-DAKHAN, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

His Excellency the Viceroy's appeal for a crore of rupees.

We will surely say that Indians should interest themselves in that behalf. Although we had to face hardships during the war, and people are still complaining of high prices, yet our condition calls for gratification when compared with that of the people of Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania and France, etc.

The Editor in conclusion asks: is it not incumbent on the public to discharge its duties by paying something out of its pocket in support of those through whose exertions we are now reaping satisfaction? We hope that the sons of the soil will pay immediate attention to the Viceroy's appeal and give tangible proof of their generosity and liberality.

III.—LEGISLATION.

110. With reference to the condemnation of the Rowlatt Bills by the *Leader*, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd February, observes:—Anglo-Indian papers have been inducing the Moderates to support the Rowlatt Bills. But that this attempt has not met with sufficient success so far is proved by the observations of the *Leader* on the subject. . . We suggest that it is the duty of the other Moderate papers to express their disapproval of the Rowlatt Bills, as the *Leader* has done.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

The Moderates and the Rowlatt Bills.

The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 27th January, remarks that these Bills would prove an obstacle to every work undertaken for the benefit of the public and observes:—Before drafting these Bills were the legal experts in India or England consulted on the matter? Such Bills are drafted by the official members of the Imperial Legislative Council as they like and passed into law with the help of their official colleagues and those non-officials who care for titles. These laws are not always worded clearly in the beginning, so that the Judges and lawyers find it possible to interpret the provisions thereof as they like. This itself shows how much confidence the Government have in the Indians. On the one side they praise the Indians saying that but for them the advance of the German hordes against Paris could not have been prevented and on the other they call the Indians seditionists and plead for the introduction of more stringent laws to deal with them than the existing ones. The fact that these Bills are the reward of the Indians for having sacrificed their all in the war should be communicated to the representatives of different countries assembled at the Peace Conference.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 27th Jan. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th January, refers in detail to the provisions of the second Bill and observes:—The provision that a mere notification by the Government that the scheduled offences prevail in any area will render Part I of the Bill applicable to that area is explained by saying that it is introduced only with the object of expediting trials in the interests of the public. The number of the scheduled offences in any particular area may slightly increase, owing to either high prices or some quarrel or other petty cause, and yet the Government can apply Part I of the Bill to it. The several safeguards which an accused has under the ordinary laws are affected much by this Bill, thus leading to the people losing their natural rights as subjects. Similarly the provisions in Part II will make it difficult for one to escape, even though he may be innocent, if he is suspected by the Government. The Police are the eyes and ears of the Government and the Police rely upon their informants. There is no appeal to the High Court against the order of the Government. Thus Part II of the second Bill deprives the people in an area notified by the Government of their right to prove

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

their innocence through a public trial in a Court of Law established by His Majesty. So the result of the provisions of this Bill is to render the ordinary law ineffective and grant absolute powers to the Government. The Government have these powers already under the Defence of India Act. But, as the people have been objecting to the application of this Act on ordinary occasions, this Bill authorises the Government to exercise at any time the same powers, after notifying in the Gazette that there is a likelihood of unrest or disturbance occurring in any area. It practically empowers the Government to take away the rights of the subjects by a stroke of the pen, relying on the Police. While things are taking this turn in India, popular rights are being strengthened in Europe. President Wilson stated in the Peace Conference that it was the people of the United States that were the masters of that Government and that the one object with which they entered into the war was to secure for each nation in the world the privilege of determining its own form of government. When such excellent principles are in the air in Europe, an attempt is made in India to deprive the people of rights enjoyed by them from time immemorial, and this makes one doubt whether India does not form part of the world. But it was as a part of the world that it rendered all possible assistance to the Allies in the war. While remarking that the causes which led to this war should be rooted out, Mr. Wilson mentioned among such causes the suppression of the smaller kingdoms by the larger ones, the attempt to govern an unwilling people by the force of arms and the efforts made by a handful of people to control the world and decide the fate of different races even as pawns in a game of chess. Let us hope that the officials will recognise the defects pointed out by Mr. Wilson, as far as they are concerned, and, without trying to shape the destinies of this big country as they like, conduct the administration according to the wishes of the people.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 28th January, has no faith in the argument advanced that the Government will not apply the provisions of those Bills often and, remarking that, once the bureaucracy is entrusted with the powers under these Bills, they will surely exercise them on the slightest possible pretext, instances the case of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act to prove how the assurances given by the Government of occasional and sympathetic application came to nothing and exhorts the people throughout the country to raise their voice against these Bills being passed into law.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th Jan. 1919.

In commenting again on these Bills, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th January, observes:—The bureaucrats are going to bring into force the new repressive measures. There is no doubt that the obstinate bureaucrats will in their (Indian Civil Service) Association consider the ways of applying these measures in the respective districts. While the whole world is steeped in the joy of liberty, it is nothing short of barbarism to subject India alone to different kinds of cruel laws. The Indians have now well understood the ways and tactics of the bureaucrats. Let them know that it will be impossible hereafter to govern the Indians by means of repression. . . If the Indian non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council oppose the Bills, then the bureaucrats might preach that these Bills would be used only against anarchists and would not affect those that agitate lawfully. The Indian representatives should not be duped by these enticing words. They have already had instances in which they were so duped. So we warn them that it is no longer wise for them to believe the assurances which may be given by the bureaucrats and risk their primary rights. . . Perhaps the Rowlatt Committee have made a recommendation in the report to give up the jury system, only after knowing that the trend of the public opinion is in favour of liberty! What a bold act it should be to try to bring in repressive measures setting at naught public opinion. If the Government really want to put down anarchists, where is the harm in having trial by the jury system? The bureaucrats in India attempt to bring everlasting disgrace on the Britishers who have won laurels in the righteous war in Europe and Asia. What a mad Act it is on the part of the authorities in wantonly discording public opinion and thinking of conducting the administration as they please? O bureaucrats! Do not hurt the feelings of loyal Indians. You think that by repressive measures you can quell unrest and discontent in India. This is a wrong notion. You propose to reward

the Indians with new repressive laws for their services during the war. We request you not to be ungrateful.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th January, reverts to this subject and observes:—The people have not been given even breathing time in this matter, for the Bills are to be introduced at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 6th instant. They should be glad that the Government have not chosen to suspend all rules regulating the conduct of business in the Council and get the Bills passed into law on the same day. No one could have discovered a better method of blocking the Home Rule propaganda work. While we longed to secure political powers, we are faced by the danger of losing even the existing paltry privileges. These Bills in effect frame a charge against all the 33 crores of people in India. If one commits an offence, no one would object to proper steps being taken to get him punished. But it is a novelty, unknown in any country, to deprive the people of a locality, a province, nay even throughout India, of the privileges to which they are legally entitled, merely on the presumption that a few are likely to commit some offences. If the words of Edmund Burke, that the natural rights of the human race are a Divine gift and that, if they are affected prejudicially by any action of the Government, such action should be dropped for that very reason, are true, the only proper course now will be to drop these Bills and not push them through the Council hastily. But the Government have decided not only to introduce them but also to refer them to a Select Committee. The constitution of this committee is again curious. First of all, it is not the Law Member but the Home Member that is in charge of these Bills. Similarly, care has been taken to avoid from the committee many who have a knowledge of law. The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri will be on it. He himself admitted at a meeting of the Council that he had not the required knowledge of law to opine on matters like this and yet the Government have attributed this admission to a sense of modesty on his part and decided to include him in the Select Committee, deeming him to be fully qualified to express an opinion on these Bills. Of the two representatives of this Presidency in the Imperial Council, the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma is well versed in law, as the Government are aware, while the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri has admitted his ignorance of law. Perhaps this is the very reason why the Government have decided to choose the latter in preference to the former for the committee! Similarly the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya is an emenient lawyer and he has sacrificed his life for the public welfare. Why has he not then been included in this committee? Perhaps his inclusion as a member of the Industries Commission has given a taste of him! The haste with which the Government are moving and the clever way in which they are forming the Select Committee clearly show that they are decided upon getting these Bills passed soon without much of change. So, unless the people throughout the country meet and alter the obstinacy of the Government by communicating their protests against these Bills, even the existing happiness of the Indian community will be curtailed.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

Reproducing in Tamil the comments of the *Bombay Chronicle* on these Bills, and accepting the same the *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th January, observes:—India has helped England at a critical juncture only with the idea of strengthening the relationship between her and England. While so, why do the bureaucrats in India attempt to spoil it? What profit would they derive if India is at variance with England? Are not the benefits conferred on India by the bureaucrats enough? Why should they think of doing her further evil? They have carried and are still carrying away the wealth and other things of India. Ah! The bureaucrats have too much of gratitude!!

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st January, again writes on this subject as follows:—If these Bills are passed into law, then the Indians, whether rich or poor, educated or uneducated, will be required to be under the Police rule. We need not say anything at length about this rule in India, which generally means tyranny. The Indians should therefore raise a hue and cry against these Bills being passed and this cry should reach the British public and His Majesty.

The same paper exhorts the Home Rule Leagues and Congress Committees to hold protest meetings in every village and communicate the resolutions to the

Viceroy, the Prime Minister and the President of the Peace Conference, and observing that a danger has now arisen in India to the liberty and property of man, remarks that, if the Rowlatt Bills are passed, India will be ever a country under bondage and slavery.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st January, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, a lengthy article on these Bills, in which the following observations occur among others:—The laws made here which either contravene the laws of God or refute them, are unjust and cruel ones Such laws will root out human society. The repressive measures which the Government now propose to introduce are not only unjust, but are also barbarous in character. It will be want of wisdom on the part of the authorities to subject all the people alike to a barbarous act. Brothers and sisters! Bear in mind that the whole Indian community will perish if the murderous Rowlatt Bills are passed. You should see that these Bills are not passed. I urge this on you as one of your duties.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919 & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Jan & 1st Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 31st January, and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st January and the 1st February, publish in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held in Madras on the 30th January 1919 to protest against the passing of these Bills.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 31st January, reiterates some of the arguments adduced by it already against these Bills and, echoing the views expressed about them at the public meeting held in Madras on the previous day and remarking that, while the British statesmen have been unstinting in their praises of the willing help rendered by India, they have permitted the introduction of repressive measures to any extent, adds:—It is the duty of the Government of India to prove the existence of a state of affairs which will justify their attempt to legislate on the lines recommended by the Rowlatt Committee. As they have not even tried to do this, it can be surely taken that such a condition has not arisen. A suggestion has been made at the public meeting yesterday that, if it is a fact that these Bills are introduced only in the interests of the public, their consideration may be postponed till the new Legislative Council is formed, seeing that the present Council does not represent the public and we learn a resolution to this effect will be moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel at the next meeting. Though the authorities may, in their present temperament, find it hard to accept this suggestion, it is clear from the views expressed at yesterday's meeting by people holding different political views that, unless the suggestion is acted upon, the Government will be creating an excitement among people who are now peaceful. The Bills were condemned by all classes of politicians yesterday and the Government should take the resolutions passed at the meeting to voice the public opinion of the country. Otherwise, let them add a preamble to the Bills to the effect: 'Whereas it is necessary to excite a peaceful people, it is hereby enacted as follows'.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

Referring to the proceedings of the protest meeting recently held in Madras and to a communication appearing in the *Hindu* from the pen of Mr. C. Rajapogala Achariyar of Salem, questioning the competency of the Government of India to enact a law of the nature of these Bills, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 31st January, comments as follows:—When once a doubt has arisen in the matter, if the Government of India should without clearing the doubt enact a strange piece of legislation like this, the result will be nothing but unrest. The desirability or otherwise of enacting such a law should be decided by the Parliament, because the public will have greater confidence in their decision than in that of the Council of the Government of India, as the official element predominates in the latter body and as it is the Executive Council of the Government of India that prepared these Bills. It is essential to know impartially whether the Imperial Legislative Council is empowered to pass these two Bills. In our opinion the Government of India do not seem to have such power. Even if it should be decided otherwise, we should represent to the British public that it is the prayer of the Indian people that the question of passing these Bills should be decided by the British Parliament as they involve many matters of vital importance.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st January, and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 1st February, publish in Tamil the resolutions passed at a meeting held at Salem, on the 29th January 1919 (?) protesting against these Bills.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919 & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

Adverting to the proceedings of the protest meeting held at Madras, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st February, remarks that the statement made by Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar at that meeting that the Imperial Legislative Council has no power to pass these Bills into law, and that the present Council is not a representative body of people but is only a tool in the hands of the Executive Government, is not unfounded, and observes:—Even the Government of India seem to have no power to pass these repressive laws. It is then highly unjust and improper for them to venture to bring into force such measures. While it is the duty of the Government to rule the country in such a way as to promote civilization and education, they are determined to act otherwise.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Feb. 1919.

The same paper again comments on these Bills in the following strain:—We are afraid that the excitement now caused by these Bills, may lead to any unrest when they are passed into law. Mr. Yakub Hasan expressed the same fear when he spoke in the protest meeting recently. The majority of the Indian politicians are anxious lest the British armies in India should have much work to do. . . The Government of India comprised of the bureaucrats have not published the Rowlatt Committee's report in full. They say that portions which would not be interesting to the public have been omitted. But how do they know that the public would read only certain parts and not others? The views and the acts of the Government of India are indeed wonderful! The Indian politicians ask what the purpose is of publishing the Rowlatt Committee Report immediately after the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals came out. It has been the custom for India to recieve reforms and repressive measures simultaneously. It is thought by wise men that the purpose of publishing the Rowlatt Committee Report just after the publication of the reform proposals is to repress the politicians who may agitate that the reforms are defective and demonstrate to the British public that, as there are anarchical schemes in India as stated in the Rowlatt Committee Report, granting too many reforms to her is undesirable. We do not correctly know what the motive of the Government of India is.

The Rowlatt Bills.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 3rd February, reverts to a consideration of these Bills and observes as follows among other things:—If the Defence of India Act, which is essentially a war measure, and the regulation of 1818, which was passed at a time when order had not been restored in the country, are not applied, the authorities can get one, whom they suspect, punished only after proving his guilt in a court of law. But if these Bills are passed into law, this principle will cease to be. It is stated in the Administration Report of the Government of India for last year that there was no unrest of any kind in the country, and that there was no political agitation whatever as far as the ordinary classes were concerned. Where is, then, the necessity for a piece of legislation, which affects the liberty of the people? None else but the bureaucracy can make it dangerous for the people, who exercise their liberty of speech and writing and, if the bureaucracy go to this length, who is to check them? The Parliament, which has this power legally, is far away, and so, if the people, who are affected by the administration here, are prevented from expressing their opinion, the bureaucracy will come to have absolute powers. Raja Ram Mohan Rai wrote to Lord Crawford in 1828 expressing his regret at the then Government frequently passing laws without consulting the people and ascertaining their feelings. Ninety years have since passed, but there has been no change in the trend of the Government. Laws are passed still without realising the feelings of the people and even when they are realised, without caring for them.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article in which the following observations find place:—Till now we were freely giving vent to our grievances. We are gagged hereafter. Russian laws are dancing in British India with gaping mouths and making us their victims. True patriots will have to succumb to the Rowlatt Bills. When

Mazzini, the celebrated Italian patriot, was walking along the street meditating on something while he was a boy, he was arrested by the Austrian authorities. When his father questioned the authorities as to the cause of his arrest, he was told in reply that in Italy youths were not permitted to walk about the streets meditatively. I apprehend whether such measures will be introduced in our sacred country too! This kind of Home Rule we do not want. Brethren, there is only one way of getting rid of this law. When this law comes into force, true patriots should silently walk to the prison house and call out: "Officers, open the doors. We will enter the prison now because we have to do it one day or other and why should we give you unnecessary trouble then"? If the whole of India acts in this manner, this law will be defeated.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 3rd February, publishes the proceedings of a public meeting held at Dindigul on the 1st idem to protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Bills, and this paper and the *Desabhaktan* in their issues of the 4th idem publish a summary of the proceedings of a similar meeting recently held at Tuticorin.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st January, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall to protest against the new Criminal Law Bills and summaries of the speeches delivered thereat. An English version of the same proceedings appears in the *Hindu* of the same date. With reference to the meeting, the *Patrika* observes:—A perusal of the proceedings of yesterday's meeting at the Gokhale Hall will show the feeling of indignation which the new Bills are arousing in the country. . . The new Government will be in a position to appreciate well the difficulties of the people. . . Anyhow, there is no doubt that the Bills will be passed into law by the Imperial Legislative Council. The people should not give up the matter on this ground. They should try to test the competency of the Government of India to enact such a law and see that the Parliament itself takes up these Bills for consideration. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th February, publishes in Telugu brief reports of the public meetings held at Calcutta, Nagpur Bezwada and Rajahmundry to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 31st Jan. 1919.

Excess Profits Duty Bill.

111. The *Dravidan*, of the 31st January, publishes in Tamil a long leader reproducing the sentiments contained in a leaderette in *Justice* of the 30th idem on this subject.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 3rd Feb. 1919.

The First Kistna District Village Officers' Conference.

112. Under this heading, *Andhraprakasika*, of the 3rd February, notes from the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee a passage containing:—. . . It will be no exaggeration to say that the very next day that the hereditary right is taken away, the whole Government from the village to the Imperial administration will fall into disrepute. There cannot, therefore, be a piece of greater shortsightedness than the attempt to destroy this right.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 8th Jan. 1919.

A criticism on the Village Officers Act Amendment Bill.

113. Under this heading, the *Desabhimani*, of the 8th January, reproduces from the second Telugu pamphlet published by the Guntūr District Association criticising the Hereditary Village Officers Act Amendment Bill, a portion, which contains:—. . . The provision sanctioning the appointment of a qualified man from the divided family of the permanent office holder, if one such cannot be found in the undivided family, violates the law of primogeniture, as laid down in the Hindu sastras. . . The amendment gives power to a Deputy Tahsildar to disqualify a man who, however, learned and respected, happens to be poor, if he does not like him for any reason. Then, it is very difficult to understand the meaning of such terms as "bringing the Government into contempt" and "the tranquility of the village" which are used in the disqualification relating to public peace. The result of all this would be, it may be said without doubt, that all those who fail to please the Deputy Tahsildar or superior officers and incur their displeasure will come under the above disqualifications. It can be said with certainty that the bureaucracy will disqualify all those sympathising with and working to some extent for the cause of the public. . .

To bring down these offices which are governed by the Hindu law of primogeniture to the level of ordinary posts filled up by Government from time to time is contrary to justice and political traditions, besides being a source of unbounded discontentment in the country.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 1st Feb. 1919.

The repressive policy of the Government of India.

114. Referring to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 1st February, writes under this heading:—The Government of India are determined to pass the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee into law. In the past, they gave the Morely Reforms with one hand and the Press Act with the other. While Mr. Montagu is busy in England in preparing the scheme of self-government for India, here the Government of India are trying to enact repressive laws which cut at the root of the fundamental rights of man. No amount of cries and protests of the people will avail. Once the Government have made up their mind, their will becomes law against any odds. When the people have no power of legislation, their cries will be but cries in wilderness. . . We are hailing the advent of self-government with acclamation. We are expressing our joy at the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as the Under Secretary for India in the House of Lords. But ropes are being prepared to stifle liberty to-morrow. Are these the days of freedom?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

The Ongole taluk village officers' conference.

115. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th February, publishes the proceedings of the Ongole taluk village officers' conference, and the resolution passed thereat.

DESABHIMANI, Guntūr, 29th Jan. 1919.

The Sedition Bills.

116. With reference to the new Sedition Bills, the *Desabhimani*, of the 29th January, writes:— . . . The secret sessions held by the Rowlatt Commissions are themselves proofs of the fact that the procedure adopted, and the information collected by them were alike unjust and illegal. . . They have suggested in their report many modifications to the present criminal law. Some of those modifications are meant to be temporary and some others to be permanent. All these proposed amendments are detrimental to the rights of the people in India. Such laws are not in force in any country. The Indian National Congress after discussing at length all these aspects of the matter, wholly condemned the report on sound reasons. It is highly regrettable that in these circumstances the Government in disregard of public opinion should try to introduce Bills at the next session of the Imperial Legislative Council with a view to passing into law the recommendations made in the report. . . It seems highly strange and perverse to us that such repressive measures which are a menace to the freedom of the loyal people of India who have fought so bravely in the war should be sought to be enacted for the purpose of punishing a few anarchists who are found to exist only in some corner. The new amendments upset many principles of law and are unknown in any other civilised country in the world. They violate the principle of English Law, which lays down that the accused should be presumed to be innocent, till his guilt is proved. Another strange provision of the new Bills denies the right of appeal to the convicted. The necessity for passing into law a Bill with many such harsh provisions has not been shown. To pass it after peace has been established in the country is unjust. . . Mr. Rajagopala Achari of Salem questions the power of the Government of India to enact such a law. It seems that the members of the Rowlatt Commission were themselves doubtful on this point. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 29th Jan. 1919.

The New Repressive Act.

117. Adverting to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andrapatrika*, weekly of the 29th January, writes in its leader under this heading:— . . . There is no wonder in the new repressive Act causing deep regret to all Indians and to all lovers of British Empire. . . Who can maintain that a necessity has arisen in the beginning of the year 1919, for these coercive measures which were found to be unnecessary at the time of passing the Indian Penal Code eighty years ago and at the time of the Great Indian Mutiny sixty years ago? It will be ridiculous to say that after eighty years of British Rule, India has become a hot bed of sedition which has been unknown to her all these years. Even admitting this to be true, it is the British

Government and not the people of India who are responsible for this spread of sedition. . . It is painful that the British authorities, merchants, and editors in India should fail to understand the secret of one of the most important lessons taught by the war, namely, that sedition and revolution which are so common in countries governed chiefly by coercive legislation are but very rarely met with in countries having free and independent forms of Government. . . Punishment of offenders by means of the strong provisions of the Penal Code already in force is a feature of all civilised governments. The substitution of the methods of a despotic government in place of the principles of civilised governments frustrates the very object of the British Government. . . It is against statesmanship to try to enact laws on the basis of the drastic recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission. . . Saying that the loyalty of the people checked the conspiracies of the revolutionaries, the commission has recommended repressive laws for the whole of India in order to punish a few offenders. . . On reading the new Bills from beginning to end, we are afraid that they will cut at the very root of personal freedom in India, should they become law. . . Since the members of the Rowlatt Commission are themselves doubtful of the competency of the Government of India to pass these Bills into law, it is of the utmost importance in the interests of India and the British Empire as well that legal experts should decide the point and prevent this fresh coercion. . .

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 31st Jan. 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Hindu Inter-marriage Bill.

118. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 31st January, in a leading article condemning the Hindu Inter-caste Marriage Bill, remarks:—'The Bill aims at too radical a piece of reform and is directly contrary to the ancient codes of law. The argument that marriage under the new measure is purely optional is as ridiculous as the opening of public houses in fresh localities and stating that they are meant only for persons who stand in need of them. The contention that the Bill aims at giving individual liberty of action becomes meaningless when it is remembered that individual likes and dislikes have perforce to be overlooked whenever they are at variance with matters of communal importance. Just as the authorities are wont to tell us when we demand self-government that reform should be gradual—though there is no precedent in history to show that a full measure of political reform granted all at once has led to any untoward results—social reform too should be gradual and may be commenced with the liberty of inter-marriage among the numerous sub-sects of the four principal castes. The orthodox sections of Hindu society at all the important cities have protested very strongly against the Bill and it is the duty of the orthodox classes including the heads of the various religious institutions and the priests in South Kanara as well to gauge the trend of current events and express their opposition to the Bill by means of resolutions at meetings duly communicated to His Excellency the Viceroy.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 31st Jan. 1919.

The Rowlatt Committee.

119. In an article criticising the Bills based on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 31st January, observes:—The provisions of the new law make it fully evident that the bureaucracy intends to put an end to all popular liberty of speech and writing. . . Even words, signs and expressions against the 'public servant', which means the bureaucracy are to be regarded as sedition. In short, this new measure expects that the people should silently put up with the doings of the bureaucracy without passing any comments whatsoever. We see before us a series of eclipses both here and in England even before the dawn of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. The monster shadow of the Rowlatt Committee is already darkening the horizon in the shape of a new law. We would request the authorities to give effect to just one suggestion which was made by the *Hindu*, namely, that the new Bill should be laid before the statesmen who meet at the Peace Conference; the Conference will then know in what manner the bureaucracy is going to reward poor India who has so dutifully helped the Imperial Government and their Allies in the great war.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 5th Feb. 1919.

The Moslem Marriage Registation Bill.

120. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 5th February, observes that the Moslems would do well to support the Moslem Marriage Registration Bill inasmuch as it merely seeks to give the parties the option of strengthening the

evidence in regard to marriage by a simple process of registration in addition to the customary rites, if necessary; and that the Bill would prove a great help in curtailing the expenses of marriage among the poor.

"The Black Bills."

121. Under the heading 'The Black Bills,' the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 3rd February, writes as follows in English :—The series of public meetings held from the Himalayas to the Cape protesting against the passing of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bills on the harsh recommendations of the Rowlatt Report is a clear testimony of the unpopularity of the measure the authorities seem bent upon adding to the Statute Book. . . In these days of advance and progress of democratic institutions, when the Government of Great Britain is desirous of improving the reciprocal relation between the Governors and the governed, it is idle to think that in the teeth of so much opposition and public discontent, they will pass the measure now on the legislative anvil. We refuse to believe it as being more undiplomatic than unstatesmanlike.

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 3rd Feb. 1919.

The Municipal Bill and Muhammadans.

122. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 27th January, referring to Mr. Yakub Hasan's Minute of Dissent on the Select Committee's report regarding the Madras Municipal Bill, writes :—As the matter is at present before the Government, it is incumbent on the Muhammadans to repeatedly draw the attention of the authorities to the question and to appeal for the grant of our rights. We, too, have the right to a share in the management of municipal affairs, but we have been overwhelmed by the numerical superiority of the Hindus. If the Government were to draw a distinction between the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities, each would enjoy the right of electing its own commissioner.

The Editor advises the Muhammadans of Madras to convene a general meeting and to invite the attention of the Government to the fact that it is necessary to take such steps as will secure our separate rights, and to point out that unless we are given the right of separate election we can derive no advantage from the advancement or the expansion of the Empire.

We hope His Excellency Lord Pentland's Government will deal justly with the appeal of the Muhammadans.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 27th Jan. 1919.

IV.—NATIVE STATES.

A declaration by His Excellency the Viceroy on self-government.

123. The *Mushir-i-Dakhan*, of the 27th January, says:—In November last when placing the young Maharaja of Bharatpur on the Masnad, His Excellency the Viceroy made an important and statesmanlike speech, in the course of which he observed :—

"In Europe self-government is being established in lieu of autocratic rule. The Government of India decided that the people of India should have a fair share in the administration of their country Native States should also infuse into their governments the spirit of freedom and self-government; for, without it, the interests of peoples cannot be safeguarded from the influence of autocracy."

At a time when the Reform Scheme is under discussion, His Excellency's declaration is very encouraging and shows that the Viceroy supports and favours the idea that responsible government should be introduced in British India and in Indian States. At the same time he is opposed to interference by the Imperial Government in the internal affairs of the States.

This pronouncement in effect instructs the Indian States where there are no Local Funds or Corporation Boards to establish such institutions as expeditiously as possible with a view to their affording the necessary training in the principles of self-government.

MUSHIR-I-DAKHAN, Hyderabad, 27th Jan. 1919.

ERRATA.

Report No. 4.

Page 101, paragraph 9, line 24, *insert* 'the' *before* 'girl'.
" 105 " 18 " 17, *substitute* 'unfriendly' *for* 'friendly'.
" 105 " 18 " 20, *substitute* 'given' *for* 'gave'.

Report No. 4—cont.

Page 105 Paragraph 18 line 23, *omit* 'has' *before* 'fought'.
" 105 " 18 " 28, *omit* 'and' *before* 'what'.
" 105 " 18 " 50, *insert* 'a' *after* 'have'.
" 105 " 18 " 53, *substitute* 'Khalifas' *for* 'Khalifs'.
" 106 " 18 " 37, *substitute* 'severed' *for* 'serious'.
" 106 " 18 " 48, *insert* 'would' *after* 'world'.
" 107 " 18 " 7, *substitute* 'leave' *for* 'have'.
" 107 " 19 " 26, *insert* 'not' *after* 'does'.
" 107 " 19 " 51, *omit* 'is' *after* 'and'.
" 107 " 19 " 58, *insert* 'a' *after* 'made'.
" 108 " 19 " 8, *insert* 'the' *before* 'authority'.
" 112 " 28 " 13, *for* 'communities' *read* 'committees'.
" 133, line 15, *for* 'the Revenue Board' *read* 'to the Revenue Board'.

Report No. 5.

Page 150, paragraph 42, line 10, *for* 'single' *read* 'singly'.
" 153, paragraph 51, line 7, from the bottom *for* 'offsprings' *read* 'offspring'.
" 163 " 94 " 9, from the top *for* 'Westeners' *read* 'Westerners'.
" 165, line 39, *for* 'had' *read* 'add'.
" 166 " 40, *for* 'lotting' *read* 'letting'.
" 170 " 3, from the bottom *for* 'allegation' *read* 'allegations'.

Issued, 12th February 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 7 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 15th February 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*a*) *Police.*

1. The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 6th February, remarks:—"Speaking of the Walavanad case, we should very much like to hear what the police authorities have done with the inspector whose conduct in not producing an important piece of documentary evidence was severely criticised by the Sessions Judge. The public expected at least an indifferent inquiry and subsequent whitewashing, but nothing has, as yet, been heard. In Mr. Windle we have a conscientious, honest head of the department who, we know, is rough on slackers and questionable characters and we trust he will even now hold an inquiry."

The Walavanad dacoity case.

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 6th Feb. 1919.

2. In an article under the heading "Is it Executive interference", the *South Indian Mail*, of the 10th February, writes:—"A meeting of the district people's association was held on the 1st instant with a view to consider resolutions for protesting against the introduction of the Sedition Bills and preventing them from becoming law. The meeting was a private one and it was necessary that the discussion there should be open only to members. But owing to the presence of Mr. Ramachandra Ayyar, C.I.D. Sub-Inspector, the discussion could not go on as it was sure that the whole proceedings would become public. . . The question is, has the police any right to interfere in meetings which are strictly private? The Sub-Inspector was requested by Mr. M. Narayanaswami Ayyar to withdraw on the ground that the general body, at that stage, could not allow its proceedings to be interfered with by the executive. The Sub-Inspector said that he had orders to remain there and would not withdraw. . . The public opinion in this country is decidedly of opinion that deprivation of the most elementary rights of citizenship as in the present instance is injurious to the growth of the sense of constitutional agitation and the bureaucracy does not see that its interference in such an officious way is dangerous to the prolongation of good understanding between the rulers and the ruled. It is the height of madness in these days of readjustment to accentuate the difference and every care ought to be taken to realise that the representative of the executive takes a very serious responsibility in an attempt to tread under foot the right of a citizen to hold a private meeting. . . It is a humiliation to feel that even before the Rowlatt Bills become law, public life is begun to be threatened with degradation and extinction."

The Police and meetings.

South Indian Mail, Madura, 10th Feb. 1919.

(*d*) *Education.*

3. In an article under the heading "Missionary Insolence" in which reference is made to the action of the Rev. Johnstone of the C.M.S. College Hostel, Calcutta, in throwing an image of goddess *Saraswati* into a dust-bin, *New India*, of the 14th February, remarks:—"The foreign Missionary has all the vices of the foreign administrator and exploiter, and also something else which is more blighting than what the latter possess. Under the guise of religion, he exploits the young Igdian's self-respect, his love for his country, his religion, history and traditions. In other words, he effects a moral and spiritual bankruptcy which is infinitely worse than the material exploitation of the foreign merchant, planter or the miner. . . Wholesale and persistent calumny of Indians and their sacred institutions and the consequent decay of faith and morale in the young pupils is quite common. . . Only in India can these bigoted bullies take vulgar advantage of the peaceful and reverent dispositions of our boys. . . It is a pity that the country is helpless against unclean-minded people and that too foreigners, like the reverend gentleman in question."

Foreign Missionaries and Indian students.

New India, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

(*f*) *Land Revenue and Settlement.*

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 11th Feb. 1919.

Agrarian discontent in Malabar.

4. The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 11th February, has the following:—"The Ernad outbreak once again forcibly reminds us of the existence of agrarian discontent in Malabar. . . There is acute distress in the interior, paddy is held in reserve by certain jenmies and demands made to them by the poor for releasing the surplus stock have been treated with derision. . . We have been fighting shy of the agrarian problem for a very, very long time; the Government have let it alone the jenmies have cleverly, camouflaged it and the agrarian reformer cries in the wilderness. Poverty, which is at the root of every crime, cannot be removed from Malabar without a satisfactory settlement of the agrarian question, unless eviction, except for valid and reasonable reasons, is entirely stopped, and the cultivator given an incentive to improve his holding without fear of being driven away by a rival aided and abetted by his landlord. Give us the three F's—the three F's which Gladstone found so very effective in Ireland and almost put down agrarian crime and discontent—namely, fair rent, fixity of tenure and freedom of sale, is the cry that has gone forth, the cry we have heard since 1875. . . As we have repeatedly said, agrarian discontent is becoming keener and keener as days advance, and we fear that the principle of 'self-determination,' whatever that may mean, of which we hear so much, has caught the tenants of Malabar also."

(*k*) *General.*

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 4th Feb. 1919.

The kerosene oil situation.

5. The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 4th February, has the following:—"We deeply regret to have to note that the 'kerosene oil situation' in Calicut has become intolerable. We have off and on pointed out in these columns the remedies the public considers the best to deal with the chronic distemper, but the tendency so far on the part of the officials has been to let it alone or to issue ponderous platitudes in the shape of *communiqués*. These *communiquès* and pious exhortations have, however, fallen flat, and the result is that yesterday the price of a bottle of inferior oil was 12 annas. . . An earlier *communiqué* issued by the Local Government laid it down that permit-holders who sold oil above the rates fixed should be immediately arrested, taken before a first-class Magistrate, and convicted if the evidence was strong. . . We have, however, reason to believe that this direction of the Government is respected more in the breach than in observance. Nearly a week ago, a respectable citizen of Calicut complained against a permit-holder. Instead of arresting the man at once and inquiring into the case, the District Magistrate's office quietly sends on the complaint to the Tahsildar asking the latter functuary to report through the police authorities! That means it will take another two weeks before the matter is finally settled. This is a case of red tape with a vengeance, and we least expected that such an important case would be bound by red tape in the face of an explicit Government Order. Our inquiries have elicited the fact that Mr. Hall knows absolutely nothing of this complaint and that it was forwarded to the Tahsildar's circumlocution office by some taper or Tadpole in his office. We hope Mr. Hall, who is nothing if not strenuous and prompt, will hold a searching inquiry and deal properly with the party who is responsible for this violation of an explicit ruling of the Government. . . Knowing Mr. Hall's energy and shrewdness as we do, we have no doubt he will take the situation promptly in hand and deal mercilessly with profiteers, high or low, and their friends who stand behind the scenes."

Commonweal, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

Dr. M. A. Ansari's address and the Punjab Government.

6. The *Commonweal*, of week ending 7th February, writes:—"An outrageous insult has been levelled at the All-India Moslem League and Moslems in general by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. His Honour has declared forfeited to His Majesty all copies, both in English and vernacular, wherever found, of Dr. M. A. Ansari's address as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Moslem League Session at Delhi, and the reason for this high-handed action is that the address 'contains matter which is likely to incite acts of violence and disloyalty to the King-Emperor, and to sympathy with His Majesty's enemies,

to create feelings of hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects and to excite dissatisfaction towards the Government.' Is it possible to believe that in any other country in the world the address of a much respected and responsible public man of the position of Doctor Ansari to a constitutional body would be treated by the administration in this high-handed manner?"

7. In a leader under the heading 'The Great Surrender,' the *Hindu*, of the 8th February, observes:—"The bureaucrat has triumphed. If in the hour of his apotheosis we may introduce a jarring note, it would be merely to wonder at the completeness of his success. His bluff had not even the merit of verisimilitude: it was so palpably and unshamedly a bluff. Yet by holding a pistol at the head of the distinguished authors of the scheme—an ancient weapon more dangerous to the user than the opponent—he has routed the Viceroy and forced as abject a surrender as the records of Viceregal invertebracy could show. . . In other words His Excellency has offered the services such guarantees as would convert the scheme into a blatant caricature of the self-government that was promised to this country. That this is not straining the possibilities of the situation will, we think, become clear when the nature of these guarantees is considered. Judging from their extent and scope it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the whittling-down process has already begun and that the country will be sitting at a Barmecide's banquet by the time the scheme becomes a reality. . . In the circumstances we may be excused if we choose rather to commiserate the Viceroy on his predicament than to congratulate him, as he seems ingenuously to expect, on the grace with which he has rounded an awkward corner. . . The answer of the Viceroy, stripped of its somewhat superfluous verbiage, is in effect to ask them to continue to rule only consenting to a not very convincing camouflage as a concession to popular clamour. A public that does not share the Viceroy's robust faith in the service's beatific virtues may well be entitled to ask where it stands in this tender scene of reconciliation between him and the services. Had not a wider question been involved than that of discipline, the Viceroy may be felicitated on his airy grace in wriggling out of an awkward corner, a grace reminiscent, as Lord Rosebery once said, of a butterfly—with a pin through it. But the public has a right to protest if this feat of Viceregal acrobatics is performed at the cost of sacrificing a still further portion of the not very generous measure of reform proposed in the scheme."

The Viceroy and the services.

Hindu, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

8. *New India*, of the 11th February, states:—"It is curious that so little attention has been paid by the Indian Press to the apparent determination of the Government of India, presumably with the sanction of the Secretary of State, to perpetuate conscription for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Only a short time ago His Excellency the Viceroy declared at a meeting of the Indian Defence Force in Calcutta that the defence of this country must largely lie in the hands of the British, and that, therefore, it was necessary to continue the existence of a force which originally had been intended to last only during the War. . . On the other hand, the decision to continue conscription for Europeans and Anglo-Indians is not only additional evidence of the Government's unconquerable distrust of the Indian people, but shows a pernicious lack of appreciation of the very objects for which Great Britain has fought and conquered in the War now over. It is important to chronicle and to denounce such an attitude, so that overwhelming evidence may be accumulated as to the vital need for reform in the system by which this country is governed. It cannot too strongly be insisted that almost all important legislation undertaken since the War is highly retrograde, and, while the fight must necessarily centre mainly round the Rowlatt Bills, we must by no means lose sight of the spirit in which the decision has been taken to maintain an armed European and Anglo-Indian force for the ostensible purpose of defending a country which its inhabitants are presumed to be incompetent to protect. . . What we are concerned with is the deliberate insult to the Indian people which such legislation implies. At the present moment, India's prospects are undoubtedly the reverse of hopeful. It almost seems as if her great services during the War have not been thought worth

The Indian Defence Force.

New India, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

remembering, and that now that the Government is free from other preoccupations, a policy of severe repression is not regarded as inconsistent with Britain's debt to India."

Hindu, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

Lawyers and the Reforms Scheme.

9. The *Hindu*, of the 12th February, observes:—"We understand that, as a result of the gatherings held by some of the members of the legal profession in Madras to consider the present political situation, the following manifesto has been decided to be issued and it is being sent round for signature not only among the members of the legal profession but also among others. . . The manifesto is not only inconsistent with the resolutions passed at the Delhi Congress, but in some respects it is at variance with the resolutions adopted at the Bombay Special Congress. . . We do not desire to-day to go into a fuller discussion of the manifesto, but we must express our grave doubts as to the wisdom and expediency of issuing such manifestoes, accentuating points of difference among our public men, at a time when unity of action and solidarity of opinion are most essential."

Hindu, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme.

10. The *Hindu*, of the 12th February, says:—"Certain sapient politicians of the Junker school of thought have epitomised a volume of criticism of the scheme in the pregnant phrase: 'A Leap in the Dark'. . . Granting the absence of illumination it is at least possible to argue that the term 'leap' is a misnomer in what is at best a cautious and hesitating step forward, with more ample provision for speedy retracing than for a bold continuance of progress. . . It has been claimed by the authors of the report that their scheme offers the best, even the only, solution of the problem of introducing responsible Government. That scheme finds its real test in the manner in which it satisfies this pledge. Every other consideration apart, it is the duty of the Indian public to see that the trial is a fair one. The vastness of the Governor's powers under the scheme makes the chances of any real self-government precarious. The authors have talked eloquently of guarantees which, stripped of camouflage, would act in effect to fostering the evils they are ostensibly designed to prevent. . . The revolt of the services however has succeeded in coercing the Viceroy into further concessions to reaction, which acting upon on already attenuated measure of reform would have the effect of reducing the scheme to the hollowest of shams. . . It is not necessary at this stage to demonstrate how hostile the spirit of the services is to anything in the shape of reform. That has been made clear with brutal frankness in a recent document. They have definitely refused to give up their rights for merely to justify the 'faith within us'. It is clear, therefore, that the cordial co-operation which the authors expected from the services has been transmuted into active opposition. . . . It is the concessions in regard to the position of services and European commerce under the Indian ministers that we assert must prove fatal to success. In the first place European subordinates of the Indian ministers are to have the right of direct access to the Governor. . . A more absurd anomaly could hardly be conceived than that of investing a Governor with powers of final decision, of making a *faineant* minister a stalking-horse and handing the strings for working this puppet show to the bureaucracy. . . Again what about the position of the Governor? He must, it appears, be not merely an archangel but also consent to serve as the hewer of wood and drawer of water for the services. He must persuade obstreperous ministers into reason by influence and persuasion and tactful exercise of authority. . . When so many and heavy interests are confided to the Governor's care he would be more than human if he resists the chance of taking the line of least resistance. The services can be very nasty indeed if their privileges are threatened. European commerce has carried to the pitch of a fine art the accomplishment that consists in howling before one is hurt. In this scramble for the Governor's good graces it is hardly likely, even granting to him the best of wills in the world, that the people's representatives would have much chance. . . We are clearly of opinion that a new situation has been created in regard to reforms by this unedifying surrender and that that situation requires a searching canvass. The old shibboleths may as well be thrown on the scrap-heap and politicians cease to split hairs on whether the scheme is a distinct

advance or not. For unless the situation is met squarely and the process of whittling-down reversed there will be little cause left for either the champions or opponents of the scheme to worry about its fate."

Writing under the heading "the Indian Reforms" *New India*, of the 12th February, remarks:—"Yet what do we find? The highest dignitary in the land, the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor in this country, and one who had signed, along with the Secretary of State, the important document promising responsible Government, surrendering to this opposition and trying to placate the official and the merchant, and sacrificing the country in the bargain. New India, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

Strictly speaking the Viceroy ought to have adopted one of the two courses against the Bolshevism of the Indian Civil Service. Either he ought to have treated it with silent contempt, as unnoticed, or severely rebuked it for its mutiny. Instead, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford patted them on the back and told them that it was a mere toy that they were offering to Indians and so the Indian Civil Service need fear no diminution in their pay, privilege, and prestige. . . To make the picture complete, the Viceroy even hinted, in his usual polite and periphrastic way, that the ministers will be generally toadies. So we have here a fairly good idea of the "responsible Government" which we shall have.

The bureaucracy being thus appeased, the exploiters were then sought to be consoled. . . European business concerns, it would appear, will be immune from Provincial taxation. But are they then to have representation all the same, in the Provincial Councils? "No taxation only representation" new principle indeed, but quite in consonance with the "responsible Government" that is prepared for India! The pretence that the Indian Government will control such taxation and matters connected with European business concerns may be taken for what it is worth. . . The responsible Government for India therefore will be a perpetuation of the existing system all round, under a different name and in a more cumbrous manner. . . We do not blame Lord Chelmsford for this abject surrender to vested interests, by even going back on his own words. That is a matter between him and his conscience. By breaking the pledge he is but carrying on the traditions of Anglo-Indian statesmanship. But India must protest, and protest emphatically, against his Lordship's unjustifiable and unfair policy of compromising the interests of his trust, and lengthening her term of mortgage to foreigners."

11. The *Hindu*, of the 13th February, writes:—"The privilege of possessing the casting vote is one which ought to be exercised with the utmost discretion, and always on the side of amelioration in cases where the vote, which ends in a majority, concerns a large number of people or affects the poor. . . It was in the case of ryots unable to recoup the money spent by Government that the Hon'ble Mr. Siva Rao tried to intervene and failed, because of the Governor's casting vote. . . His Excellency's casting vote, decided the issue against the poverty-stricken ryot and exhibited a lack of sympathy which is lamentable in the head of the Government. 'He that hath pity on the poor lendeth unto the Lord,' but that kind of investment is apparently confined to the relief of troops smitten in the war. Poverty among the people, in thousands of cases is also a result of the war, but it is difficult to remember that in the case of ryots who, after all, are the basis of the public which pays the head of it a handsome salary." Hindu, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

His Excellency the Governor's casting vote.

III.—Legislation.

12. *New India*, of the 8th February, remarks:—"To-day we publish the full text of Sir William Vincent's speech made on the sad occasion—sad for the British Empire and for the British people whose fair names will be blackened by these Prussian measures—of introducing the Bills, based on the one-sided, partial and unreliable report of the Rowlatt Commission. . . We have no hesitation in saying that we look upon that speech as one of which any liberty-loving Britisher should be ashamed. But in the citadels of autocracy which are held by arch-bureaucrats, sense of liberty and freedom can hardly exist. . . No responsible Government has claimed such abnormal engines of oppression; New India, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

only irresponsible Government, like the present one, can desire it. If India is to get any form of responsible Government, it must first be freed of all coercive legislation, and it is ludicrous and absurd to say that non-official members who fight for responsible Government should vote for these Black Bills."

HINDU, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

The *Hindu*, of the 8th February, says:—"The Rowlatt Bills have been introduced and referred to a Select Committee in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the Indian non-official members of the Council. The Government has made up its mind to flout Indian opinion of all shades throughout the country. . . The capitulation of the Viceroy to the Civil Service and to the British mercantile interests which has been made clear in His Excellency's speech and the whittling down and emasculation of the Reform Scheme which is its natural result, give us the measure of the so-called responsible Government which we may expect. We hope the Indian public will now grasp the realities of the present situation and not flinch from taking all the needful steps to save the country from the perils with which it is now threatened."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

The following appears in *New India* of the 10th February:—"For the first time in the history of the Supreme Council did the non-officials vote solidly against a repressive measure. . . We hope the bureaucracy will have the good sense to consider what that means. The entire vote of the country, through its chosen representatives, is cast against the Government; and the speeches made to dissuade it from further proceeding with the measures are unequivocal and emphatic. So the Government knows, now at least, that if it goes further, the country is solidly opposed to it. The public can in no way be held responsible for the outcome. Whatever trouble comes, the bureaucracy will have courted it with open hands, and that against the verdict of the country. Perhaps it will argue that no trouble is likely. That is the despotic line of reasoning. To mention a sinister comparison, the Russian autocrats never thought that every exile to Siberia was steadily undermining their own position. . . And let the bureaucracy note that in the case of none of them was the national verdict so unanimously hostile. To-day the country is determined to see that the object of the bureaucracy as evidenced in these Black Bills is frustrated? Need we explain what will be the consequences? Perhaps during the next six months, the Government will find it necessary to introduce material law—not to put down any rebellion but to fight out the martial spirit. We do not think even that will be of any avail."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

New India, of the 11th February, says:—"Sir William Vincent is reported to have stated at the end of the debate on the Black Bills that it was the Government's intention that they should remain in force for three years after the declaration of peace. Our comment on this move is that we do not believe in the word of the bureaucrats, much less in their intentions. Their record of broken pledges is unique. The Indian public will look upon this as in the nature of an eye-wash, of which there are innumerable varieties in the shops of the Delhi-Simla quacks."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919

In the second of a series of articles on this subject Mrs. Annie Besant writes in *New India*, of the 12th February, as follows:—"The First Bill, which is, alas! Number 1 of 1919—the first gift of Britain to India in the year of victory—provides for the amendment of the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898. As regards the punishment of "Offences against the State" (Chapter VI, Indian Penal Code) the Indian Penal Code is already savage enough and shows out strongly the foreign character of the Government. No civilised State with a native Government would punish so severely offences so trivial as are therein contained. The changes proposed, permanent amendments of the law, make the Code yet more severe, and these are made immediately after India has poured out lavishly her blood and treasure for the ungrateful country that repays her with increasing severity of rule.

INDIAN PATRIOT, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

13. The *Indian Patriot*, of the 13th February, observes:—"In these ways the Government have completely set aside public opinion and have determined to proceed with the City Municipal Bill without the provisions ardently

The Government of Madras and the City Municipal Bill.

desired for by the Madras public. The Bill affects the interest of a large body of the population, and it ought to have been framed on the lines best acceptable to them. . . Flimsy and untenable arguments are advanced with a view to satisfy a few, while the many are disappointed. . . The Corporation is rendered ineffective and has no voice in determining the best course for its management and upkeep The public of Madras view the Bill with the keenest disappointment and dissatisfaction, and the strength of public feeling against the Bill is not to be disregarded. Opposition is keen and it is sure to manifest itself in diverse ways. Monster meetings will be held in the city to protest against the measure, and we hope that the public of Madras will lose no time in presenting an united opposition to the Bill. We would also suggest that the indifference on the part of the Government to respect public feeling should receive proper attention from the Viceroy and that His Excellency should be appealed to to exercise his veto and order for a reconsideration of the Bill by the Madras Government."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*d*) *Education.*

Swadesamitran, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

Progress of education.

14. Referring to the recommendations of the Educational Conference held at Ootacamund in March 1916, the *Swadesamitram*, of the 6th February, observes:— The Government slept over the matter for the last three years. Now and again there were interpellations in the Legislative Council which however failed to rouse their interest. . . They have after all issued quite a lifeless order regarding these recommendations. A perusal of this order shows clearly the real interest and sympathy the bureaucrats evince for the voiceless crores of people whose guardians they pose themselves to be. Though the Government have been readily promising a good deal for the improvement of education, they have not done anything in the matter practically. Our present system of administration allows this manner of dragging things along wearily. As long as vital questions concerning us are in the hands of a foreign bureaucracy who are in no way responsible to us, there is no room for us to expect proper redress. The conference recommended the levy of a uniform scale of fees in all elementary schools and a slight reduction therein. The Government were not in favour of any such reduction, as they apprehended loss to the extent of two lakhs of rupees which in their opinion would affect the measures calculated to improve elementary education. This only appears to be a quibble. Will not reduction of fees bring in a larger number of pupils? Will not that be in itself an incentive for the spread of elementary education?

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

Education and grants.

15. Referring to the views of the Government on the recommendations made by the Educational Conference presided over by the Director of Public Instruction in 1916, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th February, remarks:—. . . It is not proper that adequate help has not been provided for the depressed classes. The Government proposals do not seem to be encouraging to the cause of education.

Kistnapatrika, Masulipatam, 8th Feb. 1919.

The Government Girls' College.

16. Referring to the Government Second-grade College for Women at Masulipatam, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 8th February, observes:— . . . It is not proper to hand over to Christian ladies a college where the majority of students are Hindu women. Further, these Christian ladies come from the Tamil country and do not know Telugu. It is needless to say more. We hope that the Government will try to appoint Andhra Hindu women only as teachers in this college as early as possible.

Manorama, Calicut, 11th Feb. 1919.

Aided elementary schools.

17. A correspondent writing in the *Manorama*, of the 11th February, states that most of the aided elementary schools are worked very irregularly by the Managers who nominally keep up the schools only for earning the annual grant. The attendance of teachers and pupils is very meagre, and teaching, if any, is very inefficient. The correspondent suggests a reversion to the old result-grant-system as a solution to this problem, and invites the attention of the Educational authorities to the subject.

(*e*) *Local and Municipal.*

Desabhimani, Cuddalore, 1st Feb. 1919.

The appointment of special executive officers in local boards.

18. Referring to the suggestion of the Government to appoint special executive officers in district boards and such sub-district boards as deal with large areas, on which they had invited the opinion of presidents of district and taluk boards, the *Desabhimani*, of the 1st February, says in

English :—". . . It would be seen that except to a few official presidents and one or two non-officials the suggestion is not, on the whole, welcome. As we already remarked, the suggestion has raised some apprehensions in certain non-official minds. One president of taluk board. . . shrewdly suspects that the appointment has been based on the misconception that non-officials generally as a class are not well-acquainted with official methods of correspondence, that they are not punctual and regular in their correspondence and that they require some help to conduct such official work. Others suspect that it is a veiled obtrusion of the bureaucracy. This may be real or fancied. The rank of honorary workers count men of remarkable ability, steady and persistent endeavour, and devoted sincerity and patriotism. Any measure that is calculated to rouse their jealousy or injure their self-respect or affect their dignity and independence in the eyes of others, is certainly undesirable at the present stage of our public life and ought to be avoided by the Government. At the same time there is no doubt that the appointment—call him a special executive officer, or a dignified head clerk, or a paid vice-president—while giving relief to our elected non-official presidents who are to-day mainly drawn from a very busy section of Indian public life, will make for the efficiency of administration and will help towards maintaining a vigorous and healthy official discipline. The necessity of an office such as the one proposed in the memorandum, is sure to arise in the future, though not at present, when the work of our local boards is sure to increase. . ."

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 10th Feb. 1919.

Government and epidemics.

19. Referring to a letter published in the *Madras Mail* stating that the ravages of cholera in a village between Kavali and Udayagiri are so great that the people unable to arrange for the proper cremation or burial of the dead, throw the corpses near the tanks where they are eaten by wild animals and birds of prey, the *Sampad Abhudaya*, of the 10th February, observes :—Wise men agree that if a Government fails to afford relief to its subjects when they are in distress, that Government is unfit to exercise sovereignty over those subjects. The Government ought not to give room for such an accusation. They ought to make proper arrangements for providing medical relief and warding off the epidemic and escape all obloquy. The *Mail* says that the relief measures would require Rs. 50 while the taluk board would not pay more than Rs. 5. It behoves the Government to avoid blots on their reputation even if the relief measures should cost fifty lakhs. Else they will have committed suicide.

(*g*) *Forests.*

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

The Forest Administration Report.

20. Reviewing the Forest Administration Report for 1917–18, the *Andhrapartrika*, of the 11th February, remarks in its leader :— . . . The Government Forest Administration Report shows that the Forest Panchayats have worked well. If they are based on good foundations and entrusted with greater powers and responsibilities, the forest administration is sure to make a rapid progress.

(*j*) *Salt and Abkāri.*

Swadeshabhimani, Mangalore, 7th Feb. 1919.

Dearth of salt and epidemics.

21. Referring to a paper read by Sir L. Rogers at the Science Congress held at Bombay on the importance of salt in the treatment for cholera, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 7th February, writes :—When even such eminent western scientists as Sir Rogers admit the value of salt in warding off disease, it surely behoves the Government to enquire in what quantities the masses in India are able to get it. When salt is so valuable in curing cholera, it goes without saying that cholera will not break out at all if salt is normally used with food in sufficient quantities. Salt is said to be equally useful in the treatment for plague. India can only *hear* of the immense value of salt through scientists but not *know* it in practice since Government have prohibited the manufacture of salt at various centres which made it very cheap. We trust that Government will give due attention to the observations made by Sir Rogers.

(*k*) *General.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

An objectionable drama.

22. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 4th February, publishes an account of a public meeting held by the Muslim League at Nachchiyarkovil on the 2nd idem, when the following resolution among others is reported to have been passed:—This League requests the Government to forfeit the Tamil drama entitled "The Eye of Love" written by Mr. P. Sambanda Mudaliyar, B.A., B.L., inasmuch as it, contrary to the religious tenets of Muhammadans, contains a statement, as found in the *Koran*, that it is permissible to utter a falsehood in return for a thousand gold.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

The Reform Committees

23. Observing that the Government of Madras are said to have stated, in their evidence before these Committees that only the administration of Municipalities, the Registration Department, the Co-operative Credit Department and such others should be classed among the "transferred subjects", the *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th February, remarks:—Cannot even elementary education be classed as a "transferred subject"? Can we expect anything better from Lord Pentland's Government?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

Advice to the Dravidians.

24. A correspondent to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th February, reproduces in Tamil an extract from a notice said to have been issued by the Neo-Fabian Society on the voting Franchise in Madras, commenting adversely on the exercise by foreigners of certain privileges in India not enjoyed by the Indians, and makes the following observations among others:—O Dravidians, who cry out that the Brahmans will carry everything before them in case Home Rule is granted! Just consider what is stated in this notice. . . What enormous rights do the whites enjoy, who are not permanent residents of the country and who pay only low taxes! They may shoot us as if we were bears, stab us in jest and molest those in carriages occupied by *gosha* women, and for all this they have to be tried by European Judges with the help of the European jury. . . O Dravidians! Just consider a handful of Europeans monopolizing more than half the seats on the Legislative Councils, while 42 crores of Indians have not got even half the number. Why do you feel jealous of Brahmans being returned to these Councils? In what low condition are the whites keeping us? Without any feeling of shame, for all their interpellations these Brahmans receive the reply "that the Government are not prepared to answer". O Dravidians! Will you or any one else, except those who do not care much for self-respect, wish to become members of these Councils? Consider these as well as the other iniquities. Join the Home Rulers soon. Honour is more important to man than life. The poorest should have liberty and should cast away slavishness.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

The Madras Provincial Budget for 1919–20.

25. Referring to an increase of 16 lakhs of rupees in the budget provision for the Police department during the year 1919–20 over that of the previous year, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th February, observes:—The object of making this additional provision for the Police is not clear. We ask what need there is to increase the present Police force in each district. An annual expenditure of about a lakh of rupees is incurred on experts in ancient works, and on degree-holders in education and for certain other matters. It is not stated to whom grants are given under this head. It is apparent that the Government propose to incur additional expenditure under this head during the year 1919–20, but they have not made known for whom and in what way they propose to utilize this amount. We ask them if all the Indians who have made great progress in education are to be participators in this grant.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

Adverting to the speech of Sir Alexander Cardew in introducing this budget in which he has referred to the change of the date on which the budget is presented to the Council, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th February, observes:—To the best of our experience we do not think that the wishes of the people in regard to the receipts and charges of the Government will in any way be gratified by means of this change. If the Government are in earnest to fulfil the wishes of the public, the limitations and restrictions of their own making cannot be an impediment. Rules and regulations require that both the Imperial and Provincial Governments should not close their budgets before the end of March. Final figures are presented in the Imperial Council only at the end of March and in the

Provincial Councils only at the beginning of April, and any number of changes desired by the people can therefore be made during the interval. But the requests and entreaties made by the representative members at any time for such changes are thrown away by the bureaucrats for some reason or other. Unless this power is taken away from them, this serious defect cannot be rectified. So we cannot find any reason for Sir Alexander Cardew to expect that the slight change introduced this year will be much appreciated by the representative members. It will be found that, in spite of the failure of the rains and of the heavy prices, the Government revenues are steadily on the increase. We have often pointed out that it is in the nature of the system in vogue in the Madras Government to go on collecting increased taxes from the people and accumulate the savings on hand. It is usual to prepare the budget, making provision for a large expenditure out of the balance on hand at the beginning of the year. The same procedure has been adopted this year also. We will wait and see if at least next year the expenditure is fully incurred and the assurances of Sir Alexander Cardew are fulfilled. Land revenue is year after year showing an increase by 10 to 12 lakhs of rupees. But along with this, the abkari revenue also has increased considerably. If the Government should habituate themselves to get such a large revenue depending on the evil ways of the people, it is needless for us to say how far they can evince real sympathy with the endeavours of the people to curtail the spread of such an evil habit. There is no doubt that the provision of 37 lakhs of rupees for payment of war allowances to certain employees of Government will be recouped by the increase of revenue from taxes. Excepting this item, provision has been made in the budget only for matters required by the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats; while those in which the Indian officers and public are interested, have been treated with indifference as usual. The Madras Government do not look into any matter unless there is pressure from above. The Anglo-Indian officers in Madras exerted themselves a good deal to deem the appointment of an Indian Secretary to the Government to be a set-off for a District Collectorship for an Indian. They had, however, to yield after a delay of two or three years on receipt of orders from the higher authorities. Similarly a delay was made until very recently in the matter of the appointment of an Indian as a member of the Board of Revenue. In spite of the persistent efforts for the past ten years to afford relief to the hardworked district munsifs and sub-judges, notwithstanding the large income from stamps in connexion with legal proceedings nothing has been done till now. The resolution of Mr. Ranga Achariyar on this subject was disallowed by His Excellency. But a provision of Rs. 72,000 has been made for this purpose in the budget. No harm would have resulted if the resolution had been accepted and the details explained in the Council. In fine, all the trouble taken in the budget debate appears to be taken in vain.

The Madras Budget for 1919-20.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 11th Feb. 1919.

The *Manorama*, of the 11th February, approves of the increased allotments provided for education in the Budget for 1919-20, and is only anxious that the allotments should be properly spent. It considers it high time for the Government to attend to the necessity of increasing the pay of the subordinate Police establishment.

Doctor Nayar in the Legislative Council.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

26. Referring to the fact that Doctor Nayar and Mr. Molony have been appointed members of the Legislative Council in connexion with the discussions of the Madras City Municipal Bill, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th February, observes:—Mr. Ranga Achariyar is the representative of the Madras Corporation on the Legislative Council and the Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hasan, one of the members of the Corporation, is also on the Council. Both of them have long experience in the municipal administration of the City. Besides these every official member on the Council from the Hon'ble Sir Alexander Cardew downwards is well acquainted with this administration. While there are so many persons we fail to recognise the need to appoint Doctor Nayar as an expert. It is not our contention that he is disqualified for the work. But the only mystery is what special emergency necessitated his appointment. This Bill was first introduced when Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar was on the Executive Council. If there had been any need for experts, it should have existed then. For aught we

know, it appears that certain amendments made in the Bill by the Select Committee are not pleasing to the Government It may be that an attempt is made to reject these. The Government appointed Doctor Nayar probably with the idea of securing his support in this matter. The attitude of Doctor Nayar at the time of the consideration of the Bill will surely explain matters.'

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

The food situation.

27. Referring to the fact that the present famine in which rice and other foodstuffs sell at a very high price and kerosene oil is scarcely available, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th February, observes:—It is highly regrettable that the Government have not instituted proper inquiries into this matter. It is not known what the special officer appointed for the purpose in Madras is doing. The present situation only gives cause for apprehending that the prices might rise higher. The Government have only regulated the prices of a few articles but have not paid their attention to articles indispensable for life, chiefly the foodstuffs. While presenting the budget in the Legislative Council, Sir Alexander Cardew justified the grant of an allowance to Government servants on the ground of the rise in price of foodstuffs but he did not pause to find out the causes for this situation. Do the Government believe that the hardships of the public are at an end if an allowance is granted to Government employees? How much have they set apart for the relief of the poor while they have provided 20 lakhs of rupees for the Police? It is no fault to say that the Government are generally indifferent in regard to the poor people, though the Anglo-Indian papers are blabbing that it is only the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats that care for the ignorant masses. The Government are not in a mood to spend anything on behalf of the poor while they are ready to spend liberally on unnecessary matters. Whose sin is this due to?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

The food situation.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 10th February, reproduces in Tamil a letter written by Doctor Mehta of Rangoon suggesting the desirability of a further reduction being effected in the freight charged for the transport of rice from Burma, and observes:—It is Doctor Mehta's contention that it devolves on the Government to carry out his suggestion in the interests of the Indian public. None can easily deny the justification of his plea. He thinks that the profits accruing from shipping freights go to the British Government, and we trust that the authorities will not fail to pay heed to his suggestion in this connexion.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 10th February, writes on this subject as follows:—The prices of articles are indeed much higher now than what they were during the war. Besides, articles are not available in the market for the prices published in the Government Gazette. There are sufficient reasons for the prices of articles to be imported from other countries not going down. But why are the articles to be had locally increasing in prices every day? There is a talk among the people that these articles are purchased in the very places in which they are produced for being exported to other countries from there. If this complaint is true, the Government should attend to it promptly. The hardships of the people will in a way be mitigated if the Government issue strict orders that only articles, which may remain after meeting the demands of the country, should be exported.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

The meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council.

28. Observing that the Honourable Members of this Council have very often pointed out to the Government that inordinate expenditure is being incurred in this province on Survey and Settlement and referring to the statement in the administration report of this Presidency for the year 1917–18 that there has been a curtailment of expenditure on this item during the year and that the question of the feasibility of any further reduction is engaging the attention of the Government the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th February, says:—It is regrettable that, in such circumstances, there should be an increase of 70 per cent in the budget provision for the settlement parties, and that the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapathi Raju to curtail this expenditure by a lakh of rupees was opposed by the Government on plausible grounds. The Government are acting quite inconsistently in attempting to increase this expenditure.

Then the Hon'ble Mr. K. Sadasiva Bhat brought forward a resolution to grant war allowance to village officers and servants. Sir Alexander Cardew pointed out that he was personally aware of the hardships of village officers and the pitiable condition of village servants, but said that it would cost 50 lakhs of rupees a year if war allowance should be granted to them. He made several statements without recognising that this allowance was not to be given year after year. By their not being paid adequate salaries, village officers receive bribes and fleece the poor mirasidars. This the Government have failed to note. Sir Alexander argued that most of the village officers have lands and that they are not full-timed servants of Government, and assured that he would recommend to the Board of Revenue the cases of village officers having no lands and no other sources of income for some concessions under the darkhast rules. The Government have not understood their pitiable condition. We need not say that it is only with their co-operation and hard work that the Government are deriving great benefit. It is not therefore fair for our Government to disregard them. We warn beforehand that, in case discontent and unrest prevail among village officers and servants, the Government may have to suffer later on. It is essential, therefore, that the Board of Revenue should, without delay, bring into effect at least the recommendation of Sir Alexander Cardew. The expenditure on Police is increasing by leaps and bounds every year. It was only 16 lakhs in 1915 but became 136 lakhs in 1916. If the work of the Police is at least satisfactory, this heavy expenditure may be put up with. But this is not the case. Crimes are increasing in this Presidency and the harmony between the Police and the people is growing weaker. In such a condition the inordinate expenditure on the Police is unbearable.

Appreciating the conduct of the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar in having left the Council Chamber on the 5th February 1919 on the ground, as alleged in the paper, that he did not relish the action of the President, the *Desabhakatan*, of the 6th February, observes:—We are greatly pleased that he did so, quite in accordance with the true Indian nature. It is fresh in our memory that, when Lord Willingdon spoke disparagingly of the Home Rulers in the Bombay Legislative Council, Messrs. Horniman, Tilak and others stepped out of the Chamber. This will clearly show that non-official members will not be afraid of the defiant attitude of the bureaucrats. What were the other non-official members doing when Mr. Narasimha Ayyar left the Chamber? Did not the procedure of the President appear to be objectionable to them? DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

Adverting to the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao that a sum of Rs. 50,000 should be set apart for the establishment of boarding houses in select places in this Presidency for the benefit of students among the depressed classes, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th February, observes:—It is needless for us to point out how necessary it is to pass this resolution. In opposition to this, the bureaucrats urged many plausible arguments. Mr. Littlehailes was of opinion that it was not possible at present to act up to this resolution. We do not know when this will become possible. The Government came forward with pleasure to open boarding houses for European students while they show indifference in regard to the progress of the depressed classes. We say that this is neither fair nor just. DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 7th February, reproduces in Tamil the sentiments expressed in *Justice* of the 6th February under the heading "Resolutions." DRAVIDAN, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

The meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council.

Referring to the stress laid in the last speech of the Viceroy on the necessity of the Provincial Governments taking active steps in regard to the sanitation of the country and to the 'pertinacity' with which the Local Government declined to accept a resolution moved at the last meeting of the local Legislative Council that a grant of two lakhs of rupees should be made to the district boards for attending to village sanitation, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th February, says:—In former times, village sanitation was in an efficient condition and it was usual for the people in towns to move to villages periodically. But now the insanitary condition of the villages makes the people therein move to and settle in towns. We ask whether the Government are aware of this DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

situation? At present infectious diseases spread in villages also as in towns. It is revolting to see that the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar, an Indian well acquainted with the present insanitary condition of villages, came forward to oppose this resolution. It is the duty of the taluk and district boards to attend to village sanitation and these are careless in regard to that duty for want of funds. Till now, epidemics like cholera, plague and smallpox spread from towns to villages; but we apprehend that, hereafter, the villages will become the breeding centres of such diseases. It is pitiable that the Government do not come forward to render sufficient pecuniary aid to improve village sanitation in this twentieth century when the authorities are perfectly alive to the necessity of doing so.

The same paper also refers to the opposition of the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar to the resolution asking for a special grant for improving the experimental panchayats started in some places last year and adds:—Whose fault is it if these panchayats have failed to do satisfactory work? We have to ascribe it to the officials appointed to supervise their work. It will not do for the Government to ignore the village panchayats on some plausible excuse.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

The meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council.

Characterizing Doctor Nayar's taking his oath as a member of the Legislative Council and the withdrawal of the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar from the Council Chamber when the President declined to accept his proposal to adjourn the meeting, as dramatic, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 11th February, quotes precedents to support the action of the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar and remarks:—If non-official members are to leave the Council taking umbrage at the Government using the strength of their majority to discard the opinion of those who represent the public, such an event may occur at the close of the discussion on almost every resolution, as very few resolutions moved at this meeting in connexion with the budget were accepted by the Government. In the case of almost every resolution the Government succeeded in making out that they were in the right and the non-officials were wrong. But the ignorance betrayed by the Government members now and again was amazing. For example, in replying to the resolution suggesting the payment of war allowances to village servants Sir Alexander Cardew pointed out that karnams owned lands. It is true that village munsifs own lands and one or two karnams may have lands, but there is no basis for the statement that the karnams as a class own lands. In opposing the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao for making an additional provision of Rs. 75,000 to help deserving students to continue higher education, which they are at present unable to do for want of funds, the Director of Public Instruction was only finding fault with the wording of the resolution without paying any attention to the spirit of it, and the resolution was declared lost. How could it fare otherwise when all the non-official European members have made it a point always to vote on the side of the Government? Even the resolution to allot funds for the provision of boarding houses for students among the depressed classes was not accepted by the Government, though they recognized its importance. Such institutions have been established in Mysore and the Panchama boys are being attended to properly. Why cannot the same thing be done in British India? In fine, the characteristic feature of the proceedings of the Legislative Council is the rejection of most of the resolutions. If any resolution stands a chance of being carried, the Governor-President steps in to prevent it. This happened in the case of the Agricultural Pests and Diseases Bill. Lord Pentland is one experienced in English Parliamentary procedure which is based on the principle of popular representation and yet he used his official position in the Council to defeat the opinion of the people's representatives. So, until the popular voice comes to predominate in the Legislative Councils and the officials are prevented from having their own way, it is not possible for the people's representatives to change the administration.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

The nationalist papers.

29. Referring to the reply of Sir William Vincent to an interpellation in the Imperial Legislative Council as to the cause for the nationalist papers such as the *Hindu*, the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* and the *Bombay Chronicle* having been prohibited from entering

England, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 7th February, observes:—It appears that the Government finding themselves unable to offer a satisfactory explanation have toiled for a long time and given this reply, because they are obliged to give one. Did the military authorities begin to prohibit newspapers advocating Congress matters, without being told by anybody else? Do not the moderate papers such as the *Bengalee*, the *Leader* and the *Servant of India* write in detail on such matters? Perhaps the Germans were not moved so much by these papers! Will even the plea be urged that the Germans are more sympathetic with the nationalist papers than with the moderate ones? Then, will it be inappropriate, if it is said that the sympathies of the officials of the British Government are more with the moderate papers than with some of the nationalist papers? However it may be, we should take consolation in the fact that there is no room for such mischief hereafter.

30. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th February, observes:—It is a well-known fact that the Government of Madras do not do properly what they have to do. While so, it appears they are going to take over the management of the Royapetta hospital in their hands. While the Madras Corporation is satisfactorily administering it, where is the need for this step? Why should they allot three lakhs of rupees for a matter which is still under consideration in spite of the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr Siva Rao to the contrary? The bureaucrats have resolved to act as they please without in the least condescending to consult the wishes of the people's representatives in regard to matters of administration. Public money is thus squandered.

The Royapetta Hospital.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

31. Reproducing in Tamil extracts from the opening speech of His Excellency the Viceroy, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 7th February, observes among other things:—The speech is entirely disappointing. Many doubted whether the Government would not postpone the consideration of the Rowlatt Bills out of respect for public opinion. The speech of the Viceroy shows that the Government have no such intentions. Nor were any special reasons assigned in the speech to justify the enacting of such Bills at a time when reform proposals are being considered. It is quite patent from his observations about the great help and contributions rendered by India for the war, about the loyalty of the Indians and their peaceful nature, that these Bills are quite unnecessary and will lead to harm in the end. Then again let us consider what our Viceroy's views are about the reform proposals. He has evinced great anxiety about the condition of the members of the Civil Service and European merchants, and begun to offer consolations to them. It is an impossible task to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the people with a view to avoid displeasing the Civil servants. It is not statesmanship to give prominence to their rights while laying the foundation for establishing responsible government. Nobody should forget that the Civilians are only public servants who have come to India to serve on specified salaries subject to certain specified terms, and chiefly our Viceroy should not forget this. It is indeed surprising that he should in his speech express sympathy for the very Civilians who hold views quite opposite to his own. We fail to see how the Viceroy who thought of patting the Civilians so much, omitted to recognise any need to give them a note of warning for all their clamour. Is it not his duty to tell those Civilians who are agitating, that they should act according to the exigencies of the times? Judged from his speech, the scope of the coming reforms is not very much encouraging.

The meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

In commenting on this speech, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th February, observes:—While speaking about the officials coming from England to serve here, the Viceroy referred to all officials in general and not to the Indian Civil servants in particular. From this we infer that all of them are agitating out of apprehensions for the reform scheme. . . We do not blame the Viceroy for having spoken about the members of the Indian Civil Service in this strain. But how can they who are also Government servants take part in politics? Why has the Viceroy kept silent on this point?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

The meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council.

In commenting upon the Viceroy's speech, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th February, observes:—There is no doubt that Lord Chelmsford is an able statesman. But he is not quite steady. His tone savoured of Lord Curzon when he replied to a deputation about the Press Act soon after he landed in India and his opening speech at the Council meeting held during the internment of Mrs. Besant dispelled this view. But this speech of his shows that he wants to become Lord Curzon again. We would put Lord Chelmsford in mind of the consequences of the partition of Bengal made by Lord Curzon against the public will. His remarks about the Rowlatt Bills even after coming to know of all the protests against them cannot but provoke indignation. If the foreword itself is so severe, it can be easily imagined what the sequel will be. This speech makes it quite clear that he has not well understood the true condition of India. The bureaucratic rule, which is against British justice, can flourish and be permanent in India only if they often harp upon the existence of anarchism in India and pass repressive laws on that account. The Viceroy lays stress upon the unanimous nature of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee. Will persons of the type of Mr. Kumaraswami Sastriyar, devoid of political experience and sympathy with the public, have the mettle to write a dissenting minute? We very well know the capacity of the Indian members selected to serve on this committee. The Viceroy gives two reasons for his agreeing to the introduction of the Bills and they are the termination of the war and the anticipted speedy close of the Peace Conference. This shows that India is not governed with love. Perhaps the authorities thought that, on the close of the war and the Peace Conference, the Indians might raise an agitation for liberty and so wanted to enact these Bills! Perhaps they consider that, as the war has ended, they might go on treating India in any manner they choose. Will not war break out at any time in the world in future, and will not India's help be expected again? Lord Chelmsford considers it necessary to pass these Bills into law as a substitute for the Defence of India Act, which was safeguarding India's peace. When the latter Act was first introduced as a war measure, it was given out that it would cease to exist six months after the close of the war. Probably the meaning then was that in its place the Rowlatt Bills would become law. It is a great mistake for Lord Chelmsford to think that a coercive law will bring about peace in India. It is perhaps consistent with western civilization to bring in a worse law on the expiry of a bad one. The Viceroy seems to think that there is anarchism in India and that without a proper substitute for the Defence of India Act after its expiry it will become impossible for him to conduct the administration This needs no elaborate reply. We hold that it is the repressive measures that breed anarchism, which will be crushed only by love. Lord Chelmsford is afraid lest the spirit of anarchism which is disturbing the whole civilized world should affect India too. But there is vast difference between India and other countries. The people of other countries treat the ruler as an ordinary human being and make a puppet of him, while the Indians deem their king to be divine and worship him. Even if the bureaucrats bribe the Indians and teach them anarchism, the latter will never take to it. It is not just to do harm to loyalty in India on the strength of the false reports of C.I.D. officials, made for the purpose of eking out a livelihood.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

The meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Remarking that the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy with reference to the Rowlatt Bills, the actions of the members of the Indian Civil Service in opposition to the reform scheme, and the European commercial interests as affected by this scheme, is likely to cause discontent to the people, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 8th February, observes among other things:—The speech shows that all the protest meetings and oppositions against the enactment of the Rowlatt Bills were of no avail. The Civil Servants have been patted instead of being chastised for their declaring openly that they cannot agree in the views of the British Government as stated in the pronouncement of the 20th August 1917. If the representative members feel that their view is correct, and that it has been unnecessarily rejected, they have no other alternative than to secede from the Council following the example of the late Sir P. Mehta and leave the bureaucrats

to pass the Bills on their own responsibility. Public opinion is expressed only to acquaint the rulers, from time to time, with the wishes, hardships and grievances of the people, so that the administration may be conducted satisfactorily. What is to be done, if this fails to secure the desired object?

The *Dravidan*, of the 10th February, reproduces in Tamil the comments appearing in the *Justice*, of the 7th idem on the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy, chiefly expressing its disagreement with him in the matter of the extension of the term of office of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council and agreeing with him as to the desirability of the enactment of the Rowlatt Bills.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 10th February, comments as follows:—The Viceroy, without putting down the I.C.S. party by one word that it is unlawful to oppose the Government, chose to hear their illegitimate cry and gave them a consoling answer. Many questions arise from his speech. Has the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme been drafted to protect the interests of the Anglo-Indian merchants and the I.C.S. party? Or, has it been prepared with a view to grant India responsible government and liberty? Do the Government exist to satisfy the Indians or the Anglo-Indians? If the Viceroy is of opinion that India is governed with a view to satisfy the Indians, he would have respected the strong protests of the public against these Bills. If he accepts that the reform scheme has been drafted only as a preliminary to the grant of Home Rule to India, he would not have spoken evincing sympathy with the I.C.S. party and the Anglo-Indian merchants. From the assurance given by the British Government on the 20th August 1917, it follows that India will be governed for her own sake by the Indians. This, in its turn, leads to the conclusion that the influence of the I.C.S. party and the Anglo-Indian merchants will not be in the ascendant. But as the Viceroy is of opinion that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms will not affect the influence of the above parties, it becomes quite clear that Indian patriots are right in contending that these reforms will not secure Home Rule for India in the end, unless they are modified in accordance with the Congress-League proposals.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

32. Referring to the view expressed lately by President Wilson that the basic principle of the Peace Conference should be the grant of self-determination to all the countries in the world which is said to have created a new desire in the minds of the people of this country to acquire this right, the *Janabhimani*, for January, observes:—The British Government entered into this war with a view to establish justice and it is a serious question, indeed, whether at a time when the small States in Europe are permitted to have the right of self-determination, such a right will be denied to India which rendered ungrudging help in the war. Are the Indians to be refused the very privileges for which they waged the war?

India and self-determination.

JANABHIMANI, Madras, January 1919.

The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 3rd February, refers to the argument of the official class, that the time has not yet come for the Indians to exercise the right of self-determination, and remarking that the plea of the authorities that the Indians have no experience of administration and have to learn it by remaining under the tutelage of British statesmen for a long time is untenable, observes that the Indians are not the descendants of savages to learn civilization anew, and that they have a reputation of being hereditary administrators and industrialists. It points to the appointment of Lord Sinha as Under Secretary of State for India as a proof of the fact that the Indians are not behind other nations in the matter of administrative capacity and says that the right of self-determination is quite necessary for the Indians as they are "in every case distrusted by their rulers now" and an administration by others, however well they may understand the customs and habits of the people, will not be as satisfactory as that conducted by the people themselves.

India and self-determination.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 3rd Feb. 1919.

33. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article in which the following finds place among others:—O Mother Bharata! Is it agreeable to you to see the 33 crores of your children lead an ignominious life without food and raiment? . . . Is it not cruel to bring in the Rowlatt

Thirst for liberty.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

Bills, fit to be hated by the civilized countries, at a time when the people raise a cry for the repeal of all repressive measures which arrest the progress of the country and the necessity for every country being given the right of self-determination is urged by great statesmen? . . . Patriots and newspapers that sincerely work for the welfare of the country become victims to these repressive measures. Patriots are confined in prison with ordinary criminals as if they had committed murder and theft . . . Goddess Bharata! At a time when slavery has disappeared, is it fair on your part to allow us, your children, still to be grovelling in slavery? If the whole of the Indian population should become educated, if the dearth of foodstuffs should be averted, if industries should flourish and India should become opulent, she should obtain self-determination and be governed by the people's representatives. The thirst for liberty will not be quenched unless self-determination is secured.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

Spies in ancient days.

34. A correspondent to the *Desabhaktan* of the 11th February, contrasts the spies that were engaged by kings in ancient days in India and those engaged by the British Government now and cites an incident from the *Ramayana* where Rama is said to have sent his own brother Lakshmana to find out the public opinion about Sita, on the ground that he was the proper person to understand the meaning of the statements made by the public and to have sent Sita to the forest in accordance with public opinion, without punishing the washerman who suspected her chastity. The correspondent also cites another instance to prove that the kings in ancient days did the work of the C.I.D. themselves.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1918.

The present situation.

35. The annual supplement to the *Swadesamitran*, for 1918, contains a contribution from Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao on the present situation, in which the following observations find place:—As long as the present bureaucracy continues, there will be no scope for the spread of education among the ordinary people or for the improvement of their economic condition. The powers of administration should be entrusted to the people. My experience shows that the people of the Madras Presidency and especially those in Southern India are very well fitted to have Home Rule. The system of self-government in villages has been in existence in India from the time of the Muhammadan Kings and it is the Englishmen that have changed it. In the beginning the British required money for conducting the administration and other expenses, and their only source of revenue was the land. So they did away with all rights which were inconvenient to them in this matter, the result being that the mirasidars became the tenants of the Government. Besides this, the land-tax is being raised at every settlement without the consent of the mirasidars. It is again the British Government that are responsible for penalising a default in the payment of land revenue and making it punishable with forfeiture of land, as if it were an offence of sedition It is only in this manner that our rulers have been protecting the interests of our agriculturists! They have, by their laws and indifference, brought about the ruin of our trades and industries and allowed most of them to be enjoyed exclusively by the ruling race. The foreign bureaucrats in our country say that they are the best fitted to safeguard the interests of the ordinary people. But the aforesaid facts will show that it is the ordinary people that have been affected most by the rule of the bureaucrats and reduced to a state of poverty. The present low condition of the people can be improved only if India is free to control her finances.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1918.

Fortunes of *Bharata*.

36. The *Swadesamitran* of 1918 publishes a drama under this heading, in which *Bharata Devi*, apparently representing India, is, while bewailing her lot, met by sage *Narada* and comforted with the hope of a brighter future. Elsewhere, *Swetavalli*, apparently representing Britain, is prevailing upon her sons to grant complete rights to her sister *Bharata Devi*, which they are not prepared to do, on the ground that the sons of *Bharata Devi* are not yet fit to have complete liberty. On this, *Swetavalli* reminds her sons of the timely help rendered by the sons of her sister in a recent war and addresses them in the following strain:—Do not persist. Think of the future. The vital principle of a national ideal is making

itself felt in every corner of the world. This yearning for liberty is not to be trifled with. It is born with every one. It cannot be injured by weapons or blocked by any force. You should realize that numerous kingdoms have been ruined before our time. Do you not see crowned kings humbled to dust? Let us not be cursed by any one. Do not forget that your ancestors gave shelter to thousands of foreigners. Grant liberty to my sister to spread the lustre of your own rule. The rights she is enjoying are not new to her. When I was quite ignorant of many things, immense was the help rendered to me by my sister. When you were suffering, with no one to help you, invaluable was the assistance she rendered to you. Have you forgotten this? She is an embodiment of patience. How long is she to await your favour? Let the past be past. Restore her dues to her now.

On this, the sons of *Swetavalli* assure her that they will act according to her wishes.

37. The *Dravidan*, of the 4th February, reiterates certain epithets applied to the Brahmans referred to in an article abstracted from it in paragraph No. 58 of Report No. 43 of 1918 and, quoting Abbe Dubois to have stated that the Brahmans cheated the Hindu and Muhammadan Kings of olden days to serve their own purposes, adds:— What does it matter to the Brahmans who care only for their living what opinions others have of them? Their philosophy consists only in coveting other people's property. The deception practised by the Brahmans is now known throughout the world. The attributes of 'wily,' 'double-tongued' and 'servile' well befit them.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

Brahman characteristics.

38. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th February, and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th idem, reproduce in Tamil an extract from an article in the "Textile Mercury" published in Manchester, in which the writer describes how the cotton industry in India was ruined only by the competition of the British and other nations and the restrictions placed on the import of Indian cotton goods in England and pleads for a change in the commercial policy adopted by the British Government in India in the interests of both India and England.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919 and SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

The British commercial policy in India.

39. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th February, publishes a communication from a tanner in which he complains that the tanners in India have not been benefited in any way in spite of their having supplied nearly 60 per cent of the hides required by the Government at a loss to themselves, as Japan and America have now captured the British market, and remarks that, as the profits made by selling the skins not required by the War office do not seem to have reached the Government of India, they should remain only with the British War office.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

A grievance of the tanners.

40. Reviewing in its leader under this heading a pamphlet published by the Indian Home Rule League in London dealing with these questions, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th February, observes:—. . . The seeds of war have to be fully rooted out, and international relations, based on the principles of justice. Otherwise, the League of Nations may multiply the troubles of dependent nations. To prevent such evils, the London branch of our Home Rule League asks for the grant of the right of self-determination to all peoples impartially. . . In the announcement of the 20th August 1917, it was stated that the Government would have the power to determine the stages of self-government to be granted to India. The pamphlet clearly shows that this statement is against the principle of self-determination, and also gives a suitable answer to the objection that India cannot have the right of self-determination on the ground that its people do not constitute a single nation. . . It is clear to us in these times that the Federal system is the only arrangement that can embrace people speaking different languages. . . The United States of India will have to be formed on the model of the United States of America. For this purpose, the distribution of provinces on the language basis is of the highest importance.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

Self-determination: self-government and the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

Villages and the national movement.

41. Urging the improvement of villages, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th February, writes:—. . . The development of the village populace is a proof of the development of the nation. . . To those who have seen village life in India, it is clear that our villages are in an intolerable condition under British Rule. Generally, we find our villagers submerged in unbearable poverty and ignorance. Three-fourths of them have hardly a rag to wear, food to eat and water to drink. Rags, half-rations and dirty water are their usual lot. Our villages which were once healthy are now the hot-beds of cholera, smallpox and other diseases. It may be said that the people have practically no medical aid. . There are no good roads to villages. . . The village people have to bow to the Police constable, to the abkāri peon, to the Taluk office peon and to such others and they have to pay them all their *mamuls*. Our villages which were once the homes of health, wealth and self-government are now in a state of disease, poverty and dependence. . . These perverse conditions are devitalising the national life. . . Villages are the main sources of agricultural industry which brings the Government its revenue, the nation, its income and the people, their sustenance. But neither the people nor the Government take proper steps for the well-being of villages. . . We rarely find in our villages to-day that devotion to God and those good habits which were once so characteristic of them. The young men who have got a smattering of English education in towns become the leaders of villages and are spreading there evil habits instead of good ones. . . The gloss of materialism, the contempt for spirituality, and the tendency towards atheism which have come to towns in the wake of western civilization are spreading to villages also. . . It behoves the Government who proclaim themselves as the sole guardians of the people's welfare, as well as the leaders who have at heart their country's cause to use all their resources and energy for the improvement of villages, and thereby to help the regeneration of our national soul. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council.

42. With reference to the resolutions brought forward by non-official members in the recent session of the Madras Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*. of the 8th February, remarks:—. . . The Legislative Council has not given up its usual practice. The proposal of resolutions by non-official members and their rejection do not cause surprise to the people, as they are no novel occurrences.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

The Legislative Council.

Referring to the amendments proposed to the Madras City Municipal Bill, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 6th February, remarks:— . . . If they fail to be accepted, it may be said to be due to the misfortune of rate-payers. Those who have proposed the amendments can only advance arguments. But the result depends on the attitude of the official members. Some of the amendments like the one relating to the house-tax are very important. Their acceptance leaves no room for dissatisfaction among rate-payers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council.

Referring to the discussion on the Madras City Municipality Bill in the Local Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th February, writes:— . . . We fail to understand why distinctiou should be made between Indian and European Chambers of Commerce in the matter of representation. . . From the way in which the useful proposals of non-official members have been rejected and the amendments of the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achari which are opposed to progress, have been carried out, we have little hope of the progress of local self-government under the new Act. . . The proposal made by the Hon'ble Mr Siva Rao with regard to the charges incurred for the removal of diseased trees is a very just one. Even this has not been accepted by the Government. . . Nineteen members have voted for and 19 against this resolution. His Excellency the Governor has at last given his vote against it. It is not possible for the wishes of the people to prevail in Legislative Council governed by such a narrow spirit.

43. Referring to the reply of Sir William Vincent in the Imperial Legislative Council to the question about the prohibition of certain newspapers from reaching England, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th February, says:—. . . It seems that the censors have detained these papers, lest the enemy should use to his own advantage the writings in these papers about Home Rule. It is not understood why the censors have never published this reason in spite of frequent representations. The questions put in the Legislative Councils and the answers which they elicit are in this tone. This state of affairs will not change, unless self-government is established.

Questions and answers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

44. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th February, thinks that the prescribing of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Report as a text-book to the Intermediate and B.A. candidates in Nagpur serves a very useful purpose and commends it to other colleges.

The Montagu Report.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

45. A correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 6th February, writes in favour of completely taking away the hereditary right of village officers and urges the appointment of qualified persons only.

The hereditary right of village officers, a national evil.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

46. For the prevention of plague, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 8th February, suggests the destruction of rats by means of traps or some poisonous medicine, and requests the Government to consult the Medical authorities on the subject and devise the best plan for the purpose.

Plague.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

47. In an article eulogising Mr. Legh, I.C.S., for his efforts in putting down the drink evil in Salem by reducing the number of public houses in the district, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 7th February, observes that Mr. Legh's administration of Salem during the last four years affords a striking example of what the District authorities can accomplish if they use their powers for the good of the people.

Mr. Legh, I.C.S.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 7th Feb. 1919.

48. The *Manorama*, of the 7th February, refers to the difficulties experienced by the public on account of the scarcity of small coins in circulation, thinks that if the Rs. 2-8-0 notes are allowed to circulate, either small notes for 1 anna, 2 annas, 4 annas and 8 annas will have also to be issued or trade will be paralysed, and observes that it is high time for the Government to give their immediate attention to this matter.

Scarcity of small change.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 7th Feb. 1919.

49. In the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 5th February, a correspondent writes:—It is doubtful whether the paddy grown in Malabar during an year will suffice for three months' needs of the district. While therefore an extension of area under paddy cultivation is urgently required, that area is really getting diminished—(*a*) by people raising fields to make them 'parambas' or house-sites and (*b*) by allowing huge avenue trees, like the banyan, on both sides of roads passing through paddy fields. These trees become a hindrance to the growth of paddy and do great harm to paddy cultivation. If, therefore, these trees are removed and trees like the cocoanut palm are substituted, the latter will be a source of income and will not obstruct the growth of paddy. This matter should receive the immediate attention of Local Boards and the Revenue Board.

Some hindrances to paddy cultivation

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 5th Feb. 1919.

50. In commenting upon the new report for 1916–17 issued by the Government of India on the administration of the Indian Empire, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 7th February, points out that though the report is new its matter is old, that it contains only general statements without details and that it contains many contradictory remarks—(e.g., the report says in one place that Home Rulers have acquired great influence throughout India and in another place that the number of people wishing for administrative reforms is very small)—and observes that future reports will be useful documents if they are made up to date and if they furnish details of matters which the public should know.

Report on Indian administration.

YOGAKSHEMAM Trichur, 7th Feb. 1919.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 7th Feb. 1919.

The Madras budget.

51. Commenting upon the Madras Budget for 1919–20, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 7th February, takes exception to the opinion of the Government that the increase in the Abkāri revenue is an indication of the affluence of the people. It expresses gratification at their setting apart more than a crore of rupees for expenditure under the head of education.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 4th Feb. 1919.

The Indian Civil Service Association.

52. In an article published in the *Manorama*, of the 4th February, calling upon the people of India to awake out of sleep, to put aside their inter-communal rivalries and to show a united front to their enemies, one Mr. Chippukkutti Nayar points out that it is not surprising that the people of India should meet with various obstacles in their endeavour to obtain greater privileges in the administration of the country, that, while the opinion of almost all parties in India is that even if the recommendations contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford report are carried into effect no great changes will be seen in the old order of things and that they will not therefore conduce to the welfare of the country; there is no end to the increase in the number of associations which consider that the recommendations give too much freedom to the people of India, and that a new association, with an awe inspiring form and nature, namely, the association of the Indian Civil Service officers has now newly entered the field threatening the Government that they will resign in a body if the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme is brought into force. He says that many worthy people think that it is highly improper on the part of public servants to form themselves into an association to deal with politics and observes that there is no doubt that it is a violation of all discipline for subordinates to protest against the recommendations made by two of the highest authorities who are at the head of the administration of India.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 11th Feb. 1919.

The Indian Civil Service and the Viceroy's speech.

53. Referring to the Viceroy's speech in which His Excellency has allayed the fears of the Indian Civil Service and of the British merchants regarding 'Indian Reforms', the *Manorama*, of the 11th February, remarks that His Excellency the Viceroy, the joint author of the Reform Scheme, has himself now declared that the authority of the Indian Ministers will be very little. The interests of the Indian Civil Service and of the British merchants are safeguarded. But in the circumstances described, is there anything tnat an Indian Minister can accomplish?

III.—LEGISLATION.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

54. Adverting to the question raised by the *Hindu* as to the necessity for enacting these bills for the whole of India, the *Dravidan*, of the 4th February, observes: This is indeed strange. It is only those that deal with intricate problems relating to the administration of a country that can realise the importance of the responsibility and the safety of Government and devise means for safeguarding the same. The argument that there has been unrest only in one province presumes the existence of such indications in the other provinces as well. Is it not incumbent on the Government to take precautions to guard themselves against it and keep the country also in a good condition? How many political agitators had preached that the army should be curtailed in view of the heavy expenditure involved? How did all these preachings end? The German war proved the necessity for increasing the army 20,000 times over. Every one should consider that even in South India it has become possible for undesirable things being spoken and written on many occasions. Some without proper education and a sound knowledge of politics think that they can speak and write in any manner they please. Some others praise the action of such people to the skies. In such circumstances we do not consider it proper to oppose or hinder the precautionary measures adopted by the Government. The *Hindu* observes that the people in England will not brook the Indian Penal Code and asks, when such an Act is in force in India, what necessity there is for a more severe one. Alas! This is a wonder of wonders! How can the *Hindu* compare India with England? The main object

in attempting to soar as high as England is only to establish here the Government by a few and bring into force the laws of *Manu*. It apprehends that, if these Bills are passed, further unrests and disturbances may crop up. It is usual for the Home Rulers to say so whether wittingly or unwittingly, and such statements, we believe, will not be accepted by the Government. The Government are bound to do all that is necessary in the interest of preventing unnecessary and undesirable disturbances and of securing peace and contentment. The *Hindu* is solicitous in remarking that the authorities will exceed their powers in carrying out these acts into practice. This is another matter altogether. If this happens to be true, then we can find out a remedy for it; but there is no reason to take exception to the enactment of the law itself on that score.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 4th February, observes:—To introduce the above Bills one should be well conversant with the laws of this country and the procedure in the courts of law. So the introduction of these Bills may, with better advantage, have been entrusted to the Law Member than to Sir William Vincent. Much discretion has not been shown even in the matter of the appointment of members for the Select Committee formed to consider these Bills.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th February, and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 6th idem, publish in Tamil the opinion of Sir Narayan Chandravarkar about these Bills and the proceedings of a public meeting recently held at Trichinopoly to protest against them.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

Characterising the Rowlatt Bills as a most venomous poison which India is about to swallow, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th February, doubts whether the various meetings held and speeches delivered protesting against these Bills will crush them, and adds:—The bureaucratic deity has become used to such meetings and speeches and it does not pay much heed to them. So the days for words are gone. The representative members should argue to the best of their ability against the Bills being passed, and if the opposition is of no avail, all of them should secede from the Council. If those in the Imperial Legislative Council do so, the representative members in the Provincial Councils should also follow suit and the patriots should give up all desire for membership in the Legislative Councils. The public should be prepared to resort to passive resistance and patriots should be ready to preach to the people the method of passive resistance, and to endure any hardships likely to result from it. This is the time for adopting in each household the advice of Tilak, the teachings of Pal, the *swadesi* vow of Surendranath and the passive resistance of Gandhi. O patriots! Spread these broadcast; be prepared to endure troubles.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

Remarking that, as it is hard to alter the determination of the bureaucrats, the Rowlatt Bills are sure to be passed in spite of the opposition of the non-officials, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th February, observes that the passing of these will certainly confer a benefit on India, to reap which several should get ready to sacrifice their souls, and adds:—There are many objects in view for the bureaucrats introducing repressive laws and they suppress the papers and patriots that give publicity to these objects. Real sedition does not at all exist in India. Most of the patriots punished for sedition are loyal persons. Instead of taking steps to relieve the distress of the lakhs and lakhs of people that are suffering in India for want of food and clothing, the bureaucrats are trying to pass cruel laws to put down the patriots that come forward to work for the poor. Is this in keeping with civilization? So long as the system of administration in India continues to be in the hands of a class that unnecessarily suspects those that espouse the cause of the poor and find fault with them, it is impossible to obtain the British liberty she expects.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

Referring to the remark of Sir William Vincent that it is the laws such as the Defence of India Act that are the causes of the absence of any anarchical crime in India towards the end of 1918, the same paper remarks:—The opinion of the wise is that repression decreases loyalty and increases seditious movements and so we cannot see why Sir William Vincent should hold a contrary view. The reasons adduced by him in favour of the Bills are very curious. He assures us that these Bills have not been introduced in opposition to political movements. The truth of this will become patent only in experience. It is only those that

work in the political movement that become victims to repressive laws. He has further stated that it is not the intention of the Government to curtail the liberties of the people. It is no doubt true that the British Government will not entertain such cruel ideas. But it has become the practice for the bureaucrats to be actually adopting harmful measures, giving out all the time that they do not intend to do any harm. Is it not usual for the Indians to raise a hue and cry every time a repressive law is passed and for the bureaucrats to pacify them? Similarly, Sir William Vincent has now come forward to wipe our eyes. What more solace do we require? The Viceroy and the other responsible members should take the words of the Hon'ble Mr. Patel and others in the Council as a note of warning. A thoughtless act may lead to serious harm. When even Mr. Shafi of the Punjab, who always used to nod to the wishes of the Government, whether they be right or wrong, opposes these Bills, what are we to say about Sir P. C. Mitter and Justice Kumaraswami Sastriyar, who were members of the Rowlatt Committee, and what regard can we have for their recommendations? The Bills have now been referred to a Select Committee and Messrs. Bannerjee, Srinivasa Sastriyar and Shafi are members of it. Now the question is whether these three, who opposed the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, would like to sit on it. If they do, they will be accused of acting against their conscience both by the Indians and the Anglo-Indians. If they have Indian blood running in their veins, they should not consent to serve on this committee. Mother Bharata is now bewailing her lot and feels staggered. To console her is our duty. We need not care about the Rowlatt Bills at all. We should not desist from our agitation, through which we will attain success. O Mother Bharata! You will have good time and success will be secured in the war of justice.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th February, observes:—The bureaucrats have the right of governing India with the help of any kind of cruel laws. The existence of non-official members on Legislative Councils counts for nothing. All of them in a body opposed the Bills; but to what end? It is surprising that Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, who is well acquainted with the tactics of the bureaucrats, still confides in them. Was the least consideration shown by the official members of the Imperial Legislative Council to objections raised by elderly men like Mr. Surendranath who ardently advocate the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms? Seeing that the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee have taken the shape of a Bill so soon, it can be said that Mr. Surendranath will get disappointed. The affront received by Mr. Surendranath and the insult still in store for him make one feel impetuous. Perhaps Surendranath keeps this impetuosity under check in expectation of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Moderates! You are no doubt patriots. The bureaucrats are coaxing you out of selfish motives. In regard to the application of repressive measures, they view you and the others as belonging to the same party. They are hampering the country's progress relying on your support. The veteran patriot, Mr. Gokhale, who all his days confided in the bureaucrats, was in the end deceived and he thrusted the Press Act on us. . . Enough of all this confidence and disappointment. Join the nationalist cause without delay and seek the benefit of the country. Mr. Surendranath cannot afford to sleep any longer. He should rise up again as the Surendranath of old. In his presidential address at the Conference of the moderates in Bombay he spoke to the effect that, if reforms were stinted in grant, he would make Ireland of India. Now as the passing of the Rowlatt Bills is worse than a stinted grant of reforms, let Surendranath proceed at once to show his words in action. If he takes the lead to agitate against these Bills, all parties will surely stand by him. Even though he does not agitate directly, we have his lectures and his heroic deeds, for our guidance. Let us follow them. It is the duty of the patriots to get rid of the bureaucratic system of administration completely and establish British justice in India by means of constitutional agitation. The agitation should be commenced even now when the Bills are with the Select Committee. Let those among the readers of the *Desabhaktan*, who have not till now taken the *swadeshi* vow of Surendranath take it at once.

The same paper observes:—The Indian members warned the Government that a strong unprecedented agitation was likely to be made in the country if

these Bills were passed. The concluding speech of Sir William Vincent only shows that the Government have begun to coax the moderates. Having once opposed the Bills in the Legislative Council, will the moderates and the nationalists support them in the Select Committee? If the Indian members yield to Sir William Vincent's wishes in the Committee, then they will be considered to have sold their conscience.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

Adverting to the constitution of the Select Committee to which these Bills have been referred, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 10th February, observes:—It is alike strange and regrettable that the seven gentlemen, who as the representatives of the people opposed the Bills in strong and clear terms should have been proposed for the Select Committee and that these should have consented to serve on that Committee. It is only when the general principle of a Bill is approved by the Council, it should be considered by a Select Committee. The general principle of the present Bill was got approved only with the help of the official majority in the Council; but so far as the non-official members are concerned, it should be construed as not having been approved at all, because all of them said that there was no need for any such legislation. The speech of Sir William Vincent in which he has spoken so artfully as to divide the non-officials into two parties has probably made them change their mind. Perhaps the Honourable Members accepted to serve on this Committee with the hope that they would be able to effect any alterations they like in this Committee. But the words used by Sir William Vincent with great care in his reply are noteworthy in this connexion. If these members, forgetting the distinction of moderates and extremists refuse to serve on the Committee in consideration of the prejudicial nature of the Bills, then a necessity will arise for the authorities in England to look into the nature of these Bills. How else can we make known to the world that all the Indians refused to serve on the Select Committee and that the Government are trying to pass the Bills by virtue of the powers vested in them by law? If the members who refused to vote for the proposition to refer the Bills to the Select Committee have accepted to serve on the Select Committee, being duped by the words of Sir William Vincent, we believe they will now calmly reflect over the matter, realize the conflicting nature of their situation and decline to serve on the Committee.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th February, reproduces in Tamil, the leader of the *New India* in its issue of the 10th idem on the "National Vote" and as a sequel thereto observes:—Sir William Vincent pointed out that the first of the Rowlatt Bills would, when passed into law, be in force only for three years. Perhaps this is a stratagem played to hoodwink the non-official members! While there is no necessity at all for the existence of such a cruel law, what is the object in stating that it will be in force only for a short period? Brothers and sisters! you have been till now feeling indignant at the iniquitous acts of the bureaucrats. The time is near at hand for opposing their actions in a constitutional manner. So every one should be resolutely prepared for it. You should not forget even in your dreams that virtue will win in spite of the worst of reverses.

Referring to the fact that the first of these Bills has been referred to the Select Committee, the same paper remarks:—Even the zamindars won over by the bureaucrats to their side, do not countenance this cruel Bill. The public too condemn the action of the Government. Sir George Loundes has stated that the Government have resolved to pass this Bill regardless of all opposition and agitation alleging as a reason the propriety and justice of the proposed measure. There is no doubt that any one with common sense will hate this opinion. So it follows that, in India, the Government have resolved to do anything they like and carry on the administration regardless of public opinion and that hereafter equity and British justice will not be respected. This, we apprehend, will tend to make the Indians consider that all righteousness and liberty talked of till now were empty words uttered to suit the occasion.

DESABHIMANI, Cuddalore, 1st Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Desabhimani*, of the 1st February, comments as follows in English upon these Bills:—" . . . We have necessarily to point out at this stage that the time is very inopportune to persuade the country into accepting a legislation of the kind, not to mention of

its injustice. The war has inspired new hopes and faiths into all nations and the world is sought to be reconstituted on the basis of a League of Nations. . . India having participated in the process throbs now with these joys and hopes. The whole country is clamouring for the liberation of the political detinues and looks to the inauguration of an era of greater trust and confidence and faith in the Indian people. It would be most unfortunate if at this psychological moment anything is done that is calculated to create discontent and incite bitter feelings in the minds of the people . . . ."

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an abstract of the proceedings of a public meeting held in Kumbakōnam on the 4th idem protesting against these Bills.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

Adverting to the Bills having been referred to a Select Committee, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th February, observes:—Such a critical juncture as this has not occurred in the history of the Imperial Legislative Council till now. The Government have not till now dared to press legislation on the public, in direct opposition to their privileges and prayers, by means of their authority and thereby secure their autocratic sway. They did it yesterday, as the bad luck of the land of Bharata would have it. We can presume now what kind of false stuff the Home Rule reforms they grant us will be made of. The Bills have been condemned by all classes of people in the country. Judging from the excitement in the country, even the ancient Emperors, exercising enormous powers, should be taken to have acted in accordance with public opinion. The system now begun, of trying to get laws passed by the Legislative Council by force and by means of the votes at the disposal of the Government, has to be noted. The authorities seek absolute powers to enact such laws as they deem to be necessary for the public good and peace of the country and the very first provision of the Montagu-Chelmsford report is that the English Government should always have these powers, whatever reforms are introduced. The present incident clearly demonstrates what our future condition will be if we accept this provision and secure facilities to the authorities, through the State Council and Provincial Grand Committees, to prevent even our present cry in the Legislative Council. But it is incongruous to discuss the reforms now. At a time when we are about to be deprived of our birth-rights indispensable for securing a civilized life, there is no reason for us to think of the privileges of self-government that can befit us for a better life. Does it not reflect the greatest discredit on our rulers that they should have allowed those legal principles, that have from time immemorial been glorifying the English rule, to prevail in India for 150 years and now try to do away with them? It is the duty of the bureaucracy to see that this discredit does not attach to their administration. If they are to do this duty, they should immediately drop these Bills. If, without doing this, they persist in taking a wrong course, we would humbly point out that it will not benefit either the Government or the land of Bharata.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th February, publishes in Tamil, as reported by a correspondent, a summary of the proceedings of a public meeting held in Tanjore on the 4th idem to protest against the passing of these Bills when Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar of Salem is reported to have dwelt at length on the several disadvantages likely to result from these Bills and remarked that if they are passed into law they will be tools in the hands of the 'unsympathetic bureaucrats' for teasing the people. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Dravidan* of the 7th and 10th February, respectively, also publish these proceedings, the former reproducing a gist of the speech of Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar while the latter makes but a brief reference to it.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 10th February, also expresses its surprise at the reasons given by the Viceroy for the introduction of these Bills and adds:—For securing the peace of the world, why should there be repressive legislation in India, which, without being the cause of the war, has been instrumental in bringing the war to a successful issue by rendering assistance in men and money? The British Government declared that the human race could be happy only if the war came to a successful end, and President Wilson assured the world that the system of one nation lording over another would cease with the war. The

war has ended and peace proposals are progressing. The question of granting self-determination even to insignificant races and States is being considered by the Peace Conference. But in India alone the authorities are bent upon enacting repressive laws paying no heed to the lessons of history and recent events in the world. Liberty is the birth-right of every man. When, as Professor Bose has pointed out, even plants have the faculty of resisting those that try to oppress them, it is no wonder that it is present in man, a rational being. But it is not in Indian nature to oppose their king. We apprehend whether the authorities in India will, by their unconstitutional procedure, change the meekness of the Indians. None can deny that these Bills are introduced out of distrust in the loyalty of the Indians. If not, the Government would have consented to the proposal of deferring their consideration to a later date. It is not a sound administrative policy on the part of the officials in India to push through a law which is entirely opposed to the wishes of the people's representatives.

The same paper refers elsewhere to the Bills having been referred to a Select Committee, in spite of the opposition of the non-official members, and remarks that the public are of opinion that all the representative members should have left the Council Chamber at the time votes were taken, which would have made it impossible for the Bills being referred to a Select Committee.

The *Desabhakatan*, of the 10th February, also thinks that these Bills reflect discredit upon both the British Government and the British public and observes: —There is no doubt that Sir William Vincent is a Britisher, loving liberty. Still even wild savages, unaware of liberty, will tremble at his words in introducing these Bills. Perhaps there is no regard for liberty within the pale of the bureaucracy. Sir William wants that the members of the Council should conduct themselves boldly and honourably to suit the occasion. That is our wish too. If they have a love for their country and a devotion to their sovereign, if they are interested in the welfare of India and the strength of the British Empire, they should stand against these Bills to the end. Has our Government become so uncivilized as to make these repressive laws a part of its system of administration? Sir William asks whether it is not the duty of the members to help the Government. True it is and they can help the Government only if they oppose the Bills. The Government Member makes the incongruous remark that the conduct of the members in reference to these Bills will be the test to determine their fitness for having a responsible government. If any Indian yields to the persuasion of this Member and supports the Bills, the public will deem him to be a traitor to the country. No responsible government is armed with such a cruel law. It is only an irresponsible government that will resort to such a barbarous piece of legislation. If India is to have any the least measure of reform, is it not necessary to get rid of repressive laws now in force? This is the time for the non-official members to show that they are true Indians. It is they that should defeat the object of the authorities in respect of these Bills.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 11th February, publishes in Tamil the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Madras Presidency Moslem League on the 5th idem, in one of which the League appeals to the Government to postpone the enactment of these Bills for one year, if total abandonment is not possible at present.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 10th February, publishes a notice, over the signatures of the President and other office-bearers of the Gannavaram taluk ryots' association, inviting the ryots of the taluk to a special meeting to be held at Indupalli on 23rd February 1919, under the presidency of Mr. C. Rajagopala Acharyulu, B.A., B.L., Government Pleader, 'to give a decisive expression to the firm opinion of the ryots, that to maintain the prestige of the British Empire the Government of India should withdraw the thoughtless Criminal Law Amendment Bills, which they have without the slightest consideration, introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council in pursuance of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission in which the people have not the least faith, as the said Bills are most prejudicial to the progress of the ryot population, and debase them by depriving them of their moral [sic] rights, as they help to make the Government officers, tyrants over the people by tempting them to accept bribes and habituating them

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

to improper practices, as there is no country where such needless and unjust laws exist, except Russia of the past, and as they are productive of intense excitement and unrest among the people, which is subversive and destructive of sacred British statesmanship.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 4th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

In a long leading article under the heading 'the two impending terrible bills', the *Manorama*, of the 4th February, points out that it was apprehended when the Defence of India Act was passed as an emergency war measure, that it was likely to be abused and experience has amply proved that the apprehension was not altogether unfounded. The people however had the consolation that this ill-omened Act would cease to be in force six months after the close of the war. But the report of the Rowlatt Committee dispelled all such hopes. It was not anticipated, however, that action will be taken in such haste to carry out the recommendations of that Committee. The recommendations of several commissions on important matters of public welfare are rusting (in Government archives). The deligence of Government to pass repressive measures is indeed praiseworthy! If the two Bills should be passed into law, they will rob the people of their personal liberty and put into the hands of the Executive officers most arbitrary powers to arrest and imprison people as they please and without allowing the sufferers any right of appeal. It is surprising that the Government should have decided to enact these measures at a time when the question of granting self-government to India is being considered. The *paper* refers to the speeches of Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar and Mr. Yakub Hasan at the recent meeting held at the Gokhale Hall to protest against these measures, and the former is reported to have said that as a result of these measures India will become more obstinate than Ireland and will cause England more trouble, and the latter is reported to have predicted that the result will be an upheaval far greater than that of 1857 and adds:—To try to bring into force such repressive measures contrary to the wishes of the people is not becoming on the part of any Government. It is because of the want of human kindness in the administrative system that such laws are considered to be necessary. If the system was sufficiently humane such a conclusion would not have been arrived at. In future, in no part of the world can a Government exist which does not pay heed and give full play to public opinion, and the speech of President Wilson at the Peace Conference amply testifies to this principle. Do the Government of India think that the opinion of President Wilson is worthless?

MANORAMA, Calicut, 11th Feb. 1919.

Reverting to the same subject, the *Manorama*, of the 11th February, asks what necessity or reason there was to enact measures relating to the whole of India, when even according to the Rowlatt Committee's report anarchist movements were confined to a few isolated places and what harm there could possibly be to deal with sedition under the ordinary criminal law, establishing, if necessary, a special court to try such cases. The article records the admission of the Bills in the teeth of unanimous opposition from the Indian non-official members and prays the British Government to intervene.

MALABAR ISLAM, Mattancherri, 7th Feb. 1919.

Referring to the same subject, the *Malabar Islam*, of the 7th February, thinks that at a time when the people of India were entertaining the hope that India would be granted self-government as a result of the great war, it was greatly to be regretted that the Government should attempt to pass new laws which would enable the officers of Government to destroy completely at their will even the freedom now enjoyed by Indians. It points out that these laws deprive the accused of all opportunities of defence and the public of all their freedom, and there will be none bold enough to undertake necessary action in respect of administrative affairs or to criticise the conduct of public servants, and as a result all new aspirations will languish as if the country were paralysed. If the people's mouths are gagged, the bureaucracy will become autocratic. The various protest meetings held in different parts of India show that the Bills are not acceptable to the people. In the light of the tranquility reported in the administrative report of India, the Bills are quite uncalled for and could well await disposal by the new legislative councils to be introduced under the reform scheme.

The Rowlatt Bills and the power to enact them.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

Discussing the competency of the Government of India to enact the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th February, writes under this heading:—. . . From the judgment given in the Moment case, it is clear that the East India Company could have no power to pass an Act like the Defence of India Act. . . It will be proper, if the Government abandon these repressive measures, especially at the present time when self-government is about to be introduced. . .

The Madras Legislative Council and a strange event.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

55. Referring to the Hon'ble Mr. B V. Narasimha Ayyar's walking out from the meeting of the Local Legislative Council on the first day of its last session as a protest, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th February, remarks:—. . . When public opinion is flouted and popular ideals are lightly treated, no self-respecting representative of the people can behave otherwise. We are confident that the popular representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council will similarly maintain their self-respect at the present crisis.

The Madras Legislative Council and the passing of the Budget.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

56. Adverting to the Government Budget Estimate for 1919–20, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th February, observes in its leader: —Though the economic condition of the Madras Presidency is very satisfactory, it affords room for fear to those who have the welfare of the people at heart. The abkari revenue, being much larger than last year's, has contributed to the increase of the Government income. . . This leads us to infer that the wealth of the Province is derived from the drinking of its people. There cannot be a more deplorable state of affairs. . . The present miserable state of affairs does not admit of improvement, so long as the abkari revenue forms the main source of the Government income. Instead of expressing regret at such a condition in the Budget statement, Sir Alexander Cardew explains that it was the result of the high wages paid to the labouring classes by the ryots who were largely profited by the rise in the prices of food grains and that it was on account of the increase of these wages that the people could bear the high taxes imposed on intoxicating drinks. But the way of reasoning adopted by him excites our surprise when we consider the famine now prevailing in the country. . . Though it is true that ryots whose crops have not failed, have gained some profits on account of the rise in the price of paddy, it is a fact known to every one that the prices of articles which are necessary for their every-day life have abnormally risen. . . It will be thus easily seen that the profits made by ryots would hardly suffice for their necessaries of life. . . The agitation among the Andhra ryots owing to the proposed enhancement of water-rate will clearly show in what state they are. It is true, no doubt, that the outburst of unrest in the country is not commensurate with the famine which is now prevailing. It should be understood that this is due to the gentle disposition of the people, and the lootings that took place will only show the severity of the famine which tested the patience of even such gentle people. The Government may write in their reports that the lootings were engineered by political agitators, and may thus console themselves. But the people cannot think in that way.

Sir Alexander Cardew is of opinion that the people could bear the burden of increased taxation on intoxicating drinks. But it is a fact known to everybody that drunkenness is likely to increase among men in despair suffering from severe famine. It is to drown their miseries that people naturally resort to drinks. . . The increase of abkari revenue should, therefore, mean the growing severity of famine. . . There can be no use, unless the present state is completely changed and attempts are made for the enforcement of total prohibition of drinking as in the United States of America. . . It is thus clear that drunkenness also is increasing along with the revenue. Increased taxation only goes to impoverish the masses all the more. . . The drink problem is not an ordinary problem. The well-being of the country is based on the solution of that problem. There is a strong difference of opinion between the people and the Government in this respect. . . The proceedings of the Council yesterday would show that not even one of the resolutions brought forward by the popular representatives has been accepted. There is thus no hope that any alterations will be made in the

budget even this time. . . While provision has been made in the budget for the grant of war allowance to officers on Rs. 50 we fail to understand why such low-paid servants as the karnam and the vettian who may be said to be the foundation of the Government should be denied this concession. . . 136·51 lakhs of rupees is the budget estimate for the Police department for 1919–20 as against 120·46 lakhs which was the sum actually spent in 1918–19. The reasons for this increased expenditure are not known. . . At a time when every one is fondly hoping that peace will soon be established on account of the termination of the war, it cannot but seem strange that the expenditure over the Police department should show increase instead of decrease. . . The sum set apart for education is not so liberal as to satisfy the needs of the present times. The provision for health and medicine is not also encouraging. The very meagre estimate for irrigation works is disappointing. The proposed expenditure of 15·62 lakhs for Public Works Department officials seems to be too heavy. . . The people will not be in a position to settle public income and expenditure, unless they have the control of the exchequer. Till then, the Government will have the financial control in their hands. There is no doubt that any scheme of self-government which does not confer financial control on the people will be useless.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

The Imperial Legislative Council

57. Referring to the speech of His Excellency, the Viceroy opening the latest session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th February, observes in its leader:—. . . It is regrettable that the speech of the Viceroy at the Imperial Legislative Council, dealing as it does with many important topics of the day, should be full of remarks so disappointing to the people of this country. . . His apprehension about the Arms Act report submitted by the committee of enquiry to the Secretary of State as not being cast in a mould that will satisfy all is enough to give us beforehand an idea of its nature. . . His announcement of the grant of 300 lakhs of rupees by the Imperial Government for the introduction of compulsory elementary education in places like Bombay, Bihar and Orissa is commendable, and has earned for him the gratitude of all Indians. . . He said that epidemics like 'influenza' which had wrought such havoc in the country revealed the defects of our sanitation. But it will not do to rest contented that this is the main cause. The unbearable poverty of the people is the cause of this. Saying that the people suffered many hardships on account of the famine, he hopes that the rains which fell of late will mitigate this evil. It cannot but appear strange to any one that the Viceroy who is so sorry that the salaries of Indian Civil Service officers receiving thousands of rupees every month are not sufficient in these famine days should dispose of the grievances of the poor in one sentence in the above manner.

There are two important subjects which have been discussed in this speech and which are even more disappointing than these. The first of them relates to the Rowlatt Bills. . . It will be seen that the whole country irrespective of moderates and extremists has protested against the enactment of these Bills. . . . What is more than this is that even Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, himself a member of the Rowlatt Commission, has expressed his disapproval of these Bills. The remarks of the Viceroy urging their immediate enactment in the face of the strong public opinion against them are bound to be received with disappointment by the people who are afraid that the innocent also will suffer from them along with the guilty and that they would result in obstructing freedom. . . Sir William Vincent has assured that the object of the Bills is not to punish patriots nor to obstruct political movements. Even a stronger assurance was given at the time of introducing the Defence of India Act, and we know therefore by experience that even some innocent persons will also suffer under these Bills. To respect public opinion in the matter will be very safe for the Government. . . Now as for Reforms, the second important subject. The Indian Civil Servants have been accorded the right of appeal to the Government of India, whenever they feel themselves aggrieved. Similar promises have been made to the British merchants in unequivocal terms.

It will be clear from the above facts how far the Montagu reforms will promote the well-being of the people, and how unwilling the bureaucrats are to transfer their power to the hands of the people. It is not safe that the interests of the Civilians

and English merchants should be preferred to the welfare of millions of men, and that obstructions should be thrown in the way of democracy. The speech of the Viceroy has cleared the situation. The bureaucracy is trying to defeat even the present meagre reforms which give so little of real power to the people. They are determined to follow the usual policy of repression side by side with concessions —a policy which already rendered the Morley-Minto reforms ineffectual and strengethened political agitation in the country instead of stamping out discontentment as expected by their authors. There is no doubt that these Bills also will confirm the past experience. . . When freedom is spreading throughout the world, it is ridiculous to obstruct it in India. It will be impossible for any people whatsoever to go against the tide of time.

The Imperial Legislative Council.

Supporting the enactment of the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 8th February, remarks:— . . . The absence of crime at present does not obviate the necessity for repressive legislation.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

* * * * * *

A serious injustice.

58. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th February, publishes in Telugu an extract from the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* reproducing the remarks of the John Bull on two cases decided by Justice Rowlatt in England and commenting thereon to the following effect:—. . . This Justice Rowlatt was invited from England by our paternal Government to come to India and lay the foundation of the new Bills. . . The judicial temperament of this Judge can be understood from the thirty months' rigorous imprisonment which he gave to the man who outraged the modesty of two girls and seven years' penal servitude to the man who burnt a farmer's haystack.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

The main issue.

59. Referring to the Rowlatt Bills in its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th February, observes:— . . . Sir William Vincent has admitted that no anarchical crime has been committed in any part of India since the middle of the year 1918 till now. The Rowlatt Commission also has come to the conclusion that it came to an end in the Bombay Presidency long ago. There is, of course, no place for it in the Madras Presidency. The Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Bihar are alike peaceful. Bengal alone afforded room for anarchical crime for a while. . . The Defence of India Act is bound to be in force for six months after the conclusion of peace. Anyhow it will operate for at least a year more. Anarchical crime has disappeared. In these circumstances, the people fail to understand what necessity there is for the enactment of repressive measures now. . . There will be no sort of unrest in the country, in case a satisfactory scheme of self-government is introduced. . . These instances will do to show that conciliation always dispels unrest A calm atmosphere is necessary for the working out of the scheme of reforms. Repressive measures cannot keep up such a peaceful condition. This is a historical fact. . . If the authorities entertain any doubts in this respect, let them accept the amendment of Mr. Patel to put in abeyance the consideration of these Bills until six months after the introduction of the new scheme of reforms and see for themselves. . . Moderates like Mr. Bannerjee, Sapru, and Sir G. Chitnavis are also opposing the Bills. It is left to the Government to read the public mind from this. There can be no room for doubt, if the Government notes what a reactionary like Mr. Shaffi has said about the Bills. . . Mr. Jinnah said that if the Bills should be passed into law, there would be an unprecedented agitation from one end of the country to another and that the good relations between the rulers and the ruled would be strained. When the fundamental principles of justice are going to be violated for the sake of punishing a very few individuals, no well-wishers of the country can approve of these Bills. For the passing of these extraordinary Bills, an unprecedented procedure has been adopted. The Bills have not been published in the Gazette and public opinion on them has not been invited. That the Bills should be referred to Select Committees soon after their introduction, and that the Committees should be asked to submit the reports at a very early date, are arrangements which are perfectly in keeping with the nature of these Bills. All the popular representatives have clearly explained the incompetency of the Government of India to enact the Bills. . . Notwithstanding the fact that all the

ANDHRAPAKASIKA, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

non-official members have unanimously protested against the Bills, there is no wonder in the Government carrying their point, taking advantage of the minority of the non-official members. . . Further, it should be considered what necessity has arisen in India to enact measures which are not regarded as necessary in any civilised country. A National Defence Act has been in force in England also during the war. But the British Government does not think of perpetuating it. The mischief of labourers and the intimidation of electrical workers to plunge the whole of England in darkness lead us to fear that constitutional agitation is giving place to unconstitutional methods. These facts show that there is a greater necessity in England for repressive legislation than in India. And yet the English authorities are not losing their courage. They are not betraying unnecessary panic. They are not going to introduce repressive laws. Why should there be this wonder in India then? There is but one main issue. Reform or repression? Repression has at last been accepted. The Government have taken advantage of their numerical majority. Thirty-six members voted for and 21 against the Bills. . . The Bills have been referred to the Select Committees. Will the popular representatives work on them? If they should, they will have to bear to some extent the responsibility of passing these Bills. The country requests her representatives not to take such a step and is waiting to see how they will keep up their self-respect. The people will not hereafter be anxious about the success of reforms, when their very birth-rights are being taken away. What is the good of having reforms after that? We can understand from the Viceroy's speech how far those reforms will be useful. The people of India will have to concentrate their energies to regain their primary rights. . .

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 2nd Jan. 1919.

Repressive legislation.

60. Referring to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Hitakarini*, of the 2nd February, writes in its leader under this heading:— . . . If any repressive legislation is necessary at present, it is better to leave it to the Councils to be newly constituted. It will be very safe for the Government to accept the amendment of Mr. Patel. It does not seem to be safe to enact the Bills merely relying on the strength of official majority. . . Let the *Madras Mail* understand now at least that the effusions of Anglo-Indians who are working in panic against Indian aspirations like bulls frightened by a red rag are also meaningless to Indians. . . Anglo-Indian papers are using their wits and energies in this manner to vilify Indians. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

Disregard of public opinion.

61. Referring to the Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th February, writes in its leader under this heading:—The official members have failed to prove the necessity for repressive legislation . . The Government having once appointed the Rowlatt Commission, Sir George Lowndes asks if it is fair on their part not to act up to the recommendations made by the Commission. He thinks it an improper act not to acept those recommendations, however flagrantly public opinion is flouted thereby. The secret inquiry conducted by the Rowlatt Commission, let it be remembered, bears resemblance to ex parte decrees. To try to bind the whole country by such an inquiry is unfair. . . There is but one effective remedy for unrest. It is conciliation. Coercion cannot accomplish this purpose. The voting of Mr. M. M. Hogg in favour of Mr. Bannerjee's amendment is worthy of note . . It is clear that the bureaucracy is not prepared to respect the force of public opinion, as it wants to carry out these measures in the teeth of popular opposition. . . There was an apprehension some time back that the differences of opinion created among our leaders by the scheme of reforms would become accentuated. But the repressive Bills succeeded in uniting them again. . . It is remarkable that such a moderate of moderates as Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, himself a member of the committee which inquired into the internments in Bengal, should contribute a series of articles condemning the new Bills. . . They may pass these measures by the sheer force of official majority. But such an Act cannot have the force of justice behind it, as has been remarked by Sir Chandravarkar. A law which is not based on moral force will increase unrest instead of diminishing it. . . . The father of an internee seems to have deposed before Sir Chandravarkar to the following effect: " . . . Has it ever occurred since the beginning of the world that young men as at present are taken away by the Police, to-day from

this family and to-morrow from that, without any reasons being assigned ? . . . That young men should be taken away in our presence and in the presence of our neighbourers strikes terror into the hearts of the people living in villages." . . . Having rejected the advice of the moderates not to pass the Bills based on the ground that they will give rise to a strong agitation, it is ridiculous to ask for their support in putting down any such agitation, should it be started. . . . The moderates should not be elated by the flattery of Sir William Vincent and slacken their determination.

What is our future move ?

62. With reference to the Rowlatt Bills the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th February, writes under this heading :—Sir William Vincent has said that the Emergency Powers Bill would be put into force as a temporary measure for three years after the conclusion of peace. . . But it is hoping against hope that a repressive measure of that sort, when once passed, will be again repealed. . . These amendments (of the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code) will upset the principles of law. The popular representatives have dissuaded the Government from enacting them, but all in vain. . . What should be our future move then ?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

63. The *Sampadabhyudaya*, of the 13th February, writes :—It is impossible to say whether it is the misfortune of England or of India that the Government of India in introducing these Bills have acted on the stupid suggestions of those who think that coercion can succeed in promoting loyalty, and proposed a measure which will lead the people to believe that Englishmen abandon their traditions when they come to this country. If these Bills should be passed into law, the fire of anger among many of the Indians will be ablaze, and the anger of the Government of India will be even greater when they see them disobey the Government. The heat created by this friction will undermine the glory, traditions and constitutionalism of the British. The British will incur the evil repute of having lost their traditions in India, and the Indians will be notorious as Bolsheviks. . . In criticising the measure in the council, even the moderates began to speak like extremists The speeches of the Hon'bles Sastri, Bannerji, Malaviyya and Jinnah make one's hair stand on end, and the reader begins to wonder how the Indians, who are servile as a rule, came to show such manliness. It looks as though the non-official members regarded the council as a republican body. The speeches of the official members are even more surprising. Some of them seem to think themselves *Nabobs*. Since the officials form the majority the Bill will be passed into law. At least some of those who are entrusted with the enforcement of the measure will prove indiscreet. At least a few who are innocent will be punished. This will cause a blot on the fair name of the British. Justice is the very foundation of the British Empire. Emperors and rulers were swept away in the west like the leaves of trees in winter. This is because justice was ignored. The British Empire alone found itself firm, because it stood by the traditions of its constitution and remained popular. We pray that the British may not lose sight of those traditions in India, and that His Excellency the Viceroy, or failing he, the Secretary of State or the Parliament, may be pleased to withdraw the measure.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 13th Feb. 1919.

V.—Prospects of the Crops and the Condition of the People.

The poverty of India.

64. Adverting to a statement made by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bombay, in an address recently delivered by him to the effect that India is a poor country and that the condition of its agriculturists is miserable, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th February, observes :—We feel greatly elated to see that, though a bureaucrat, he has spoken the truth. Let those bureaucrats and the editors of Anglo-Indian papers who, hiding the truth, blindly represent to the Government that India is a rich country and that, for any funds required to meet the expenditure of the British Empire, the Indian agriculturist may be taxed, note his words. The Government do not relieve the hardships of the Indian agriculturists. Owing to poverty these agriculturists are compelled to borrow at heavy rates of interest and suffer much without the means to repay the loans.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

[Issued, 19th February 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 8 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 22nd February 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

I—Foreign Politics.

1. *New India*, of the 21st February, states:—"The world-wide hope raised by the suggestion of the formation of a League of Nations that should guard the world's peace, and should use the strength of all to protect the Rights and the Liberty of the smallest nation, is dashed into pieces by the publication of the Articles of 'The League of Nations Covenant,' as the proposed constitution. . . It is obviously to be a League of White Nations, for though Japan is there, she will be helpless, one vote against four, perhaps one vote against eight. . . Various countries are in future to have 'mandates' to look after the peoples whom the League considers too weak to stand alone. They might prefer floundering to slavery, but that is not to be permitted under this gigantic tyranny. . . What right have these arrogant White Nations to assign 'tutors, advisers and directors' to these 'helpless peoples?' . . What hope have the coloured races of the world against this terrible spectre of a League of White Nations, with their 'words smoother than butter, having war in their hearts?' Indian soldiers will have fought to perpetuate the slavery of their countrymen in South Africa, and to bring all Africa under the exploitation of the white peoples. . . What hope will there be under this frightful yoke of the armed White Mandatories advising and directing the unarmed coloured peoples? The irony of it is that from the coloured races have proceeded the greatest of mankind; when will the white races give to humanity a Buddha or a Christ?"

The League of White Nations.

New India, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

II.—Home Administration.

(*a*) *Police.*

2. The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 18th February, writes:—"As we have no desire to confuse the inquiry Mr. Hall is conducting with his usual zeal and thoroughness, we shall just put two or three questions which we should like very much to be answered by the people concerned or taken up by the District Magistrate for further elucidation. . . No. (1) Had the Circle Inspector of Police at Manjeri any information beforehand of the impending outbreak? No. (2) Did the Pandicad or Wandur Sub-Inspector send a report about it a few days before the actual occurrence? No. (3) What did the Sub-Inspector do? and No. (4) Where was the Circle Inspector when the outbreak did actually take place? We are told that the diary kept by the Sub-Inspector at Pandicad will throw some light on these questions. Another question we desire to ask is, if it is true that the Circle Inspector interviewed Chekku Haji a few days before the outbreak, on receipt of information from the Sub-Inspector, and if he did, did he send a report to the higher authorities and take precautionary measures, or did he content himself with a mere admonition to Chekku Haji?

"Let there be a thorough inquiry, and let there be no attempt at white-washing. We are heartily sick of these periodical outbreaks and carnivals of bloodshed, and when we pay a colossal sum of money to maintain a police force which is claimed to be efficient we expect that force to prevent outbreaks of crime."

The recent Mappilla outbreak.

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 18th Feb. 1919.

(*e*) *Local and Municipal.*

3. The *Indian Patriot*, of the 19th February, observes:—"Diwan Bahadur P. Tygaraya Chettiyar has given notice that he would move at the meeting of the Corporation on Thursday the 20th instant for an address to be presented to His Excellency Lord Pentland on the eve of his departure 'in view

The Madras Corporation and His Excellency Lord Pentland.

Indian Patriot, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

of the great interest His Excellency has been taking for the health of the City and for the material, moral and social progress of the Presidency in general.'

"After the way in which the suggestions made by the Corporation, not once but twice, regarding the Municipal Bill were treated in the Council by the Government of His Excellency, and the amendments proposed by the Corporation were all opposed and rejected and the amendments opposed by the Corporation were carried by the solid official phalanx, it looks very much like licking the foot that kicks you for that body to vote an address to Lord Pentland. But there are those in this country who will do it."

HINDU, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

The *Hindu*, of the 21st February, has the following:—"The Hon'ble Mr. T. Ranga Achari said at the Corporation meeting held yesterday that the discussion on Mr. Tyagaraya Chetti's resolution to present Lord Pentland with an address prior to his departure would take a long time. His remark was doubtless cast in euphemistic phraseology. It has never been the custom for the Corporation to present a departing Governor with an address, and we consider it a curious psychological aberration that two Commissioners should have been afflicted with the idea of bidding Lord Pentland godspeed through the medium of a Corporation address. . . There has been no Governor of this Presidency who has treated the Corporation so cavalierly as Lord Pentland. The manner in which he disregarded the unanimous opinion of the Corporation with respect to the holding of the Park Fair must be fresh in the memories of our readers, and the way in which the Municipal Bill has been rushed through the Council, with scant regard to the amendments made by the non-official members of the Council, is evidence of the fact that the Corporation is of little or no consequence whatever, in the opinion of Lord Pentland and the Government over which he still presides."

(*k*) *General.*

EVERYMAN'S REVIEW, Madras, February 1919.

4. *Everyman's Review*, for February, has the following:—"Such is the India of to-day with a third-rate world position as a territorial unit and a still worse subject-position as a dependency within the British Empire itself. While even small nations and tribes are accorded an honourable, independent treatment, the Indian continent peopled with vast millions and varied races and tribes is still in bondage and subjection, is still snubbed and bullied at every turn and has but a feeble voice even to protest in the interests of her own children. While others want more territories and powers of exploitation, India seeks and seeks in vain only freedom from undue exploitation and administrative ill-treatment. The people beg of the Government to have a nominee of their choice at the Peace Conference; but the Government of India is far too high and powerful to heed to such beggarly clamour."

India and the Peace Conference.

NEW INDIA, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

Writing under the heading "India and the League of Nations", *New India*, of the 17th February, observes:—"Article 7 of the League of Nations' covenant lays down the conditions of admission to the League of States and limits the right to 'fully self-governing countries, including the dominions and the colonies.' It makes no mention of India and presumably our country cannot come under the category of 'fully self-governing countries.' Because we have been deprived of the rights of self-government, first by foreign aggrandisement and later on by the ruling bureaucracy, we shall be deprived of all representation at the Council of the Nations through this handicap. The sooner we get rid of the present drawbacks the better for our status in the world. There is no other remedy but Home Rule."

THE COMMONWEAL, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

5. The *Commonweal*, for the week ending 14th February, observes:—"Now that the anxiety about the Rowlatt Bills has assumed a stage beyond painful suspense, the country will devote its attention to the question of Reforms. The Viceroy's opening speech at the session is most disappointing in this respect. He has made an abject surrender to the Anglo-Indian opposition to the Reforms, promising it to whittle down the scheme to any extent, till the country will have a mere shadow of 'responsible government'. The interest of the country will be sacrificed to appease the Indian Civil Service. They will get larger pay, larger

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme.

pensions, and larger leave privileges than they enjoy at present. They will exercise the same irresponsible power which they now do. The Indian Ministers are merely puppets. They are to control certain departments, but will have no power whatever over the services under them, for the services will be defended by the Governor, the Indian Government and the Secretary of State. Under such humiliating circumstances we wonder whether any self-respecting Indian will come forward to be ministers. But the Viceroy himself has hinted that toadies and persons prepared to be tools in the hands of the irresponsible part of the Government, will be chosen."

Official majorities in Indian Legislative Councils.

6. In a leader under the heading 'Council or Camouflage?', *New India*, of the 15th February, says:—"Considering the way in which official majorities are used in Indian Legislative Councils—whether supreme or local—it is a matter for astonishment why there should be any Legislative Councils at all. Using modern parlance, we are tempted to wonder whether they are not a part of an elaborate machinery of camouflage intended to persuade the Indian people that they are looking at the beginnings of self-government, and to convince the world that representative institutions are by no means absent from the Indian systems of Government. . . As a general rule, the bureaucracy goes its own sweet way according to its own sweet will, and the Indian members of Council waste their own particular sweetness on the desert air of the Council Chamber. We do not know how the Government of India and the Local Governments are able to reconcile their own indifference to public opinion with the apparently forward policy adopted and declared vital by the statesmen of the Empire. . . They take it for granted that Indian agitation is, in most cases, unlikely to go very far. It is always possible to retrieve the situation when public disapproval manifests itself in an unpleasantly emphatic manner. Until the latter point is reached, Executive Councillors may safely look upon their Indian colleagues with bland, cynical and somewhat amused expressions. . . Let it be known to the world that it is possible in India for the whole people to cry out against a proposed law, and yet for that law to be forced upon the Statute Book and its provisions used without the slightest regard to the protests of the nation."

New India, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

Economic conditions in the Madras Presidency.

7. The following appears in the *Hindu* of the 15th February:—"There was one question of great moment to which but little attention was paid at the meeting of the local Legislative Council when resolutions on the budget were discussed. The economic situation in the Presidency is going from bad to worse; and it would have been well if it had been ascertained of the Government what measures Government exactly proposed to take to meet it. . . The situation was considered very bad towards the close of last year when rice was selling at three measures or so a rupee as a result of which there was some looting. The same quality of rice sells at present at less than two and a half measures. . . What is worse, it is threatened that the price may go higher up with little chance of its lowering in the near future. . . If such prices obtain at the harvest season it is easy to conceive what will be the case later in the year when stocks will be in a depleted condition. . . The Hon'ble Sir Alexander Cardew, in his speech on the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan's resolution recommending the abolition of the office of the Director of Civil Supplies, admitted that the present economic conditions in the Presidency were serious. . . Sir Alexander Cardew proclaims that he could not say what would happen in the next few months—a confession that the Government have no definite programme to keep a steady flow of supplies. If they themselves are thus uncertain as to the future, it is not inexcusable if the dealers refuse to lower prices and keep on threatening that prices would rise higher. . . Certainly transport of food to the poor, struggling population, suffering acute distress for more than four years, should be given priority to transport of war materials. More energetic and effective steps characterised by well-informed foresight, are needed, if we are to escape disaster. We trust therefore that Government will take steps to see that provision is at once made to bring fresh supplies, before we are inextricably involved in dangerous difficulties."

Hindu, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

Mysore Patriot, Mysore, 18th Feb. 1919.

Home Rule for India.

8. The following appears in the *Mysore Patriot* of the 18th February:—"The Moderates, in dancing to the tune of the officials, exclaim that, if they do not accept the halting reforms outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and whittled down by the Sydenham party in England, they would get no reform at all. We do not want the shadows and apologies of reforms. If the British Government, the British Parliament and the British people find it in their hearts to go behind the promises they have made and if they are determined not to give Home Rule, if the apologies for Home Rule are not accepted let India have no Home Rule. Let a number of Curzons, Sydenhams and Nawabs of that description rule India; and they will, before long, pave the way for Home Rule. Whoever expected the dreadful revolution in Europe to-day and what do we know what is in the womb of time for India and what her future is likely to be? It is better that the Nationalists of India stick to their policy of getting either a whole loaf or no loaf."

Justice, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

India and self-determination.

9. *Justice*, of the 19th February, says:—"We know what the Peace Conference has been doing, and we also know India's place in the British Empire. But there are politicians among us, victims of sonorous phrases, who proceed as if India were a newly-conquered country with its Government still unsettled the internal affairs of which should occupy the attention of the Peace Conference. Mr. Tilak is now in England, and that gentleman or some under-study of his has been sending letters to certain extremist organs evidently to revive and sustain the drooping spirits of the species of imaginative politicians who apparently want some sort of delusion for them to cherish. . . If politics were a surviving branch of ancient casuistry all this sort of stuff would pass muster. But unfortunately for Mr. Tilak and his coterie it is a social art, though they themselves persistently decline to view it in that light. Mr. Tilak, the breaker of the Surat Congress, is very keen about Indian unity. He does not and possibly cannot understand that he is one efficient cause of disunion."

Justice, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

Political parties in India.

10. *Justice*, of the 21st February, says:—"As the Montford drama approaches its denouement, political parties in India seem to multiply like rabbits in Australia. At the time of the Montford investigation, there existed an Indian Home Rule party who were determined to die in the last ditch for securing Home Rule for India. As the Montford scheme burst on the Indian political horizon, the Home Rule party began to split up. . . The split was a small one, for the moderate party at this stage of it existence required high-power miscroscopes to observe it. Recruitment for the Moderate party went on even more vigorously than the recruitment for the Indian army. And as a result of these extraordinary efforts something like a party was formed which consisted of more leaders than followers. . . An observant Englishman, after a visit to the Indian National Congress, described India as an anthropological museum of living specimens. The intelligent British elector, after listening to the various views of different political deputations, might come to the conclusion that political opinion in India consists of various assortments of extremism, seasoned with anti-British tendencies of differing degrees of bitterness."

Justice, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

The Indian Home Rule party in England.

11. *Justice*, of the 21st February, writes:—"On the eve of the general election the Indian Home Rule party in England issued a statement of their case, the full text of which we reproduce elsewhere if only to show how without comprehending the conditions amidst which they live, move and have their being men become slaves to words and phrases copied as they undoubtedly are from past and contemporary literature. It is not necessary to dwell upon the wrong assumptions, the false analogies and the distortion of facts of which this statement is full. We need only refer the reader's attention to the absolute nonsense indulged in by the author of this precious document to prove that India is a nation. . . Indeed, for bare-faced effrontery nothing could beat this latest offspring of the Home Ruler's self-deluding fancy."

III.—Legislation.

12. *Everyman's Review*, for February, says :—

Everyman's Review, Madras, February 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

"A Betrayal of Weakness.

"The Bills of repression framed by the British authorities of India for immediate inclusion into the Statute Book betray the weakness of the foreign and alien Government existing at present in the most lurid light. . . The giant of prodigious strength is the blind victim of his own fears and the bondsman of his deluding fancies when he stalks up and down and makes use of his most mighty limbs to detect the least sound of irreverence or whispering movements of disrespect. . . The monarch or the Government enthroned over the very summit of human power betrays its despicable mortal and earthly nature when its main attention is centred on the thought of the rats and vermins who might burrow beneath and loosen the foundations of the fastnesses. After the most glorious victory in the greatest war in history, after years of fighting in the cause of human justice and liberty after promises of self-government and pledges of more responsible administration, who but the powerfully-weak bureaucrats of India, who but the fear-obsessed and repression-resorting alien administrators of India would have thought it opportune to introduce these infamous Bills into the Legislative Council at this hour of our country's and world's history ?

"These repression Bills stand condemned on many grounds. From the very nature of their inception, from the haste with which they are sought to be inscribed in the permanent Statute Book, from the precedence they are given in time and importance to the great Reform proposals which are yet in preparation, from the unanimity of opinion amongst the highest officials as regards the desirability of enforcing them against the wishes of the whole country, these Bills of bondage and fetters to freedom, these embodiments of distrust and incitements to disloyalty, these stimulants to sedition and provocations of the worst passions are reprehensible and objectionable, censurable and blameworthy to the highest degree. . . It is the fear of the pestilence of sedition and the contagion of disloyal ideas, rather than of the persons of the seditionists, that has hastened the hands of the authorities to forge such shackles and fetters, such clogs and obstructions in the path of free movements of all persons and free expressions of all ideas. . . As it is and as it ever was in the past, the British have never cared for anything but their own interests, have never striven to win the affections of the poor millions, have never made themselves human and lovable, though it must be granted they have never gone out of their province of immediate and personal interests to do any harm to others for the mere love of doing so, as the Germans perpetrated in their Colonies and the Belgians in the Congo. Whenever the British do anything good or bad in India, they do it out of calculated self-interest with an eye for the continuation of their overlordship in this alien soil and the consequent economic gain to themselves and imperial glory to their nation."

Justice, of the 11th February, * observes:—"The Rowlatt Bills have been referred to a select committee for report. . . The motion to commit the Bills was hotly contested by the non-official Indian Members of the Imperial Legislative Council. Most of them spoke in unmeasured condemnation of the measure from excellent motives, but we are afraid in thorough misapprehension of the scope of the Bills and of the need for enacting them. . . It is altogether a misrepresentation to say that these Bills are directed against constitutional agitation, however violent in character. The *raison de etre* of the Bills is the maintenance of law and order, the protection of the person and property of the Indian citizen. The ordinary law has been found to be quite insufficient, if not powerless to afford the required protection while the Defence of India Act has demonstrated its potency to repress this particular class of crime. . . Has the Act ever been directed against political agitation, against violent speeches, against those who openly avowed that they were the enemies of the British Government or even against those who publicly said they could not see any justification for asking people to recruit to

Justice, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

* Received on 16th February 1919.

defend the Indian Empire of a foreign nation against the menace of a foe who was also a foreigner? Did the existence of the Defence of India Act thwart or make any impression on the violence of the political agitation that we have been witnessing these last two or three years? Has it helped to diminish attacks on the Government in season and out of season and have those who did so been dealt with under the Defence of India Act? . . If the Indian revolutionaries and anarchists, about whose existence even the opponents of the new legislation in the Imperial Council had no doubt, can be picked up in the street, would they not prove willing tools in the hands of the Bolshevist agents helping their propaganda work to subvert the Government and society and introduce a reign of terror such as, alas! has been the experience of Petrograd for the past six months? Is it not then the bounden duty of all right thinking men, of every patriot and well wisher of India to lend the weight of his support to measures calculated to prevent the catastrophy that has overtaken Russia? . . That the proposed legislation will be a reflection on the people of India is in our opinion quite unfounded. If penal laws argue the character of the inhabitants, then the Penal Code does inflict humiliation on the people. Respectable people have nothing to be ashamed of or to fear because of certain penal laws. even severe penal laws. These affect only the criminal who exists in all countries. We know how sparingly and even reluctantly the regulation of 1818, and the Moplah Act of Malabar have been availed of by the Government. . . For our part we regret that the non-official Indian members organized such vigorous opposition to the Bills. It would afford evidence to the enemies of Indian progress of our inability to realize responsibilities, the grave responsibilities in face of the existence of revolutionary and anarchical conspiracies in India and the danger, namely, of the threatened invasion by Bolshevism."

Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly, 12th Feb. 1919.

The *Wednesday Review*, for the week ending 12th February, remarks:—"The announcement made at the Imperial Council that the Rowlatt Bills will be in operation only for a period of three years after the conclusion of peace will reassure the public mind as to the attitude of the Government towards coercive legislation. . . We cannot help saying that the Honourable Members who opposed the introduction of the Bills made a tactical blunder. They thereby took up an attitude which was slightly inconsistent with their repeated professions of co-operation with the Government in putting down revolutionary conspiracies. . . It is futile to contend that the Government of India are alarmists and they have an exaggerated notion of the nature and extent of the revolutionary conspiracy in Bengal and elsewhere and they have deliberately embarked upon a policy of coercive legislation to put down the liberty and the just rights of the citizens. . . We have said that the Honourable Members who opposed the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills committed a tactical blunder. . . By opposing their very introduction they have taken an irreconcilable attitude which not only lays them open to the suspicion that while they are loud in their professions of horror at anarchist doings, they will not help the Government in repressing anarchy, but will also impair the value of their criticisms when the Bills are taken up for consideration by the Council"

People's Opinion, Trivandrum, 15th Feb. 1919.

The *People's Opinion*, of the 15th February, says:—"No Indian question has evoked such unanimous protest in unmistakable terms from the Indian public as the pernicious piece of legislation embodied in the Rowlatt Bills that has been recently introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council by the Government of India. . . The unanimous opposition of the non-official members in the Council is a faithful reflux of the Indian opinion throughout the country. . . The Government persists in imposing this legislation and does not incline to realize that it is unnecessarily throwing the country into a vortex of agitation and discontent. The necessity for maintaining the repressive measure for three years in addition to the existing laws of the country is not either urgent or immediate, and the Government have woefully failed to gauge the situation rightly. We hope in the interests of good Government that better counsels will prevail."

New India, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

In the fourth of a series of articles on these Bills Mrs. Besant writes in *New India* of the 17th February:—"If this Bill and its still more abominable fellow do not stir the Nation up to win Home Rule as quickly as possible, it will deserve to be the slave Nation to which these Bills reduce it."

In the fifth article on 'these Bills' Mrs. Besant, in *New India*, of the 18th February, observes:—"Britain under the Star Chamber was in the condition that India will be reduced to if this Bill becomes law, and the fact that the Government of India can force it into law emphasises the necessity of breaking up the 'machinery of autocracy,' so carefully preserved in the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. . . It is idle to talk of the safeguard of the high character of our rulers. They are hardly comparable with Cecil and Burghley, who connived at the executions sanctioned by the Star Chamber. The great revolution in Britain was caused by the abuses of the Star Chamber, which infringed Magna Carta, and thus set subjects free from their allegiance to the Kings, justified their taking up of arms against him, and his execution for treason to the Nation. Is it not treason to the Empire to reintroduce in a part of it Star Chamber methods, and provisions even worse than those of that detested institution, and is it not a shocking return to India for her splendid services in the days of peril to the Empire, to place at the mercy of an autocrat the life, liberty and property of every man and woman in the country, as the first legislation of the opening year of Peace? The terrible degradation of India in the eyes of the world by the forcing upon her of legislation unparalleled in any civilized country, must cause us all to bow our heads in shame before free peoples, and Britain is even more deeply shamed by the confession that she cannot rule India without recourse to the methods of Russia under the Tsars. . . No Indian, no champion of Indian liberty, is safe when an English bureaucrat sits on the Bench, who sees in the acknowledgment of the courage of an anarchist a sympathy with assassination, as it may diminish the horror of his crime!"

NEW INDIA, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

In the sixth article on this subject Mrs. Besant says:—"Section 23 gives the monstrous power 'to every officer of Government' charged with such an order, of using '*any and every means* to enforce compliance with the same'. The italicised words are thus printed with no reservation. The unhappy victim, untried, with no offence proven against him, may be beaten, tortured, starved, in the well-known fashion, hitherto unauthorised. . . Be it noted that all these restrictions and penalties can be used where the Governor-General in Council thinks that there are only movements 'likely to lead' to offences. No offence need have been committed, though the liberty of every person in that area may be taken away at the will of the Local Government! And this is to be 'British justice,' as exhibited in India, in the year 1919, the year of peace. There is one comfort: such legislation will much hasten the coming of Home Rule which will relieve us from this tyranny."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

In the seventh article Mrs. Besant remarks:—"Such is an analysis of these cruel Acts, which will indelibly brand British rule in India as that of a bureaucracy which could only hold its own against the rebellious forces it had evoked by legislation unparalleled under the dominion of any civilised nation. Yet Britain is one of the Great Powers which is expected to be a mandatory under the proposed League of Nations!"

NEW INDIA, Madras, 20th Feb. 1919.

13. *Justice*, of the 13th February,* states:—"The attitude of the Madras Government in regard to the Madras City Municipal Bill, which is now being discussed in the Local Legislative Council, is rather strange. They have been opposing even the most necessary and useful amendments, and by means of their majority, throwing them out. Upon these amendments and on the general character of the Bill we shall have something to say later on. We must here protest strongly against the narrow spirit in which the Madras Government have been dealing with questions connected with local self-government. . . To develop municipal institutions on sound and progressive lines, an intimate personal acquaintance with their working is essential. Unfortunately, there is none in the Government here who possesses this qualification, with the result that they but imperfectly comprehend the true spirit of municipal progress."

The Madras Government and the City Municipal Bill.

JUSTICE, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

Commenting further on this Bill, *Justice*, of the 15th February, remarks:—"The local Legislative Council completed yesterday what in parliamentary language is called the report stage of the City Municipal Bill. . . We cannot understand what object will be served by reforms of local bodies on the lines

JUSTICE, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

* Received on 16th February 1919.

adopted in the present Bill. We can only find one explanation why such useless attempts at reforms are made. The legislatures in India dominated and controlled by the Local and Imperial Governments in India have got into a groove, and the official mind finds itself difficult to get out of that groove. It is force of habit rather than anything else that is responsible for this sort of aimless legislation. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State were right in saying that the reform of local bodies should hereafter be undertaken by autonomous provinces. Why then did they not stop these attempts at so-called reforms? Enormous amount of the valuable time of both officials and non-officials has been wasted on this Bill of over 400 sections. It could have been postponed a little longer when the reformed Provincial Councils might have come into existence to undertake the legitimate duty of introducing reform into the sphere of local self-government.

"We are sorry a good deal of time and energy has been wasted. But something will have been gained if the public are even now convinced that it is as difficult to get an old Indian Provincial Government to produce a liberal measure of local self-government as it is to extract sun beams out of cucumber."

IV.—Native States.

Karnataka, Bangalore City, 15th Feb. 1919.

The Diwan's Assistant Private Secretary.

14. Writing under the heading 'a new appointment' the *Karnataka*, of the 15th February, says:—"But for the fact that some principles seem to us to be involved in it, we should not have liked to make any comments on the appointment of Mr. B. Puttayya, Assistant Superintendent, Government Press, as Assistant Private Secretary to the Diwan. . . The translation of a man from the printing press to the Private Secretary's office is a direct and violent negation of the principle of departmentalization in public service. Mr. Puttayya has specialized himself as a printer at considerable expense to the State; and it would be a manifest waste of assets to make him unlearn his technical knowledge and skill, or leave them unutilized. . . The office of Private Secretary is generally looked upon as the special preserve of the Civilian; and to let it be encroached upon by a technical man is to bring down two principles by a single stroke of the pen. . . To speak frankly, there is plenty of excuse to think that it is not in the interests of the public service, but solely in the interests of caste or communal interests that Mr. Puttayya has been pitchforked in the new position; and we cannot think that the change would be agreeable to him—apart from its financial aspect—or serviceable to communalists or partisans, for he is, to our knowledge, free from venom and vulgarism of all sorts. . . An appointment lending itself to such unedifying interpretations must occasion a genuine pang of regret in the hearts of all sincere lovers of the State; and we cannot help wishing the officiating Diwan had shown a little more firmness in standing by the principle of 'no communal representation'—the upholding of which principle was perhaps his most notable performance as a Councillor."

Justice, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

The Diwan of Cochin.

15. *Justice*, of the 19th February, observes:—"Cochin is a small Native State, smaller in size than the adjoining British taluk. But Cochin's Diwan is great. There is more excitement associated with the selection of the Diwan of Cochin than with the election of the President of the United States. . . There was a time when Cochin enjoyed Home Rule, when the Cochin State was able to furnish its own Diwans. We remember the happy days of Cochin under the Diwanship of Messrs. Sankunni Menon and Govinda Menon. Since their days, while British India has been creeping towards Home Rule, Cochin has been moving backwards like a crab and losing the little Home Rule that it did possess. . . Now, if we can credit all that we hear on this subject, Cochin is about to slip back once more and accept a Brahman Deputy Collector as its Diwan. The phenomenon is all the more interesting as the degenerative process is about to take place at a time when the educated Cochinites, or at all events, a majority of them have developed into greater Home Rulers than their colleagues in British India. Cochinites, we are told, are enthusiastic about Home Rule for British India. We have never heard anything about their state of mind regarding Home Rule for Cochin itself. . . The credit of bringing about such an appointment, if such has been brought

about, will undoubtedly rest with the wirepullers and friends of the future Diwan. The usual court intrigues which used to be such a familiar feature of Oriental courts would have to be conducted by these wirepullers. They have to assure the Madras Government on the one hand that the Raja has set his heart on securing the services of this particular Brahman Deputy Collector, and on the other they have to assure the Raja that the Madras Government would not spare the services of any officer except those of this particular Brahman Deputy Collector. . . We do not feel sorry for the educated people of Cochin, for however active they may have been about discussing Home Rule for British India, we are not aware of their having done anything to advance the political future of their own country. And therefore the arrival of a Brahman Deputy Collector to boss over them may not be an unsuitable tonic to them."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

News about Germany.

16. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th February, observes:—The authorities that administer the Government of Germany at present appear to state that they agree to the conclusion of peace only on condition that the words "the allies have won" are not used. Moreover, we understand that the Germans have not yet carried out the terms of the armistice. Now Von Hindenburg is said to be mustering an army of six lakhs strong. It is not known whether this is done to resume hostilities with the allies.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

The German colonies.

17. Referring to Mr. Lloyd George's statement in the new Parliament that the Peace Conference decided that, in view of the world's safety and the welfare of the colonists, Germany should forfeit her rights to these colonies, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th February, observes:—We admit this to be a just procedure. But will not the Prime Minister consider the question whether the Indians in the colonies under the British Empire are treated impartially like the Europeans? Perhaps he is under the impression that the Indians are being governed in the same way as the British subjects in accordance with the Queen's proclamation!

Swadesamitran, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

The League of Nations.

18. Dwelling at length on the articles of the covenant of the League of Nations, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th February, observes:—There is no doubt that every one will appreciate the arrangement now made by the League to secure liberty for those nations, who, as a result of the war, ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which were governing them before. But it is not stated what provision has been made for the progress of other weaker nations who during the war continued to be under the same sovereignty as before. However, we trust that the condition of such nationalities will in no way be inferior to that of those under the tutelage of the League of Nations.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

Asking whether India will find a place in the Executive Committee of the League of Nations, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th February, questions why India has not been permitted to be one of the signatories to the League's Covenant.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

Rules of the League of Nations.

In its leaders under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th February, observes:— . . . There are many more defects in the draft rules of the League of Nations. We think that they will be soon set right. Only big nations have been allowed representation in the Executive Committee. . . The omission to extend this privilege to smaller nations is sure to give rise to many complicated issues in future. . . Small nations can no longer be vassals under big ones. . . There is another difficult problem to be solved by the League of Nations. . . The position of colonies has been very much exalted owing to the status of independent powers which has been accorded to them. It is clear that suitable arrangements have not been made with regard to dependent races. Some races are now being liberated from the domination of Germany and Turkey. In deciding their status, the rules of the League have not displayed much foresight. . . It is better that the League itself assumes the responsibility for the administration of those countries. If that responsibility is to be handed over to another big power, it will be difficult for such countries to have the necessary training in self-government, for she will only have new masters in place of the old. As the interests of the ruling race naturally receive prominence under such an arrangement, those of the ruled will not be so respected. . . Though President Wilson urges that those appointed as trustees, tutors and advisers should use their power for the benefit of the ruled, it will be difficult to carry it out in practice. There

is no good of pious intentions. The freedom of many nations has already suffered on account of the so-called Imperial responsibilities. There can be absolutely no good of pursuing the same policy in future also. If the League of Nations should abolish subjection among the several races hereafter at least, and encourage feelings of brotherhood and co-operation among them, the peace and prosperity of the world will stand on a secure foundation. Otherwise, this important defect will be a source of ill-will among the different races and will give rise to quarrels among them. May the Peace Conference consider this matter deeply, set right this important defect and endeavour to establish justice.

The League of Nations.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 15th Feb. 1919.

In an article under this heading a writer in the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 15th February, observes:—We were so joyous and confident of the League of Nations proposed by President Wilson that it would had to the destruction of all the deadly armaments of modern warfare and had thought President Wilson to be possibly an incarnate being. We now see that it was all a mere delusion. The discussions at the Peace Conference reveal the fact that President Wilson and others are after all only ordinary human beings with all the limitations of common men, and that they preach rather than practice calmness and forbearance. Only a just settlement can secure a true peace. In practice however some of the parties to the Conference are seeking their own individual supremacy, though they profess perfect equality. This jugglery can be of no avail. If a person wants to preach morals to the world and be a libertive himself, there will be some one or other to chop off his head. Are they fit to rule who do not understand this? Unless everybody gives up high-handed action, another terrible war will break out before the Conference closes. It is a mistake to think that the Germans were vanquished in this war. They decided to join the League of Nations proposed by President Wilson, evacuated all conquered territory, and without making any conditions said they had surrendered themselves to the League of Nations. They now state that they will renew fighting if that is not done. They say therefore that if the leaders of the Allies establish a League of Nations to ensure the happiness of the whole world, there will be universal peace; else, revolutionary attempts might spread over the whole world and devastate it entirely.

Indians in South Africa.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

19. Hoping that the resolutions of the Congress of the Indians in South Africa will receive the attention of the British Government, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th February, observes:—Though one or two laws and regulations which could not be endured by the Indians were repealed through the efforts of Mr. Gandhi, many cruel laws which are a hindrance in the way of the Indians exercising their natural rights as British subjects have not yet been repealed. If the Union Government should still turn a deaf ear to the resolutions of the above Congress in this respect, that Government will be causing injury to the British Empire itself. If the Government of South Africa really wishes for the good of the British Empire, it must give up disgracing India which shines as an unparalleled jewel to the Empire. The repeal of repressive laws being all that the Indians in South Africa demand, is it not necessary that the colonies should comply with this demand seeing that the Indians have fought shoulder to shoulder with the colonial armies for the defence of South Africa and the British Empire?

Indians in South Africa.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

Andhrapatrika, of the 15th February, writes under this heading:—The grievances of the Indians in South Africa cannot be set right until India gets self-government. The Indians living in the Transvaal, the Cape Colony and Natal held a meeting and passed resolutions urging the repeal of such unjust provisions against Indians as the one which forbids them to go from one province to another in South Africa. . . They passed a resolution that the German South-West Africa should not be handed over to the South African Union, unless it repealed its severe laws. . .

Russia and the Allies.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 18th Feb. 1919.

20. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 18th February, writes:—The Allies want to crush the Bolsheriks. They help to create disunion among them. . . If those that seek to crush the enemy by creating party differences should take a leading part in the

League of Nations, the latter, too, will, after all, be only a powerful party and not a real League of Nations. Although Germany and Russia are chiefly responsible for this great war, it cannot be said that the British and the French are not also responsible for it.

MALABAR ISLAM, Cochin, 24th and 31st Jan. 1919.

The future of Turkey.

21. The *Malabar Islam*, of the 24th January, gives an abstract in Malayalam of Mr. Yakub Hasan's speech at the mass meeting of Mussalmans, held at Madras on 17th January, and a translation of the resolutions passed thereat. In its issue of the 31st January, the same paper remarks that the Mussalmans of India are very solicitous about the future of Turkey, and expresses the hope that the British Government, whose Moslem subjects are greater in number than those of any other empire or government in the world, will not deal with Moslem powers in a way calculated to cause pain to the whole Moslem world.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 15th Feb. 1919.

Referring to the agitation set on foot by the Moslem world that the future of Turkey should be settled agreeably to their wishes and adverting to the resolutions passed at a Moslem meeting recently held at Madras, the *Malayala Manorama*, of the 15th February, points out that in view of the Turkish misrule of alien people, such as the Armenians, Arabs, Jews, Greeks, etc., and atrocities committed such as were unknown and unheard of in any other part of the world, and of the desirability of keeping Armenia, Palestine, Arabia and Mesopotamia independent of Turkey, it is not likely that in future these will be entrusted to the care of the Government of Turkey.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

Mussalmans and Turkey.

22. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 4th February, in a leader writes:—To-day Reuter gives a summary of the opinion of the famous *Westminster Gazette* which proves that Mussalmans in London have submitted a petition to Mr. Balfour for careful consideration. It is a matter of great gratification that the paper has not dealt a death blow to wisdom and justice.

It writes:—The way in which Mussalmans have sided with the Government in the war has acquired for them a special right, and it is our duty to have regard to their religion and history.

Mussalmans only want this much. If, in spite of present occurrences, Mussalmans regard the Turkish Empire as acquainted with their religion, it is left to them to do so. The fate of Constantinople should be decided in accordance with the desires of the city and the colonies.

The editor of the *Qaumi Report* applauds the English paper and says that it is quite just in its remarks. This is what is wanted by the Mussalmans of India—that regard should be had to their religion and history and that the Moslem Khalifate should not be dismembered. The fact is, religious reasons are so strong that Mussalmans cannot deprive the Sultan of the Usmania Khalifate.

The *Qaumi Report* hopes that the British Government will not accept the opinion of certain foolish friends as regards Turkey, and that it will have regard to the general aspirations of the Moslem world. We have no sympathy with the fighting power of the Turks but we are friends of their historical and religious greatness. We support the Khalifate and cannot approve its decline.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 10th Feb. 1919.

Another attack on the question of Constantinople.
Mr. Welby's heart-rending remarks

23. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 10th February, referring to the opinion of the Anglo-Indian Press and especially to Mr. Welby's criticisms, viz., "that even the warmest friend of the Turk must acknowledge that he is incapable of ruling non-Turkish peoples," observes:—We consider this to be a barefaced lie and no philosophy of the world can bear out the assertion that a ruling nation cannot govern its subordinate peoples.

Mr. Welby has in the issue of the *Madras Times* of the 8th idem given a very amazing account of his personal observation in which he says that it is the Turkish nation alone that cannot rule non-Turkish peoples. If the observation which he makes is one that has been seen through the spectacles of envy and rebellion, or through the telescope of prejudice and malice, we care little about it. Or if he has deprived the Turks of that power through some journalistic spell,

we shall drop the argument; otherwise neither we nor the entire Muhammadan community of the world can hold other than that the Turks also are human beings and are capable of doing what another human being does.

Mr. Welby remarks that the Turks fail as practical administrators. This is also one of the questions of his mischievous false reasoning. On the other hand there are several forces in the world whose administrative capability has been questioned and several hundreds of such instances exist in ancient as well as in modern history. We know that the fate of Turkey depends on Mr. Welby's decision. He and some of his co-thinkers who are the national foes of the Islamic Government and do not wish to see Islam in ruling garb may wait patiently for this affair is in the hands of some independent English statesmen and we are sure that they will not err in the matter.

They know that it amounts to ignorance to accuse the Turks of incapability and consider that Muhammadan opinion in this matter deserves more consideration. Mr. Welby and his co-thinkers desire to easily secure two or four provinces for the British Government, but the Muhammadans wish that the world may reap the fruit of independence and the British Government may secure loyal friends. The object of the British Government in participating in the war was neither to rule Constantinople nor to appoint Mr. Welby the Governor of Mesopotamia.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

The Royal speech.

24. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 15th February, referring to His Majesty's speech, delivered at the opening of the Parliament, in which the King-Emperor expressed his joy at the termination of the war and appreciation of the peace proposals, and the services of the Indians rendered in the war stated that an Act on Reforms will be submitted during the Parliamentary sessions, writes:—

Undoubtedly the King's speech is not a political address which may be subjected to criticism, particularly King George's speech, unlike President Wilson or the Kaiser's pompous speech, is very simple and plain.

His Majesty's present speech has no bearing on the affairs connected with oreign countries, otherwise it used to contain always a few clauses in connexion with the Turkish and other nations. Probably this phase of it has been dropped on account of the inimical relations created by the war. It is, however, amazing to find that the King, under whose shadow the largest Muhammadan population exists, has not hinted at or touched the subject in any way. We know that King George is extremely well disposed towards his Muhammadan subjects, and he has often given expression to his friendly feelings. This policy had been in vogue during Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Asquith's ministries, but perhaps it appears that Mr. Lloyd George did not suggest to the King to make definite mention of Muhammadans, but contented himself with the mere mention of India. Whether it is a fact or no, we extremely regret to find that the old policy laid down by Peel, Burke, Beaconsfield and Gladstone is now being greatly neglected, and men of the present regime seem to take delight in defeating the designs of the ex-Minister, Mr. Asquith.

II.—Home Administration.

(*a*) *Police.*

Desabhaktan, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

The C.I.D. Police.

25. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th February, observes:—Though it is more than three years since Mr. Chenchayya was kept in custody under the Defence of India Act, still the Government have not explained the resons for so keeping him. Now he is in the prison house at Delhi. The object of frequently moving him from one place to another is not apparent.

The paper then publishes an extract from a letter written by him from Delhi to his brother describing the treatment given to him in the jail and remarks:—A perusal of this letter will certainly lead to tears of blood flowing from the eyes. We strongly suspect whether it is the practice with the C.I.D. officials to urge an innocent person to admit the commission of a crime. If the offence of which a person is convicted is first explained to him, and then he is asked to state whether he actually committed it, there is some appropriateness about it. But without

doing so, if an innocent person is caught and repeatedly urged to give out the truth, what reply can he possibly give? Why does not this enter into the mind of the C.I.D. official? The Rowlatt Committee have based their report on the statements of such officials. Alas! We do not know how many more innocents are suffering like Chenchayya in prison. When is their salvation to come?

(*d*) *Education.*

HINDU NESAN, Madras, Jan. 1919.

National education.

26. The annual supplement of the *Hindu Nesan*, published in January 1919, contains in English an article on this subject by Mr. G. S. Arundale explaining the object of the society started for the promotion of national education in India, in which the following observations find place:— . . . "The educational system obtaining in India is foreign in origin, foreign in control, foreign in spirit and foreign in aim and objective. It came over from England in the early years of the nineteenth century, and is less up to date than any other system in the civilized world. . . The interests of Britain, especially those of Lancashire, have combined to make industrial, commercial, technical and agricultural education almost a farce. The policy of the Government is to observe a so-called religious 'neutrality,' which is seen in the fostering care bestowed on missionary institutions and in the maintenance of an official Christian Church establishment out of Indian funds. Patriotism is everywhere discouraged, and sycophancy insisted on through innumerable devices. . . Since the Government of India remains indifferent to modern tendencies in education and their application to India, it behoves lovers of India to do all in their power to remedy the situation until a Home Rule Government does justice to the Indian child. . . Even the boy-scout movement was forbidden to Indian youths, until the action of a few Indians, headed by Mrs. Besant, by establishing the Indian Boy Scouts Association, forced the Government of Madras to start a rival movement lest our influence grow too pronounced, and perhaps, out of very shame! . . . India's system of examinations is disgraceful in its cruelty, and the Senate House, where many of the examinations take place, is popularly known as the slaughter-house. . . Again, the education of girls is for the most part in the hands of missionaries. Profound dissatisfaction exists with missionary methods and missionary objectives. In mission institutions, the girls are definitely denationalised. But, for want of organization, missionary influence has been allowed to dominate Indian education for over a century. . ."

The same paper contains a Tamil version of the above article.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 10th Feb. 1919.

Education in India.

27. In an article contrasting the condition of education in ancient India with that of the present day, contributed by a correspondent to the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 10th February, the following observations find place:—Till recently they were extracting the juice out of India and leaving only the refuse. Now they think that even this refuse contains some new materials and are consuming it also gradually. When one compares our greatness in all respects in ancient days with the injurious consequences of the western civilization, one cannot help feeling a sense of regret.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

Government Medical Schools.

28. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 17th February, observes:—It appears that the Medical School at Calicut is to be transferred to Coimbatore. It is no doubt beneficial to have a Medical School at Coimbatore. But why should Calicut be deprived of a school on that score? An additional school at Coimbatore cannot be a superfluity for this Presidency which is big enough. Though there is a great demand at present for lady doctors, the number of women receiving instruction in medicine has gone down considerably. It is but natural that, under the present arrangement in which female students in medicine have to receive instruction from men and in the same school along with male students, their number should go down. It has been talked of for a long time that a school should be specially opened for female students with lady teachers in Madras. We do not know when this will be accomplished. We request that the Government will be pleased to start one ere long without grudging the expenditure involved.

29. Reviewing the report on Medical Colleges for 1917-18, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th February, writes with reference to the Medical School at Vizagapatam :—. . . The proposal of Rao Bahadur Chandrasekharam Mudaliyar that admission into the school may better be limited to the students reading in Intermediate classes, cannot but cause unnecessary difficulties to the Andhra students. We, therefore, request the Government not to accept it. . . The school is working satisfactorily and is attracting students; but it is losing much of its usefulness for want of sufficient accommodation. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

The Medical School at Vizagapatam.

30. In an article under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 15th February, says in reply to a correspondent :—. . . . It may be asked if the Indian Christians should not step into Hindu schools. It is our determined opinion that they should not in the present circumstances . . So long as the Indian Christians turn their faces to the west and look upon the westerners alone as the fathers of their spiritual wisdom, they will not have any wisdom to contribute towards their own advancement or to their country or to the world, and they cannot have any place in Indian traditional nationality.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 15th Feb. 1919.

The Government Girls' school, Masulipatam.

(*f*) *Land Revenue and Settlement.*

31. The *Swadesamitran*, in its issues of the 10th and 12th February, publishes in Tamil, in parts, the abstract of a lecture recently delivered by Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar on this subject under the auspices of the Ryotwari Landholders' Association.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 10th & 12th Feb. 1919.

Land revenue problems in Southern India.

(*j*) *Salt and Abkāri.*

32. The *Vartakamitran*, of the 30th January, observes:—Though the existence of this evil is thought of in India, still attempts to crush it appear only in words and not in action, inasmuch as the British Empire has to be administered in view to England's progress. If innumerable casks of alcoholic drinks are manufactured in the big factories in England and Scotland, which country in the Empire is to buy the quantity in excess of the consumption by England? In regard to this matter colonies such as Canada and Australia are following America. So it is only India that should consume the surplus. Further, in India large revenue is derived from the manufacture and sale of such drinks and from the import of foreign spirits. While even during the time of peace, Indian revenues are not adequate to meet Indian expenditure, is it possible to forego this huge sum now? Certainly not, because the Government are intent more on the revenues than on the welfare of the people. If they only seek the health of the public, why should there be any delay in following the American States? These States are privileged to adopt any measures suitable to them, while we depend on the permission of the foreigners for doing so. This is the main cause for the delay.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 30th Jan. 1919.

The drink evil.

33. In an article on "Drunkenness and Government's income", the *Manorama*, of the 14th February, points out that the income from the liquor trade has been steadily increasing during the last seven years, and says :—Though the Government derive a large income from the Excise Department, the Government should try to completely prohibit the use of intoxicating liquor as it is harmful to the people. In America a Bill has already been passed prohibiting the use of liquor, and the loss to that Government resulting therefrom will certainly be considerable. The passing of such a measure in spite of the heavy loss to the Government must certainly be attributed to their desire for the welfare of the subjects. If the Government of India too should be pleased to pass a similar measure it will be hailed with joy by the people. But is India fortunate enough for that?

MANORAMA, Calicut, 14th Feb. 1919.

Drunkenness and Government's income.

(*k*) *General.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

Indian Boy Scouts' Association.

34. Referring to an invitation sent by His Excellency Lord Pentland to the boy scouts in the several secondary schools in Madras to meet at the Government House on the 8th February 1919, a correspondent writes to the *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th idem, as follows:—While European scouts and certain other scout parties that are being trained under Mr. Baden Powell's method, had been invited, the Indian Boy Scouts' Association alone was not invited. Why was no invitation sent to this party that has trained more than about 200 scouts? The Government have thus offered insult to the very first scouts' association started in Madras (Adyar). There is no reason to think that the Indian Scouts' Association takes part in politics. We have to infer that this association was not invited merely because it is not one conducted under the patronage of Government.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

The Indian Boy Scout movement.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th February, publishes a letter of Mr. K. Sanjivi Kamath about the advantages of this movement, which begins with the following observations:—A highly critical juncture is going to happen in India. Popular leaders are everywhere giving the warning that we should make suitable arrangements to enable us to come out of it successfully. It is only heroic and valiant persons that can be of any use at such times, and the scout movement will contribute greatly to producing such men.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th Feb. 1918.

A highhanded act.

35. Referring to an incident in Calcutta in which the Principal of a College is said to have thrown into the dust-bin an image of Goddess *Saraswati* belonging to the students, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th February, observes:—Many are under a fix without knowing what to do in regard to the strong political unrest and agitation existing in India. The indiscreet and unconstitutional way in which some Europeans and some Principals of Christian Colleges act and slight the feelings of the Indians is one of the main causes of such unrest and agitation.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

Referring to the same incident, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th February, writes:—Some Europeans when they come out to India become insolent and haughty and begin to commit highhanded acts according to their sweet will and pleasure, thereby wounding the feelings of the Indians, wantonly. Such arrogant Europeans are generally to be found among the Christian Missionaries and merchants and among the bureaucrats. There is nobody to question or control them. But everybody expected that their evil propensities and iniquitous acts will wane away in course of time, but, as bad time would have it, we see that they are on the increase. The improper and highhanded act of the European Missionary at Calcutta will certainly be revolting to every Indian mind that happens to hear or read of it. Are not these wicked acts the cause of unrest and discontent in India?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

36. Observing that, at the instigation of the moderates, some of the vakils in Madras have issued a manifesto discarding the resolution of the Delhi Congress, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th February, says:—The action of these vakils in taking this step, holding that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms would be a definite initial step to responsible government, only indicates their contempt for the national assemblies. Further, it will be a matter for great astonishment even to Mr. Montagu that these should have ventured to state that the establishment of a duel government is only in keeping with the spirit of the pronouncement of the 20th August 1917 and that, without such a splitting, the introduction of a responsible form of self-government, step by step, as stated in that pronouncement will be impossible. Perhaps some of our leaders were deluded into the glamour of these reform proposals because of the hope that this duel government will afford a scope for some Indians to hold high offices as 'ministers'. But our Viceroy has by a sudden stroke awakened them to shake off this glamour. What are the benefits likely to result from the duel government? Will the ministers be responsible to the people, or will they at least have extensive powers? The statement made by the Viceroy the other day shows that these ministers will only

be figure-heads without even the power of exacting work from the officials subordinate to them. They can only direct the head of a department subordinate to them to do a certain work, but the latter can obtain the permission of the Governor for not doing that work. Thus the ministers will find themselves in an awkward and helpless predicament. So it is only such persons as covet handsome salaries for conducting their household with ease, that will be glad to accept these posts.

37. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th February, publishes, from the pen of a lady correspondent, a communication in which the following observations occur among others:—It has become usual for everyone to be desponding within oneself from morning to evening about the severity of famine, disease and unjust laws. The time is near at hand when women too should feel the pinch. Probably this is the time for us to exhibit our heroism. It may be possible to put restraints on the acts of a person, but not on his soul-force or faith. Many countries which rendered help in the shape of men and money during the last four years are now getting the sweet fruit of *swaraj*, while India alone is being regarded as a wilderness infested with wild beasts, instead of a country peopled by civilised human beings. God only knows whether all this is justice and fairplay becoming the benign Britishers. In spite of our cries and remonstrances and of the aid rendered by us forgetting even our poverty, we are offered the option of accepting a fruit all rotten in the interior, with the stipulation that, as a preliminary to it, a small quantity of oil (Rowlatt Bills) will be poured on the fire kindled in us by the bureaucratic deities and that, if we escape from being burnt away, we can enjoy happiness. Alas! it passes the height of patience. The time to part with our greatness is perhaps near at hand. No use in desponding any longer. We should boldly seek measures to ward off unjust laws. We should realise that the present condition is but a dream and that our being the daughters of the heroic mothers in the land of Barata is a reality and induce the springing up of many Varadarajulus. The present sufferings are only caused by God to test whether we have the fitness to attain the beatitude of *swaraj*. So it becomes the foremost duty of every true woman born in India to become convinced that virtue will be victorious in the end and rouse her brethren.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

The present situation.

38. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th February, observes:—Two points have not been referred to by the Viceroy in his lengthy speech at this meeting. One is about keeping Mesopotamia as a dependency of India and the other is about the levy of the Excess Profits duty. As regards the first, all the Indian Moslems were eagerly expecting that the Viceroy would relieve their anxiety in the matter. But their expectation was not fulfilled. As regards the second point, the Viceroy has not spoken a word. Perhaps it has been decided not to levy this tax in consideration of the hue and cry raised by the European commercial community. There is room to suspect that the Viceroy who has introduced the Rowlatt Bills against the wishes of the Indians, has given up the levy of the Excess Profits tax in compliance with the request of the European Chamber of Commerce.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

The meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Commenting upon the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 12th February, observes:—The tenor of this speech does not appear to be exhilarating to us. Is it fair for the Government to think of resorting to tyranny regardless of the loyalty and the noble ideals of the Indians? We deeply regret to see the Viceroy speaking as if the Indians cannot be set right by means of proper administration. His advocating the adoption of repressive measures in the present condition of India does not speak well of his sound statesmanship. Is it a natural law that peace cannot be secured except through tyranny? Has any civilized Government resorted to such a repressive measure?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

39. Dwelling at length on the propogandist work to be done by the Congress Committee in London, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th February, observes:—It is quite erroneous to think that the British democracy will now pay heed to our request even if our demand is legitimate. Judged from the present circumstances, it is as patent as anything

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

Congress Committee in London.

that the British Government will not attend to us whether we entreat them or threaten them. The fact that the Prime Minister has secured a seat in the Parliament as a result of the exhilaration in England consequent on the defeat of the Central Powers in the war sufficiently indicates the trend of the times. At a time when England is immersed in joy at her victories, we should approach her with great caution and tact. Hereafter at least, responsible members of Parliament should endeavour to wipe out the reproach that "England is governing India by the strength of her arms". Is it fair that England should be talked of in this strain at a time the Peace Conference is held? England has secured enough of strength for governing India. It is only after recognizing that military strength and repressive laws are indispensable for the peace and safety of India, that the British Government have entrusted these with the Government of India. The bureaucrats as well as others not posted well in Indian matters, are misrepresenting facts to the British public about the condition of India and the latter believing all the untruths to be gospels, wrongly decide that it is not fit to grant liberty to India at present.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

The meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council.

40. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 13th February, observes:—The resolutions brought forward by the non-official members, however urgent and important they may be, are all opposed by the official members in a body and are lost. Acts and Regulations appear well enough on paper. It is stated that Indians are to be granted greater liberty and that their opinions are consulted in the administration of the country. But a closer inspection of the actual state of affairs discloses something unsatisfactory. The Honourable Members who represent the official party do not appear to endeavour to win their cause by means of argument. They silence the non-officials by saying that there is no need for the proposed amendment at present and that all that can possibly be done in the present circumstances is being done. The observations of the Director of Public Instruction at the meeting were very curious. He probably came to the Council with the resolve of giving one stereotyped reply to all the interpellations. What could he do? He came to hold that office only recently and has not had sufficient time to be well posted in the details of the Educational Department. The Government approved the suggestion to open a medical school in Bellary. But, though the deity was in favour of the suggestion, it did not find favour with the priest—the Surgeon General; and the suggestion fell through. Sir Alexander Cardew then said that, in course of time, a medical school would be opened at Bellary, by which it is clear that there are no obstacles or inconveniences to opening a school there. We wonder why it did not strike Sir Alexander that, if a school can be opened there some time hence, it can as well be opened even at present. In regard to the proposal to allot funds for providing boarding houses for the students among the depressed classes, the Director began to ask which class of people came under the term 'depressed classes'. He says that, to the best of his knowledge, this term has not been defined. But whose fault is it? It appears he has not glanced through the pages of the administration reports of the Educational Department of the previous years. His Excellency resorted to quite a different means to defeat this proposal, apparently because he recognized the inappropriateness of the Director's argument. The Honourable Members of the Council can only suggest that such and such a measure is necessary for the welfare of the people and that it is likely to entail an approximate expenditure of a certain amount. But it is not possible for them to study and explain to the Council all the working details of the scheme proposed by them. If all this work is to be done by the members of the Legislative Council themselves, we fail to see the need for having Government officials.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

Capitalists and labourers.

41. Adverting to the labour strike in different parts of the world at present, the *Dravidan*, of the 13th February, observes:—The condition of the labourers of our country, who have not the least facilities for receiving education, is indeed pitiable. Our patriots, capitalists and politicians, and the Government should relieve the unbearable misery of these labourers, who are suffering from hunger and ameliorate their condition by establishing schools to impart adequate industrial education

to them on modern lines. It is only when this is done, our country can progress in industry and flourish like the western countries and the extreme poverty of the labourers can be removed.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 6th Feb. 1919.

The Indian aspirations and the Anglo-Indians.

42. Remarking that a consideration of the events transpiring in India at the present time when the whole world is being remodelled after the confusion caused by the European war, is likely to cause wonder and laughter to every one endowed with keen intellect and sound judgment, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 6th February, observes:—As the education that is imparted in this country is based on a foreign system, we, forgetting our past, speak of our forefathers as lacking wisdom and civilization and characterise all their ways as one-sided. As a result of western education our youths no longer consider themselves to be Indians. The westerners also do not regard them as men, and the people of this country have now come to realize this fact. The bureaucracy apprehend that their high position might be affected if the Indians, who were in stuper till now, should get awakened All the Indians, moderates or extremists, wish that England should govern India. It is only those that are hostile to India's progress that make vain attempts to oppose this truth. It is only the Anglo-Indians and those that have fallen into their snares that create dissension between the people and the Government. All that India seeks is economic progress, to be attained by being permitted to utilize her resources in her own industries without any foreign competition. This is revolting to the Anglo-Indian industrialists and bureaucrats. Further, according to the saying when people "ask for bread they are given a stone," it is not consistent with British administrative policy and British equity to enact a law threatening with imprisonment those that talk freely, especially when we demand that facilities should be afforded for the development of education, agriculture, industries and trade in this country. Both the Governments of India and England should note that the Anglo-Indians, out of an imaginary fear that their own interests will be affected by the grant of privileges to the Indians, interfere and influence the bureaucrats to act prejudicially to the interests of this country.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

The Reforms.

43. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th February, observes:—As time advances our ideals too are receding farther and farther away from us; and what we will attain at the end will be nothing but the shadow of liberty. The Anglo-Indian bureaucrats have very artfully succeeded in drawing to their side a few of the political agitators. The Anglo-Indians feel jealous of the proposal to reform the administration and to treat the people of this country with kindness. In their opinion the pronouncement of the 20th August is venomous in character. We are aware how they reviled publicly the Secretary of State, the Viceroy and some others. The bureaucrats were at first working from behind the screen, but subsequently realising that this method will not be successful have now come out openly to revolt. The Indian Civil Service officers unjustly hold that not a shred of liberty should be granted to the Indians. It behoves those authorities who are interested in the welfare of India and of the British Empire, to pay more attention to the Indian Civil Service movement than to the alleged anarchical movement in India. The Viceroy, forgetting the fact that he has promised along with the Secretary of State to grant responsible Government to India, has now given an assurance in the Legislative Council to help the bureaucrats and the Anglo-Indian merchants. It need not be pointed out that this help will surely be prejudicial to the welfare of India. It is regrettable that a responsible officer like the Viceroy should have acted in this manner as regards the Indian Civil Service rioters. He should have either treated their movement with contempt or reprimanded them for their meanness. We wonder what the nature of the responsible Government we are going to get, will be, if the Indian 'Ministers' have no power to control the officials subordinate to them. It appears the European merchants will be exempt from provincial taxes, but their representatives will have seats on the Provincial Legislative Councils. We have read in history that there can be no representation without taxation, but this maxim will probably be reversed at a time when we

are to get responsible government. We have learnt by experience that an Anglo-Indian officer, however responsible a position he may be holding, is inclined to act against his own words. So it is but natural for the Viceroy to stand against India's welfare out of consideration for that of his creed. But true Indians cannot brook this. We should offer a united resistance to his attempt to subject us to the bureaucracy. We have to learn one thing from the Viceroy's speech, and that is, the Indian Civil Service officials can continue to disregard public opinion as before with impunity.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

Who are patriots?

44. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article in which the writer detailing the several advantages, which in his opinion will result from the formation of the *samaj* of patriots, makes the following observations among others :—Patriotic service in any country at any time is beset with difficulties. One engaged in such service should renounce all kith and kin, and boldly preach against the commonly accepted views. The difficulties in the way of a patriot's work in India which is under a foreign yoke are indescribable. This service is never easy in the commencement anywhere.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

His Majesty's speech in Parliament.

45. The *Dravidan*, of the 14th February, reproduces in Tamil almost the same sentiments as the *Justice*, of the 13th idem, appreciating the speech of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

Expressing its satisfaction at this speech the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th February observes:—His Majesty speaks in support of the constitution of the League of Nations. There is no doubt that this will conduce to beneficent results in the world. Our view is that only after dealing *swaraj* to all the countries in the world that do not now enjoy it, the League should be formed. As long as one nation lords over another, it is certain that the League cannot succeed in realizing its objects? Many cruel wars like the recent European war will have to be waged often. We trust that the British people who acquiesce with President Wilson in his views in the matter of the formation of the League of Nations will be intent on granting *swaraj* to India which has been under their sway for the last 150 years.

Referring to His Majesty's observation that the Indian Reform Bill will be brought before the Parliament during its present session, the same paper observes:—Though this message is pleasing to the Indians, still their grief is overwhelming. Is it likely that His Majesty is ignorant of the fact that in India repressive Bills, that are murderous in effect, are about to be passed into law? Or is he keeping silent being aware of it? In former times it was usual for His Majesty to ascertain and rectify the wrongs done by the Viceroy in India, whereas at present there is none to question the acts of the Viceroy or to correct him.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

The European Association, Calcutta.

46. Referring to the statement of this association that the Rowlatt Bills when passed into law will not cause any harm to the people, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 14th February, observes:—Perhaps Europeans say so with the confidence that the introduction of any kind of laws and regulations will not affect them in any way. For slightest mistakes or no mistakes at all, hundreds of Indian newspapers and presses have become the victims of the Press Act. But the authorities have stated that the Press Act could not be applied against an Anglo-Indian paper, which insulted the religious feelings of our Muhammadan brethern and thereby occasioned a great disturbance resulting in loss of lives. How would an Indian newspaper have fared in that plight? At this time when many urge the importance of devising means for the Europeans and Indians living in friendly relations with each other, the Europeans are raising their voice against the unanimous opinion of the Indian public. They raised a cry against the pronouncement of August 1917, and are forming a compact to oppose the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. It is not known how these Europeans who thus act and speak quite in opposition to the Indians can maintain friendly relations with the Indians.

47. In dwelling at length upon this subject, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 14th February, makes the following suggestions in view to the stability of the Indian sugar trade in this country:—At least for a few companies to be started in the beginning, the Government should render financial assistance. The Government should lease out for nominal rent, to the companies dealing in sugar, the land required by them. They should, besides permitting free irrigation from tanks and channels, issue orders to have the newly opened companies supervised by Agricultural officers.

Sugar industry in India.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

48. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th February, publish at length in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held in Madras on the 14th idem under the presidency of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, to protest against the memorandum said to have been prepared by the members of the Indian Civil Service with reference to the reform scheme, and the speech of the Viceroy in connexion therewith, while the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 15th idem publishes in Tamil only a summary of the speech of the President.

The Indian Civil Service Association.

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

Remarking that the powers and privileges enjoyed by the Indian Civil Service officers in India are unlimited and that by their wily acts in some of the provinces they should be deemed to be acting against the Government, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th February, comments as follows:—It is this very Viceroy, who, a few months ago, was a party to the drafting of the reform proposals. In that report he has stated that the present system of administration is not suited to the times and that the aspirations of the Indians should be fulfilled. He now contradicts himself when he encourages the civilians. Mr. V. P. Mathava Rao, an ex-Diwan of three Native States, pointed out that in Japan when the *Samarai* class, who conducted the executive administration, wanted to improve the country, they surrendered, as a first step, all their powers to the people. But the *Samarai* there were also Japanese, which is not the case here. The party conducting the administration belong to one class, whereas the people belong to a different class here; so it is not natural for the ruling class to give up their powers for bettering the condition of the country. But the Government who should not make any distinction between the Indians and the members of their own nationality are bound to force them to renounce their powers into the hands of the Indians. In view of this, the Viceroy should have chastised the Civil Service party at the recent meeting of the Council. Without doing so, his coming forward to promise their protection creates apprehension among the Indians. The meeting only voiced forth the country's opinion so far as the resolution referred to the protest against the civil servants' movement. We can infer from the Viceroy's speech that the civilians will make the reforms ineffective. So their privileges should be wrested away and recruitment of officers needed for India should be made in India itself. We have no objection to the Europeans holding office like the Indians. Such a reform is bound to come at a time, for which we should agitate from now. If the influence of the civilians is wrested away, the other Europeans who are ever depending on their support, will be powerless to do anything prejudicial to us.

49. In an article contributed by a correspondent to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th February, the following find place:—There is the custom obtaining in India from a very long time to adore the great officials. The people have not recognised that all officials from the Viceroy down to the *talaiyari* are the servants of the public. In India a man becomes arrogant the moment he becomes a public servant, irrespective of the pay of his appointment. In the rural tracts there are restrictions binding on the washerman and the barber to do gratuitous service to the officials and on the villagers to provide a free supply of fowls and vegetables to them. The stronger the talk about Home Rule, the nearer is the doom for the excesses of the authorities.

The authorities in India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

50. Referring with appreciation to the action of the Government of Bombay in having sanctioned a loan of five lakhs of rupees to the Co-operative Credit Society for the benefit of

The Co-operative movement.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

building societies, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th February, observes:—To the best of our knowledge there are only four building societies in the Madras Presidency, though it is about 15 years since the Co-operative Credit Department was established here. This is highly regrettable. The Government of Madras do not pay any heed to this matter. Most of the societies in this Presidency are only *credit* societies and there are not many agricultural, industrial or other societies. Even the small number of the existing societies are not working properly. We can definitely assert that the work of the Co-operative Credit Department in this Presidency from 1910 to 1917 is not quite satisfactory. We trust that hereafter at least the Government of Madras will establish many societies other than credit societies and make arrangements for the people getting sufficient facilities therefrom.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 10th Feb. 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council.

51. The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 10th February, observes:—All that takes place in the Legislative Council is in accordance with the wishes of the officials. The term 'non-official members' is only a misnomer. They are powerless to join together and get a resolution of theirs passed in the Council. If they appear to say anything in the interests of the public, they will at once meet with an opposition that what they say is wrong. Until the number of representative members is increased and Indian affairs continue to be under the supervision of foreigners, there is no good of finding fault with them.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

The Legislative Councils.

Remarking that the Rowlatt Bills and the Madras City Municipal Bill are being rushed through in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils respectively in spite of the protests of the public and contrary to the views of the representative members, the *Lokopakari*, of the 17th February, observes:—These show that the existence of the Legislative Councils and of representative members on these Councils is quite unnecessary. The Government may as well enact laws as they like and the large expenditure incurred on account of these Legislative Councils may be avoided! It is indeed strange that the authorities in India have come forward to pass a law quite against the unanimous opinion of the public in India which is subject to the British Empire that is intent on granting the right of self-determination to every community in the world.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council.

Referring to the last session of the Madras Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th February, remarks:—. . . There are no facts which deserve special notice in connexion with the last session of the Council. Though the Budget discussion took place in February instead of in March, the proposals made by the elected members have, as usual, been rejected. . . The prevention of diseases among plants and trees is, no doubt, recognized as urgent and beneficial, but the authorities have been entrusted with arbitrary powers. . . Even Doctor Nayar had to admit that the Municipal Bill cannot be conducive to the growth of the local self-government. As has been already pointed out by us, local self-government may show signs of decline instead of development under the new Bill which cannot satisfy any of the citizens. As Doctor Nayar has remarked, when new Legislative Councils are formed, it will be necessary for the elected members to pass another Bill which will promote the progress of local self-government.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 9th Feb. 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council.

With reference to the proceedings of the last Madras Legislative Council, the *Hitakarini*, of the 9th February, observes:—. . . The rejection of the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju for the curtailment of expenditure on the Police Department by 10 lakhs and for the utilization of that sum for the improvement of education causes the greatest regret. The reason for such a heavy expenditure on that department is the unique kindness of the Government which it enjoys. Be it as it may, the resolution has been rejected like the many above. . . Sir Alexander Cardew said that the drinking of country spirits and toddy showed a decrease on account of the high taxes imposed on them. Every one has powers of argument. And in addition thereto, Sir Alexander Cardew has

got the power of his office and the support of the Government. His word is gospel. As the official members are the subordinates of His Excellency the Governor and President, their argument is acceptable to him. . . The Government will do well to accept the suggestions of the elected members on the drink question as there is difference of opinion on it between the rulers and the ruled. . .

The Legislative Council, Madras.

The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 7th February, referring to the discussion on the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Yaqub Hasan that the sum of fifteen thousand rupees that have been sanctioned for the Madras Muhammadan College may not be utilized for a new college but may be given to the Vāniyambādi Muhammadan Educational Society in the shape of a grant-in-aid, writes:—The Hon'ble Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Husain Sahib spoke against the resolution, and the resolution was lost.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 7th Feb. 1919.

The Hosur Taluk Villagers' Conference.

52. The *Desabhaktan*, in its issues of the 11th and 14th February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, the proceedings of this Conference held in a village in Hosur taluk on the 8th idem, in which many resolutions are reported to have been passed, some of these being to the effect that the Conference endorses the views of the Indian National Congress in all political matters, that the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals should be modified to suit the requirements of the country and given effect to without any delay and that the Rowlatt Bills, which, in the opinion of the Conference, are capable of doing great harm to the Indians, should not be passed into law.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th & 14th Feb. 1919.

A 'Londoner' and Mr. Montagu.

53. The *Dravidan*, of the 14th February, reproduces in Tamil some of the sentiments expressed by a 'Londoner' in his letter to the *Englishman* on his impressions of Indian politics, commenting adversely on the fitness of Mr. Montagu to hold a high office in the State. Extracts from this letter are published in *Justice* of the 12th idem.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

The Viceroy's speech.

54. Reproducing a statement of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao to the effect that "no Government can last long which has no moral force to sustain it," the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th February, comments as follows:—We entreat Lord Chelmsford to note this statement. The Rowlatt Bills and the Indian Civil Service movement are the two things that are causing much anxiety to the Indians. In spite of the statement of Mr. Montagu, Lord Chelmsford and Sir William Vincent that the Indian Civil Service officials would give a hearty support to the reform proposals, these officials act quite in opposition to them and cause trouble to all It is highly regrettable that Lord Chelmsford without condemning the action of the Indian Civil Service officials for their unconstitutional agitation has come forward to espouse their cause. It, however, pleases us in a way that he, without joining with them in their cry, preferred to console them. The Viceroy expressed his sympathies with the Anglo-Indian merchants as well. In this he has proved the truth of the adage that the "birds of a feather flock together." It is regrettable that His Excellency has failed to recognise the truth that, even as he wishes for the welfare of his own creed the Indian representatives seek the welfare of the Indians. What we should do hereafter is to start a huge agitation which should check the evil deeds of the Indian Civil Service party. Therefore O Indian brethren! Arise! arise! The darkness of the war has gone and the sun of liberty is rising. The clouds of the Rowlatt Bills and the Indian Civil Service movement prevent the rays of that sun from falling on India. These clouds should be dispelled promptly. So, brethren, you had enough of sleep. Awake. The heroic drum is sounding. Mother Bharata is summoning you.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

The food situation.

55. Remarking that, at the last meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, no attention seems to have been paid to the present dearth of foodstuffs, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th February, observes:—The food situation in this Presidency is growing worse day by day. The prices have been rapidly rising for the last one month, without the slightest hope of any reduction therein. The cruel symtoms of famine are more marked even at the beginning of this year than last year. When the whole presidency is being afflicted by famine, should not the Government adopt some

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

relief measures? Is it fair for them to keep quiet resigning themselves to the philosophical position that "what will happen is bound to happen"? Sound statesmanship consists only in taking precautions against danger. When the food situation is creating grave anxiety even at the present time of harvest, how pitiable will be the condition of the people in June and July next? Till now there was a hope of getting rice from Burma, but that too was blighted by the intimation recently received that there also the outturn was not quite satisfactory. We do not know whether this attracted the attention of the Government. Sir Alexander Cardew, while opposing the motion in the last meeting of the Council to abolish the post of the Director of Civil Supplies, remarked that the present food situation in this Presidency caused anxiety and that he could not say what this situation would be a few months hence. Does not this statement show that the Government of Madras are acting without forethought? Should we point out that it is regrettable that Sir Alexander Cardew, a responsible officer who can influence the administrative policy of the Government of Madras in the way he likes, and who boasts that the members of the Indian Civil Service, himself included, have come out to India to protect the poor people of India and to watch their interests, should have spoken in this irresponsible and childish manner without forethought.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

The food situation.

Referring to the increase in the prices of food-stuffs, the *Lokopakari*, of the 17th February, observes:—Though it is three months since the war ended, still no facilities for shipping and railway transports have been afforded and the hardships of the people are on the increase. It is the duty of the Government to relieve such distress. But it is said that the Government are indifferent and that consequently the merchants are raising the prices as they like. It is possible to check the excesses of the merchants only if the prices are regulated by the Government. In spite of the great hardships experienced by the people on account of the high prices and the scarcity of foodstuffs at present, the authorities refuse to recognize the existence of famine. This only makes us think that they are ignorant of the true condition of the country and its people. It is but natural that persons drawing salaries by thousands are unaware of the famine conditions.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

The food situation.

In a lengthy article on this subject dealing with the high prices of food stuffs and the scarcity of kerosine oil, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 17th February, echoes almost the same sentiments as the *Desabhaktan* of the same date and observes:—The stress on account of high prices is spread all over the Presidency. This is the best time to see to the proper distribution of the stock of articles on hand among the various places and take necessary precautions to guard against the increase of hardship later on. Sir Alexander Cardew says that it is hard to get steamers for transporting rice bags from Burma and that the chief cause for the increase of prices is the want of shipping facilities. He seems to be unaware of any other causes for the present situation. We should secure sufficient shipping for our province besides a reduction in the rates of frieght. Though it is necessary to transport war materials, is it not equally necessary to provide ships for averting the hardships of the poor people immersed in misery without livelihood? Let the Government realise this need at least now and immediately adopt the necessary measures with sufficient forethought.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

Mr. Tilak.

56. Extolling the virtues of Mr. Tilak and remarking that, if the Rowlatt Bills are passed into law, the Police officials may begin to suspect and harass those that make obeisance to him, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th February, observes:—At present thousands of patriots who revere and love Mr. Tilak and follow his advice shine as Tilaks, and this creates a fear in the minds of the bureaucrats. Until the bureaucrats begin to administer British justice they will be suspecting the patriots and will be in constant dread of their actions. It is not explicable why the British justice sought after by the patriots appears to be sedition to the bureaucrats. It is worth considering why the cobra is in hiding. Those that forget Mr. Tilak out of fear for the bureaucrats will be guilty of the heinous sin of ingratitude. Mr. Tilak is no ordinary man. There is no theist who does not

realise that Mr. Tilak is an incarnation specially sent by God to establish the liberty of British rule getting rid of the bureaucratic system of administration which is afflicting India in several ways. Such a great person has, by sacrificing his body, soul and wealth for our sake and entering the prison house, not once but thrice, been intent on safeguarding our birthright. No true patriot will forget sage Tilak in spite of the most barbarous law which may prohibit anybody revering Mr. Tilak openly. The followers of Mr. Tilak should swell in numbers as soon as the Rowlatt Bills are passed. The day on which these Bills become law should be celebrated as the Tilak day with all grandeur. . . The Rowlatt Bills have appeared only to establish that Mr. Tilak is of divine birth.

57. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th February, publishes in Tamil, as reported by a correspondent, the resolutions passed at a public meeting held in Negapatam on the 12th idem protesting against the passing of the Rowlatt Bills and the attitude of the members of the Indian Civil Service with reference to the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals.

Public meeting.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

58. Giving a list of the members of this committee, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th February, observes that it need not be mentioned what advantage India would derive from the inquiries of this committee, as it is evident from a perusal of the names of the members.

A committee for reorganizing Indian Medical Department.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

59. Adverting to a suggestion of the *Times* that a committee should be appointed in England for ascertaining true Indian views and characterising the same as narrow-minded, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th February, asks what became of the inquiries hitherto made, and remarks that it has become the business of the Anglo-Indian papers to suggest frequently the appointment of committees and commissions at enormous expense of India's money but with no benefit.

A suggestion of the *London Times*.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

60. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th February, publishes a cartoon, in which Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha are represented as making efforts to break the shackles of Mother India, while the bureaucrats knowing this put on new fetters to her hands and feet in the shape of Rowlatt Bills.

A cartoon.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

61. Referring to the recent proscription of the lecture of Doctor Ansari, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th February, observes:—If as viewed by the authorities the lecture is really objectionable, why should they not take steps through a court of law and get the matter decided, as people will then have great confidence in that decision besides the defendant being in a position to argue his defence well. That this direct path should be given up and action should be taken by the executive is indeed objectionable. No lectures delivered in national assemblies have hitherto received this treatment.

The Press Act.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

62. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 5th October, gives vent to his repentance for having attended the Bombay Special Congress, as it had cost him the respect shown him by his district authorities and won for him the 'attentions of the Police' and 'a place in the sacred records of the Criminal Investigation Department'. To make amends, he proposes to join the moderates who, he says, are in the good books of the Government, but fearing that the Government may only find in them extremists in disguise, finally makes up his mind to become a member of the "South Indian Liberal Association, so well-known for its loyalty and for the favour it enjoys at the hands of the Government."

A Brahman's repentance.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampore, 5th Oct. 1918.

63. Referring to the Reform Committees, the *Andhravani*, of the 12th October, writes:—Those who have expected much from the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme will be disappointed with the constitution of the recent Reform Committees appointed by the Government. The nomination of only the so-called moderates like

The Reform Committees.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampore, 12th Oct. 1918.

Mr. S. N. Bannerjea and Mr. Sastri who have disobeyed the Congress and want to bring it into discredit seems to give a new significance to the moderate and extremist differences. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 28th Dec. 1918.

A short resumé of the history of Indian Commerce.

64. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 28th December, writes:— . . . Owing to the invention of machine power, the demand for our articles in England not only fell down enormously but the arts and industries in our own country also began to decline, owing to unequal competition. . . From that time, the Directors of the East India Company prohibited the employment of Indian lascars in ships on the ground that they were unfit for voyages to distant countries with a cold climate. Since they were all powerful they could pass such an order. Though they could not help us, they would have done us considerable good, if they had not stood in our way. . . In consequence of the above order of the Directors, our articles ceased to go to England on our ships. . . When railways were laid in the time of Lord Dalhousie, they brought iron and iron materials from England instead of working out the iron mines in our country and producing the articles required here only. They are pursuing the same policy even now. They have thus lost a fitting opportunity to revive this industry.

In this way, we have not been able to get an opportunity to re-learn the arts once known to us. We had to forget those we had known already, and all have turned to agriculture. . . Our extensive export of raw-products and the non-employment of our craftsmen soon robbed our country of her life and made her a prey to frequent famines . . The value of our imports in 1913–14 amounted to Rs 1,91,74,79,570. It will be difficult for our country to make any progress, unless the Government protect our agricultural and other industries. The advocates of free-trade in England have been obliged to prefer protection on account of the war. In our country, the duties on Lancashire cloth have been increased 4 per cent during the war. A precedent has thus been laid for the adoption of protection in preference to free-trade in our country. . . And how can the Government, having fought out the war for the sake of justice, raise their head before foreign nations, if they do us injustice? Do they not know that justice makes no distinction between black and white races? . . . The Government should encourage our merchants to invest their capital in industrial concerns, by undertaking some industries themselves and thus setting an example to be followed by others. . . They who take such pains for the spread of education, should soon establish commercial colleges and introduce other reforms, thus laying the foundation for the future prosperity of our country.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 4th Jan. 1919.

The National Congress.

65. With reference to the last Delhi Congress, the *Andhravani*, of the 4th January, remarks:—We are extremely glad to note that the last congress which met at a very critical juncture has discharged its duty in a worthy manner by fearlessly expressing the opinion of the people. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 4th Jan. 1919.

The coming visit of His Excellency the Governor.

66. Referring to the coming visit of His Excellency the Governor to Ganjām, the *Andhravani*, of the 4th January, observes:— . . . We request His Excellency not to rake up the question of dividing the Ganjām district hastily at this time, since there is much difference of opinion on it and since it is not possible to give equal opportunities to the both sides to press their respective arguments at such short notice.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 11th Jan. 1919.

Self-respect.

67. In the course of some verses under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 11th January, observes:— . . . Has the West forgotten the greatness of our India, which has given birth to such eminent men? Alas! how can moon-light be great to the eyes of a cat? Let our rulers treat us without love, though they belong to our government and live in our country; let them eating our salt and wearing our cloths fail to win our love; let them drinking our water and breathing our air neglect our progress; let them, who have no other refuge than our mother's grace, turn a deaf ear to our cries; let our rulers take no thought of

us in the infatuation of power. It is enough if the fair name of our mother India, respected all over the world, continues to shine untarnished. We shall be satisfied with that much !

68. Advocating national education, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 11th January writes under this heading :— . . . Our defective education seems to be the chief cause for the failure of all our public movements. . . The agitation that has been started in the country for the spread of national education is enough to show that the present system is not suited to our national temperament and that it is doing us more harm than good. Srimati Sarojini Devi also wrote to the effect. . . "The system of education introduced in India by England is not only unsuited to our national genius, but also opposed to it. . . It has kept three generations of young Indians in a state of blind intellectual serfdom, and sold them away to Westerners." Mr. Gandhi observed :—"Our faith in the necessity for learning the English language has made as slaves. We, the English-educated, have stood aloof from the masses. A wide gulf separates us from them. The best heart of the nation has been imprisoned in a cage. . . This is a national tragedy unprecedented in history". . . It is a good sign that our countrymen have realized the importance of national education now at least. All our movements have been doomed to be short-lived for want of national education which, it should, therefore, be our endeavour, to spread broad-cast so that our efforts at national regeneration may be crowned with success.

The problem of education.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 11th Jan. 1919.

69. Referring to the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as the Under Secretary of State for India and other current topics, the *Andhravani*, of the 18th January, writes under this heading :—. . . Though we do not share the political views of Sir S. P. Sinha, we can boldly say that he will hold his new office with ability. Though he is a moderate, there is no doubt that he is a man with very liberal views. Elated by the titles with which he has been decorated by the rulers, he has never betrayed the popular cause. The views he gave expression to, while in England in connexion with the Imperial War Conference, are in proof of this statement. . .

The situation.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampore, 18th Jan. 1919.

70. Referring to the conviction of Mr. Varadarajulu Nayudu, the *Andhravani*, of the 18th January, says under this heading :— . . . It is highly regrettable that repressive legislation and the punishment of Nationalists should show no signs of abatement, though the war has come to an end. Mr. Darsi Chenchayya, born as he was in the Andhra country which is such an utter stranger to all political crime, is still undergoing his internment, and Mr. Varadarajulu Nayudu is on his way to the jail. . .

Patriot Varadarajulu Nayudu.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampore, 18th Jan. 1919.

71. Referring to the Indian Civil Servants and their recent memorandum, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 18th January, writes under this heading :—. . . We believe that it is the English officials who have always been the open enemies to our national progress. Whenever a high-minded ruler granted us reforms, they have invariably created untoward obstacles to them as if they bear a grudge to us and want to pay it off. We know the fate of the reforms granted by Lord Morley who may be called the *Bhishma* of the British Empire. We know that it is the Indian Civil Servants who say that they have a birth-right to rule over us and who have, by all sorts of obstructions, tried to prevent Indians coming to responsible positions in the service of State. . . The memorandum which they have recently published in violation of the conditions of service will only show how self-interested they are, and how, receiving such fat salaries as are not known anywhere else in the world, they bear a grudge to us and want to keep us down. . . They cannot tolerate the idea of being told about their duties by Indians whom they have till now treated with scant courtesy. Racial pride is the only reason for this. . . They want to intimidate the Government by asking for facilities to resign their service, whenever they feel their official prestige compromised. I believe that the Government will comply with their request. The sooner they resign their offices, the better will it be, it is needless to say, for our national prestige. No one that looks down upon Indians need stay in this country. . .

Our open enemies.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampore, 18th Jan. 1919.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampore, 25th Jan. 1919.

The Moderates.

72. Referring to the recent Moderate Manifesto issued by Mr. S. N. Bannerjea and others, the *Andhravani*, of the 25th January, observes in its leader under this heading:—

. . . On careful consideration, the moderation of these men seems to be bereft of thoughtfulness or foresight. It is also doubtful if they have properly understood the present situation at least. They have been abusing from the very outset the congressmen as extremists bent upon wrecking the 'Montford' Scheme. Apart from this, they do not seem to have taken any trouble to oppose those local Governments or the Indian Civil Servants that are opposed to the very idea of reforms, trying to defeat Indian aspirations in every way by creating disunion among the sons of the soil. . . No patriot can approve of the conduct of these moderates.

The Government are going to introduce in the next session of the Imperial Legislative Council for discussion new repressive measures based on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission, which resemble the Defence of India Act. Knowing how the Defence of India Act introduced chiefly as a war-measure for taking action against anarchy has been unjustly and illegally employed against nationalists carrying on constitutional political agitation during the last two years, that they should not express even a word of disapproval, in their manifesto, against the proposed Bills, shows the nature of their moderation. It is clear that this is the spirit of '*To Hukum*' to please the authorities rather than any moderate policy based on real political insight. . . Their policy that we should be content with what has been given and should not ask for more, may be appropriate in the case of mendicants. It is highly regrettable that they cannot understand the simple fact that the nationalist demands freedom as his birth-right and does not beg it as a matter of charity.

The Delhi Congress had laid down the line of action to be followed by the country. The members of the deputation which will soon leave for England on its behalf will boldly represent the wishes of their country men to the British public. It is well and good if the latter listen to those representations and grant our wishes. If not, it is equally good.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampore, 25th Jan. 1919.

News.

73. Referring to the recent visit of His Excellency Lord Pentland to the Ganjām district, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 25th January. writes under this heading:—

. . . The respect shown to the Andhras in the Darbar is unbounded for sooth! From the way in which distinction was made in sending invitations, there seems to be no doubt, though we cannot say it for certain, that His Excellency came specially for the Uriyas. The Raja of Parlākimedi may send invitations, only to those whom he likes. But when the Collector issues invitations on behalf of the Government, it is not understood why some should be invited and others not, . . . Another point. While opportunity was given to the Uriyas to present addresses, why were the Andhras denied it? It was said that the Governor's arrival would be private. How could the Uriyas know it then? . . .

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

The Madras University Students' Club: a Brahman manager.

74. Taking objection to the advertisement for a Brahman manager on Rs. 75 for the newly formed University Students' club, a correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 12th February, requests His Excellency the Governor, who is the founder of the club, to interfere in the matter and see that there will be no occasion, at least in future, for such distinctions.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

The speech of Emperor George.

75. Commenting on the speech of His Majesty George V, while opening the new Parliament, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th February, writes:—. . . There is no doubt that the speech of the Emperor is full of liberal sentiments. . . Our readers can readily understand what difference there is between the attitude of the bureaucracy in India and that of His Majesty. . . The following lines from the Emperor's speech show his liberal view of the labour situation in England. . . A comparison of that picture in England with ours in India will reveal the contrast between the two. Like Labour men, Indians also have rendered commendable service in the war; and unlike them, they have not created any unrest after the

war. But what is the result? No repressive measures whatsoever have been introduced in England. They are using gentle means to put down the Labour unrest there. Though peace is spreading in India, coercive measures are going to be introduced here. Such a contrast cannot but appear strange. . . The authorities in Britain are requested to pay heed to the representations of Indians and see that unrest does not grow in India.

76. Regarding the reform of the India Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th February, remarks:—There is no good of reforming this Council. It had better be fully abolished. This is the firm opinion of the people of India. A Committee under the presidentship of Lord Crewe has been appointed to enquire into the working of the Council. . . It is the duty of Indians to pass resolutions immediately urging the complete abolition of the India Council and the introduction of responsibility in the Government of India. There cannot be the least good of making small reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

The reform of the India Council.

77. In its leader under this heading the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th February, observes:—. . . The present delay of the Germans in fulfilling the armistice conditions is causing misgivings to the French who are suspecting them of some bad motive, perhaps not without reason, as they are not demobilising their forces so briskly as the Allies. . . It appears that the Allies will do well to be on their guard.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

Peace preparations.

Will there be an end of war and strife after the conclusion of peace? If this object is not achieved, the great sacrifices made by the nations of the world would really be all in vain. . . M. Leon Bourgeois has moved an amendment at the Peace Conference to station some military force in France. . . It is strange that America should increase her navy, when it is expected that every country in the world will reduce its army and navy after the conclusion of peace. . . If Sir John Jellicoe's suggestions be accepted, Britain also will have to increase her navy. If every nation tries to increase its forces thus, there will soon be an occasion for disputes. . . From the information given by the Washington correspondent, it appears that Japan has threatened to declare war on China, should China reveal the secret treaty she had concluded with Japan. The attitude of Japan is causing anxiety to the Allies. . . It remains to be seen how the Japan-China question will be solved. The Russian problem has not yet been solved. . . From this, it appears that taming the Bolsheviks is no easy matter. . . Internal affairs like the labour question, the Irish situation and the Indian problem await a satisfactory solution soon after the conclusion of peace. There is no need to be disheartened by the many difficulties now present before us. Success is sure and certain, when all civilised countries are seriously thinking together over the reconstruction of the world. . .

78. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th February, publishes the resolutions adopted at the Bezwada Taluk Ryots' Conference held on the 9th February.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

Bezwada Taluk Ryots' Conference.

79. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th February, writes under this heading:—The speech of the Viceroy has added to the anxiety created by the memorandum of the Civil Servants. Local self-government has been under their control, ever since it was started; but it has shown no progress. If self-government be placed in their hands, while it grows, it cannot thrive. This is the principal objection against the scheme of Mr. Montagu. If the responsibility is placed in the hands of the people, success and failure are equally beneficial. People correct their blunders by experience. It cannot be expected that the Reform Scheme will meet with success in the hands of the officers of the Civil Service who complain that their prestige goes down as popular power rises. The memorandum of the members of the Civil Service will dispel any doubt that may linger about this point. His Excellency the Viceroy has, instead of admonishing them that it is not proper on their part to obstruct the progress of the people, has only encouraged them. It will appear from the Viceroy's speech that the civilian officers will not properly carry out the orders of the ministers. This speech confirms the misgiving that the scheme does not advance popular power. The duty of people becomes clear. On the one hand,

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

Civil Service Memorandum.

the reforms appear to be inefficacious. On the other, repressive laws are being enacted. People have to fight against both these evils. They have to rely on their self-effort and must be every now and then giving a clear expression to their firm determination. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

The speech of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao.

80. Commenting on the speech of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., who presided over the public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall on the 14th instant to protest against the Indian Civil Service memorandum, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th February, observes:—The speech which Mr. Madhava Rao delivered last evening about the Indian Civil Service memorandum decisively voiced forth the popular opinion. He has said: "In case the authority of the Indian Civil Servant is to continue in future, we had better inform the Parliament that no reforms are needed". . . He asks what necessity there is for the Viceroy to give assurances to the Indian Civil Service officials, and thinks that he has not adopted a proper course. The minds of Indians which were already agitated by the Indian Civil Service memorandum have been still further agitated by the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy. The Indian Civil Servants will have to work hereafter as servants of the country and not as its masters. The attempts of the Indian Civil Service officials will have the effect, Mr. Madhava Rao remarked, of frustrating the announcement of the 20th August. As has been pointed out by Mr. Wadia, the Viceroy's speech is opposed to the Montagu scheme. If the authorities in England do not give a suitable assurance, the disappointment that will prevail among the people will be simply unbounded.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

The Memorandum of the Indian Civil Servants.

81. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th February, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall to protest against the Indian Civil Service memorandum. The same proceedings appear in English in *New India* of the same date

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

A special conference of the Gannavaram taluk ryots.

82. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th February, publishes in Telugu the notice which was published in the *Andhraprakasika* of the 10th instant and dealt with in the report for the week ending the 15th February.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

Lord Willingdon and officials.

83. Commenting on the speech of Lord Willingdon about the work of the Servants of India Society under the auspices of the East India Association in London, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th February, writes under this heading:—. . . He said that the authorities would be able to do even more good to the people, if they give up unnecessary suspicions about the actions of those authorities. . . Is it the people or the authorities that show this distrust? Lord Willingdon said it was the people. If so, whose distrust is responsible for the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills? Whose distrust is responsible for the passing of such repressive Acts as the Press Act? If the authorities give up their distrust towards the people, the people also will show their strong confidence in them. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

The Imperial Press Conference.

84. With reference to the next Imperial Press Conference which will meet in Canada, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th February, remarks:—. . . In no other part of the Empire, the Press is fettered with so many bonds as it is in India. The orders of the authorities passed under the Press Act cannot be questioned even in courts of law. Nowhere else are papers conducted on more fair and sober lines than in India. A perusal of the writings in such English papers as the *Nation* will make this contrast clear. Our papers are unable to express the opinions of the people fearlessly on account of the restrictions placed on them. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

The policy of Imperial Preference.

85. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th February, writes:—. . . It is clear that the Coalition Government is openly favouring this policy. It behoves the people of India to declare at once that this policy causes loss to their country.

86. With reference to the reported increment in the salaries of British Medical officers by 30 per cent of their present salaries on account of famine, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th February, says:—. . . It will be proper if the Government spend enough money to conduct the Medical Service Examination in this country alone, to utilise the services of the people in the country on an extensive scale to encourage the Unani and the Ayurvedic physicians and to afford greater protection to the public. But it is disappointing to note that they, on the other hand, increase the salaries of British officers which are already high. The people cannot but ask in wonder whether these are the results of the Public Services Commission.

The British Medical officers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

87. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th February, gives in Telugu an extract from the *India* dealing with demands of the Delhi Congress for immediate complete Provincial autonomy, for full responsible government within fifteen years and for non-official representation at the Peace Conference, which contains:—. . . These resolutions show that the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats have forfeited the confidence of the majority of the thinking men in India. They have been committing many blunders, displaying a narrow spirit, and oppressing the people. Indian statesmen urge, therefore, that the government of their country should no longer be in their hands and that a government responsible to the people should be established as early as possible to suit the present conditions. . . .

The Delhi Congress.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

88. Referring to an article contributed by a correspondent to *New India*, giving an account of the visit paid to the Philippines by Sir William Meyer, former Finance Minister of India, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th February, says:—Though the speech of Sir William Meyer at Manila gives expression only to the ordinary views of the authorities, the utterances of the editor, the *Philippine Review*, on that occasion are characterized by a liberal spirit. The editor gave Sir William Meyer very good advice. He distinctly stated that the only means to develop commerce in the eastern countries was to give independence to dependent countries. He said that in order that commerce may be carried on between the eastern and western continents, both of them should occupy an equal position and one should not depend on and be an object of enjoyment to the other. The narrow and antiquated views of Sir William Meyer would not have pleased the Philippine leaders. The editor of the *Philippine Review* has, in his speech, clearly explained to Sir William Meyer what he ought to do. We trust that Sir William Meyer will, after a short stay in the Philippines, change his views and recognize that it is supremely necessary for the advancement of India that the aspirations of the Indians are fulfilled. If, in future, he does not waste his time in ridiculing the nationalists but helps to advance their interests, he will be doing the greatest good to the British Empire.

Sir William Meyer in the Philippines.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

89. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th February, says:—The *London Times* is of opinion that it is not desirable that deputations from the Congress, the Home Rule League and the Moderates' conference should go to England. The *Times* and other papers are trying to see that the Indian view of political questions is not placed before the English people in England. It is not well that these attempts should be allowed to be made now when there is no war going on. Messrs. Tilak and Baptista have stated that the English people are prepared to give satisfactory self-government to India. The only obstacles in the way are those placed by the bureaucracy. The Indian leaders should at once proceed to England and acquaint the people there with the aspirations of the Indians. As, in reply to a question of Mr. Rees, Mr. Montagu said that the Reform Bill would be introduced this session, there should be no more delay in the deputations visiting England.

Deputations.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

90. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th February, refers to the encouragement given to the Ayurvedic system of medicine by the Government of Travancore, and remarks that such encouragement by Native States will be productive of much good to the health of the people, secured in accordance with the old system of medicine.

The Ayurvedic system of medicine.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 15th Feb. 1919.

91. The *Kistnapatrika*, of the 15th February, says under this heading :—The prices do not fall in spite of the endeavours of the Government. The Government themselves are in a fix. The prices of grains other than paddy have also risen considerably. As these other grains are not so very unavoidable for the sustenance of man, the Government may not interfere with their prices. But we submit that when the yield is low in the district, and when the imports from other parts have stopped, it is not proper on the part of the Government to permit the export of the little quantity available. As for cloth, it appears that in certain territories, the authorities get cloth woven in the Bombay Mills and have it sold at cheap prices. But we do not see the reason why the Madras Government are dilatory in this respect. Had the District Collectors properly intimated to the Government the clamour of the people in their districts, the Local Government would have been awakened. We hope that at least our District Collector will make haste to write to the Madras Government and see that cloth is got from Bombay. The difficulty felt in securing kerosene oil is beyond description. . . To remedy this state of things, we make the following suggestions for the adoption of the Government if they deem them proper :—(1) The price of grain should be fixed at Rs. 65 per *putti*. This price will in the present circumstances be acceptable to all. (2) Export licence-holders should be directed to sell some bags of rice every day to the poor at 8 seers per rupee. (3) Other grains than paddy should not be allowed to be exported. If possible they should be imported from other localities. (4) The Madras Government should be communicated with and Bombay cloth got and sold. . . (6) Arrangements should be made with kerosene oil companies for a large supply of kerosene oil. If these things are not carried out at an early date, the suffering of the people will become unbearable and the peace of the country may be disturbed.

Famine prices.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 15th February, says :—The price of rice has not come down. The Government does not admit the existence of famine. Each gives his own explanation for this state of things. The rumour is afloat that some merchants have written to the Director of Civil Supplies stating that there are five lakhs of rice bags at Bezwada and the surrounding villages. But no one knows how far this is true. What could the Director of Civil Supplies do ? He has to listen to the words of the Collectors on the one hand and those of the people on the other. Since statistics were taken of the grain stored up by the merchants, times have changed for the better. The war has come to an end and the ryots are not now in fear of being pressed for money for war purposes. We suspect the accuracy of the figures given by the merchants before the termination of the war. Many say with one voice that there is a large stock of grain and rice in the Delta districts. His Excellency the Governor should take personal interest in the matter and send for all the Collectors to Madras and also the merchants and the ryots, to inquire as to what the several districts have in stock and what they require as to what they can export and also as to what yield they expect from the new crop. Unless this is done, it is difficult to get over the present crisis. It cannot be said that the information hitherto gathered by the Collectors is accurate. For this the merchants and the ryots are to blame and not the Collectors. . . We hope that the Madras Government will arrange for the Conference of Collectors suggested by us.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 15th Feb. 1919.

92. The *Kistnapatrika*, of the 15th February, says :—His Excellency the Viceroy stated that though one branch of the administration is transferred to Indian Ministers, arrangements will be made to see that the rights, powers and the self-respect of the bureaucracy working in the transferred departments are not at stake. It is self-contradictory to say that the rulers give independence to the Indians preserving at the same time the independence of the bureaucrats intact. The British merchants are clamouring out of fear that changes may take place which may endanger their self-interest. What is the reply of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to this clamour ? He says that he has placed the Department of Industries under the Government of India so that the interests of the British merchants may not be injured, and that the Governors were given the power of veto, for fear that injustice may be done to them in the provincial Governments. What more is wanted !

His Excellency the Viceroy and the British interests.

93. A correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th February, says :—On account of the failure of crops and the abnormal prices in the Gunnavaram taluk, the people have become discontented, and are given to despair. It is feared that, if no precautions are taken, they may have recourse to outrageous acts. The Government should therefore make arrangements for the sustenance of the people of the taluk. . . The difficulties of the ryots are daily on the increase. The highhanded acts of the bureaucracy such as the attachment ofthe property of the ryots in villages where the crops have failed, and the introduction of the new Criminal Law Amendment Bills have excited a new spirit in the ryots and have been a source of unrest and agitation. It is feared that this may lead to some disaster to the country.

Gunnavaram taluk news.

ANDHRAPRAVASIKA, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

94. A correspondent of the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 18th February, writes: —The British are a just people, as a rule. But no one is free from the greed of wealth, women and lands. Many of our people do not seem to understand fully the methods employed by the Englishmen who have come to this country and their progeny to appropriate all the wealth to themselves and to keep the Indians in abject servitude by means of every possible trick they can think of, chiefly by creating disunion among the people through caste hatred.

The Brahman non-Brahman controversy.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 18th Feb. 1919.

95. The *Vrittanta Patrike*, of the 20th February, writes:—Salt is prepared in the Madras Presidency under the contract system according to which the contractor gets a remuneration of Rs. 13-12-0 for every 3,200 Madras seers of salt which is slightly bigger than the Mysore measure). This means that the cost of producing a seer of salt is even less than a pie. And yet, salt is sold at 2 annas a seer in the Madras market. We do not know whether it is the Government or the middlemen or the retailers that make such an enormous profit on this article. Salt being a prime necessary both to man and cattle and equally essential for agriculture, it behoves the Government to make it as cheaply available as possible.

The dearness of salt.

VRITTANTA PATRIKE, Mysore, 20th Feb. 1919.

96. The *Vokkaligara Patrike*, of the 19th February, hails with great joy the news that His Majesty the King Emperor made express reference in Parliament to the early introduction of the Reform Scheme for discussion, and remarks that India must deem herself exceedingly fortunate that her affairs are being considered despite the other great problems which now engage the attention of the Parliament, and the fact that the Indian problem was referred to even before the more pressing problem of Ireland was touched upon shows the depth of His Majesty's interest in India's progress. The paper next remarks that His Majesty's reference to industrial expansion shows that India may expect a bright future both politically and industrially at the same time.

Indian Reforms in Parliament.

VOKKALIGARA PATRIKE, Bangalore City, 19th Feb. 1919.

97. Referring to the intention of Government to introduce a Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council to enable them to maintain the Indian Defence Force for sometime longer and to consider the desirability of compelling the Europeans in India to undergo military training, the *Manorama*, of the 14th February, observes:—It does not take much thought to find out what it is that induces the Government to make military training of the Europeans in India compulsory. It only proves that the Government have no great faith in the Indians. We have been fighting with a view to put a stop to conscription in all countries. Why then should it be considered necessary to continue in India a state of affairs which, it is thought, should not be continued in any other country?

The Indian Defence Force.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 14th Feb. 1919.

98. A note in the *Manorama*, of the 14th February, again calls attention to the scarcity of small coins in circulation, even in Calicut, and calls upon the Government and the Banks to do the needful in the matter.

Scarcity of small change.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 14th Feb. 1919.

99. The *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 12th February, regrets the fate of the Hon'ble Mr. K. S. Bhat's resolution, moved at the last meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, regarding the grant of war allowance to village

War allowance and village officers.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 12th Feb. 1919.

officers, dwells upon the desirability of granting them such an allowance or a batta as prayed for by the village officers of South Kanara in their recent memorial to the Revenue Board, and thinks that though most of them are landowners their present condition is really very pitiable.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 12th Feb. 1919.

The Madras Budget for 1919–1920.

100. While expressing satisfaction at the presentation of the Madras Budget for 1919–20 in the local Legislative Council a little earlier than usual, so as to give the members an occasion to criticise the same, as well as at the sound condition of the finances of the Government, the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 12th February, observes that considering the fate of the resolutions moved by the non-official members, it must be said that unless these Councils are reconstituted agreeably to the recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, the opinions of the Honourable Members, i.e., of the people whom they represent, will be presented in vain, and that it is quite evident that in the present state of affairs their representation in the Councils will not bring the public any perceptible advantage.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 12th Feb. 1919.

Mappilla riots.

101. The *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 12th February, gives an account of the recent Mappila riots in the Mankada-Pallippuram amsom of the Walluvanad taluk, and congratulates the District Magistrate as well as others whe took part in quelling the riot in two days.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 14th Feb. 1919.

Referring to the recent Walluvanad riot, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 14th February, points out that this is not the first occasion on which armed fanatics have murdered innocent people in the Walluvanad region. That the fanatics have been killed, is no consolation to those who have suffered. People trust a Government for the protection of their person and property. To know that that protection is impotent and to have to pass one's days in perpetual fear is worse than solitary imprisonment. This is the fate of all those who have to live among the Mappilas of Ernad and Walluvand. . . It is confidently expected that the Government will do the needful in the matter and try to prevent such occurrences in the future.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 15th Feb. 1919.

The Director of Fisheries.

102. "Look at the caste bias of the Madras Government," exclaims an editorial note in the *Samadarsi* of the 15th February, which takes exception to the appointment of Mr. Hornell, who knows nothing about fisheries, to succeed Sir Frederick Nicholson as Director. Mr. Hornell, perhaps, knows how to receive and spend the fifteen thousand rupees a year which he will get as the pay of this post. What need for any further qualification? Mr. V. V. Govindan is Assistant Director and the Government have recognized his ability. But the protestations made in the Legislative Council that Mr. Govindan may be placed in sole charge of the department were of no avail. If, however, the Government were not willing to make a dark man head of the department, it was suggested that the Fisheries Department may be placed under the Department of Industries. This was not heeded either. Mr. Hornell must be provided for. The flood of his fortune must wash away before it, Mr. Govindan's ability and claims and public opinion. That is all.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 15th Feb. 1919.

Civilians and the Reform Scheme.

103. An editorial note in the *Samadarsi*, of the 15th February, states that the Civilians are trying to construct a dam against the flood of Indian Reforms. The Viceroy saw this and called out to them that they need not bother, as reforms will be introduced only in such a way as not to injurie their prestige and dignity. Most of the Civilians are the white men from England. They constitute the foreign bureaucracy of India. If the dominating power of this bureaucracy will not be shaken in the least, "who wants such reforms." Some believed that these Civilian subordinates will be reprimanded by the Government for criticizing the scheme and memorializing the Government. But those that believed so are the people that have erred. "What is this Government of India? It is only these same Civilians grown old and ripe"

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 6th Feb. 1919.

A glance at the budget.

104. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 6th February, referring to the budget estimate for the year 1919–20 submitted by the Hon'ble Sir Alexander Cardew at the Legislative Council, writes:—Undoubtedly the Honourable Member has very carefully, sympathetically and with great consideration and perseverance prepared the scale of the

income and expenditure and in the present circumstances it is impossible to increase or decrease the scale.

The editor, in giving a detailed list of the amounts sanctioned under different heads, observes:—It is regrettable to find that no special attention has been paid to Muhammadan education, nor has any provision been made in the budget for its expenditure. Muhammadans have in every way been left unprovided for.

MUSHIR-I-DAKHAN, Hyderabad, 6th Feb. 1919.

A further increase in telegraphic rates.

105. The *Mushir-i Dakhan*, of the 6th February, referring to this subject writes:—It was thought that as the Armistice was signed and the terms of peace were being settled, the rates, duties and prices of those articles which had risen during the war would be restored to their normal condition. We had expected that a reduction would primarily be made in the enhanced telegraphic rates and railway fares which were connected with the war. But it is astounding to find that a notification of the Indian Postal Department regarding the enhanced rates in the telegrams has been published to the effect that from the 1st February 1919 the rate of the ordinary telegram consisting of twelve words has been increased from twelve annas to one rupee and that of the express telegram for the same number of words from one rupee to two rupees.

In short this increase is extremely hard considering the present prevailing dearness of all articles. The Government should necessarily show special consideration in fixing rates, and duties on articles that are connected with the Government, so that it may afford at least some facility to the public.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 8th Feb. 1919.

One rupee and two and a half rupee notes.

106. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 8th February, commenting on the public criticisms on the issue of these notes writes:—When one rupee and two and a half rupee notes were issued by the British Government, the public was under the impression that the Government were replacing silver coins by paper money, which leads us to infer that the Government silver stock is being exhausted.

The people, however, were lacking in foresight, for no one raised such an objection when hundred rupee, ten-rupee and five-rupee notes were in circulation before the war. Hence there is no reason why they should give expression to such ideas at the issue of the new notes.

Four objections are being raised at the new notes in circulation—

(1) That they get soiled very quickly.

As regards this objection it is stated that the Government has issued orders to post offices and treasuries to receive back such soiled notes and to issue fresh notes instead. Thus this objection is renounced.

(2) That one rupee and two and a half rupee notes cannot be hoarded or hidden under ground like silver coins.

It is true but the procedure here is different, e.g., if a person wishes to safeguard his wealth he should deposit such notes in a Post Office Savings Bank when the Government will be its custodian and his money will be more secure than if placed in the earth. He will also be in receipt of interest from the Government and whenever a person demands the return of the full amount, it will be returned to him with interest. Thus this objection is met.

(3) That notes cannot be melted like silver coins that are used for making silver ornaments.

It is true, but it should be remembered that the Government condemns melting of gold and silver coins and that people who do so are liable to severe punishment. Such objection prevails in England also and no one may consider that the order is restricted to India alone.

This objection also fails.

(4) That the issue of one rupee and two and a half rupee notes is a new practice.

Although new practice is introduced in India, no such practice exists in other countries. This objection can easily be removed if all Indians knew that notes of small denominations are in circulation in other countries also.

JAMIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

A health association.

107. The *Jeridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 15th February, referring to His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech delivered at the Senate House on the 13th idem regarding the preservation of public health and the care of infant life, writes—

His Excellency's speech is couched in suitable terms and based on well-founded arguments.

His Excellency's advice regarding the care of infants is prompted by profund solicitude for the welfare of the young.

The editor requests his local contemporaries to try their best to see that the proposal meets with general approval so that the association may receive all possible encouragement.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

Disappointment to Muhammadans.

108. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 11th February, commenting on the disappointment caused to Muhammadans by Government not granting the right of separate electorate to Muhammadans for their representation at the municipal council, remarks:—We have the least hesitation in saying that the Government has committed a serious blunder and Hindu brethren have acted exceedingly unjustly in the matter.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

Municipal representation.

109. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 12th February, writes:—The Government of Madras has refused to grant the Mussalmans the right of representation. We should not on this account be disappointed and discouraged but be more urgent in our demands and more zealous in our endeavours We should give neither ourselves nor the Government any rest.

The Government thinks we Mussalmans are seeking some seats in the Corporation and that we may be satisfied if two or three be conceded. We should prove that this is an erroneous idea. We are demanding the right of national representation, and that until we are not able to elect our own representative it is not likely that we can be satisfied.

It is now advisable that we should appeal to the Government of India and invite the attention of the Viceroy to consider the demand before passing the Bill. Apparently the Madras Government has acted in accordance with the opinion of the Government of India and hence the question should be introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council so as to ascertain as to whether the Government of Madras is right. It is a disgrace to Mussalmans to sit quiet and disheartened at the defeat. We must try again and we may succeed if God wills.

III.—LEGISLATION.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

110. Observing that the second of these Bills too has been referred to a Select Committee in spite of the opposition of the non-official members, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th February, writes:—We never expect that the bureaucrats, who by the exercise of their influence and different kinds of powers conduct the administration in the way they like, will meet with discomfiture. Why will not they, who are accustomed to assert themselves disregarding public opinion, carry on the administration in an irresponsible manner? The Government should note that this irresponsible system of administration will only aggravate the existing unrest and discontent in the country.

Referring to a provision in the second Bill penalising the possession of a seditious publication, the same paper observes:—It is also provided in the Bill that the person possessing this publication should prove that he keeps it with him for a legitimate purpose. When the all-knowing executive officers are accusing a man and harassing him, how will it be possible for him to prove that he has the publication with him only for a legitimate purpose? Even if he succeeds in proving to that effect, will that be acceptable to the authorities? If a person, through ignorance, keeps such a publication in his possession, is it not cruel to charge and punish him for the same? It is needless for us to state that, on account of this provision, both the educated and the uneducated, the wise and the ignorant will suffer alike at the hands of the Police. We repeat again that to

pass the second Bill, which contains a cruel provision like this, is both unjust and unfair.

Referring to Rowlatt Bill No. 1, the same paper remarks that some members of the Imperial Legislative Council got entangled into the snare of the bureaucrats in spite of their previous knowledge of the devices of these bureaucrats and observes:—Why should this be passed into law even as a temporary measure? What material difference does it make whether it is in force only for three years or for ever? What guarantee is there that it will not be made permanent later on? Though the Honourable Members are well aware of the attitude and nature of the bureaucrats, they feel elated at the statement that Bill No. 1 will, when passed into law, remain in force only for a short period.

The *Dravidan*, of the 12th February, reproduces in Tamil the sentiments expressed in the *Justice* of the 11th idem pointing out the misapprehension of the scope of the Bills and the need for enacting them. DRAVIDAN, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an account of a meeting of the People's Association at Arcot held on the 30th January 1919 in which various resolutions are reported to have been passed the chief of which being that protesting against the enactment of these Bills. SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th February, publishes in Tamil the resolutions passed at a public meeting held in Salem on the 12th idem, strongly protesting against the enactment of these Bills and exhorting the non-official members to withdraw from the Select Committee and even resign their membership if the Bills were passed into law. SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

Remarking that, in the administration of this country, the policy of "rallying the moderates" is now being successfully adopted by the bureaucrats, and quoting as an instance the proceedings of the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th February, observes:—Has Sir William Vincent given any assurance that this law will not be renewed after three years? If there are reasons to justify its enactment for three years at present, what is the certainty that these will not exist at the end of the three years? It devolves on the Government to make out a case necessitating legislation. When the Government have not done so, why should the non-official members agree to this measure? If a stray case of sedition should occur anywhere during these three years, the authorities may urge it as a reason to have the term further extended. Further they may say that they have received some information from the Secret Police justifying its renewal. Or if at the expiry of the present period they were to say that the conditions which obtained at the beginning of 1919 obtain then also, what will our representatives do? By quoting the analogy of Ireland in which a law was enacted only for a period of three years in the beginning and then renewed, Sir William Vincent perhaps indirectly indicated that the present measure also might be renewed subsequently. Does our history show that any Act passed to suit the conditions existing at a time was revoked when these conditions changed? The Regulation of 1818 is alive with all its vitality even in 1918. So, we have no reason whatever to believe that this law will not be renewed at the end of the three years. There is little doubt that those that have accepted to serve on the Select Committee to consider these Bills, whether they be moderates or nationalists, are clearly acting prejudicially to the interests of the country. Though the Government have the power to pass these Bills, whether the non-official members serve on the Select Committee or not, they will not venture to use that power against the unanimous wish of the Indian members. The very fact of their courting the assistance of the moderates shows this. So the Honourable Members out of respect for the country's wishes and to safeguard the rights and privileges of the peoples should without caring for any privileges, preferment, good will or anything that can be obtained at the hands of the Government, oppose these Bills with one unanimous voice. If their attempts are of no avail, they should in a body secede from the council.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Referring to the statement of a Delhi correspondent to the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* to the effect that the authorities asked the non-official members in private to accept these Bills in view to their own interests and said that the new Legislative Council to be SWADESAMITRAN, Madras. 14th Feb. 1919.

formed as a result of the reforms would not approve them, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 14th February, observes:—Surely the Legislative Council which may be formed as a result of the reform scheme will not accept such Bills. It is, therefore, ludicrous that on this score the present Council should approve them It is professed that these Bills are intended to save the people from the cruelties of the wretched anarchists and that, if they are not passed into law now, they can never be passed hereafter. It is but usual for the authorities to say that any law which is enacted by them is only intended for the people's welfare, and it is alike usual for the people to suffer in consequence of such laws. If it is a fact that these Bills will be productive of good to the people, why will not the new Council accept them? Is it proper to establish a Council that is certain to oppose Bills which will surely benefit the people? If the coming Council is to be representative in character and if it refuses to approve these Bills, then it follows that the Bills are not countenanced by the people. To attempt to pass such Bills into law somehow by securing the consent of a few is not consistent with the political principles of the present day.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 15th February, makes the following observations among others in regard to these Bills:—This rare union among the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council presenting a unanimous opposition was exhibited only in regard to these Bills. There were instances of such opposition in regard to matters relating to education, budget, etc., but not in matters concerning repressive measures, in which the authorities would try to secure a few to side with them. For instance, when the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Defence of India Act were introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council as Bills, only a few non-official members boldly objected to them, while the authorities by patting the others who lacked in boldness and common sense won them over to their side. Even the official members who then spoke about these Acts seem to have spoken without fully understanding the evil consequences likely to result from them, because the authorities then assured the people that no harm would result from these laws. But all their assurances have since proved to be empty words. What should the Government understand now from the united opposition of the Indian members to these Bills? They should clearly realize that they are acting against the wishes of the people in enacting this law by compulsion. They should also realize what the consequences will be of such an act. Will the people's representatives be responsible for these consequences?

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 10th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Adverting to an observation in the Viceroy's speech in the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council that these Bills are essential for the peaceful conduct of administration in India, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 10th February, observes:—There is no doubt that every Indian who hears this will grow despondent. Wherever the bureaucrats are allowed to have their own ways, there will always be unrest. The rulers should understand that unrest can never be put an end to by repressive measures unless the grievances that cause the unrest are redressed. It is unnatural to repress the rights of man and no one can succeed in going against nature. The westerners think that they can surely succeed in doing anything by the strength of their will power. There is a limit for everything which it is impossible to exceed. . . The Indians are suspected in vain and suspicion necessitates more repressive measures. If, on the other hand, their rights and privileges are granted and they are permitted to adopt the policy of self-determination, there will be no need for any repressive measures at all. To rule a country without trust is altogether impossible. If the rulers happen to be foreigners, they will never confide in the natives. However heartily the Indians may strive hard, they can never create confidence. The cry raised by India against these Bills has become a cry in the wilderness. Let the Indians hereafter at least realise their condition.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th February, observes:—The Government are capable of passing any Bill into an Act and they have referred the Rowlatt Bills for the consideration of a Select Committee in spite of the united opposition of all the non-official members. As regards what Indian members should do at this juncture, many important political associations in the country have suggested

that they should give up serving on that committee. But Mrs. Besant suggests that they should, on the other hand, remain in the committee and oppose every provision of the Bill, and that, if their opposition turns out futile, they should secede from the Legislative Council. A correspondent to the *Capital* observes that the Government have resolved to entrust all the liberties of the people in British India into the hands of the Police. This is true. Government by legislation will be supplanted by Government by the Police, if the Rowlatt Bills should become law. Can the people's representatives have the least connexion with such Bills? Would the Government venture to proceed further if the Indian members decline to serve in the committee? If they have the boldness, why should they yield one step by proposing to reduce the duration of the law to three years? They would never venture to use the strength of their votes against all the Indian members. So, there might be salvation only if our members either refuse to serve on the committee or oppose the Bill as a whole. If, without doing so, they begin to oppose the Bill provision by provision, opportunity would arise for the Government to win some of them to their side. For if the Government yield to the views of some members in respect of certain provisions, these members will, in showing their gratitude to Government, support them. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of the Indian members, whether they are moderates or nationalists, to refuse to serve on the committee and oppose the enactment completely and thus withdraw relinquishing all responsibility in the matter.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th February, publishes *in extenso* the speeches of the President, the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar, and Mr. Satyamurti at a meeting held in the Madras Beach opposite to the Presidency College on the 12th idem, to protest against the Rowlatt Bills, in the course of which the President, after explaining the cause of his leaving the Council Chamber at the recent meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council, pointed out in strong terms that the Rowlatt Bills, which affect the fundamental rights of man, would render free communion of people impossible and subject many to imprisonment, while the second speaker, questioning the competency of the Government of India to enact these Bills, said that these 'barbarous' Bills were being forced on the Indians in return for the help rendered by them in the shape of men and money in the war on the plea that there were anarchists in India, that if measures intended for the suppression of anarchism were foolishly passed without any consultation with the people, they would not have the desired effect and that the words of Sir William Vincent with regard to the proper application of this law could not be depended upon as such promise in the case of the Press Act proved false. He is also reported to have mentioned that the non-official members should share no responsibility in the matter of passing these Bills.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th February, publishes an abstract of the proceedings of this meeting, which contains also an observation made by Subhrahmanya Siva, one of the speakers, that since the day on which these Bills are passed a vow should be taken to exclude foreign articles.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 14th February, contains in its leader extracts from the speeches made at this meeting.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 14th February, reproduces the comments, of the *Tribune* suggesting the course to be adopted by the non-official members in the Select Committee, during the consideration of these Bills, while the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th idem publishes in Tamil the views of Mr. Sayyid Hassan Imam about the Bills.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 14th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Referring to the Sedition Bills introduced by the Government in the Imperial Legislative Council as recommended in the Rowlatt Commission Report, the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 12th February, points out that, at this juncture, when India is rejoicing at the success of the British arms, these two laws are not necessary for safeguarding the person and property of the people in general, which it says could well be done by the existing criminal law, and that these two Bills, which allow Government servants to arrest and imprison persons on suspicion of sedition, to conduct private inquiries without jurors and assessors and to deal with them as these officials please, without allowing the accused any right of appeal, will not

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 12th Feb. 1919.

only be a stain on pure British justice in India, but will also serve as extremely sharp instruments for cutting away the freedom of the people. If, in consequence of the inquiries conducted and punishments inflicted under these laws, the people are driven to despair, will not that despair engender sedition and anarchism which the Bills are intended to prevent? The paper thinks that such offences cannot and will not be committed in countries which are under Governments like the British Government, that any law which will conduce to the welfare of the people will not meet with opposition, and that it is only the abuse of such laws by those who administer them that gives occasion to opposition, hardships and despair. There is reason to apprehend the possibility of abuse of these laws, as long as there are some high officials in India who are not particularly fond of India nor particularly sympathetic of its aspirations.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 14th Feb. 1919.

The *Yogakshemam*, of the 14th February, says that there is no anarchism in India at present. What there was in the past, was due to administrative evils, which the Government are now diligently trying to rectify by the introduction of reforms. Anarchists should naturally have troubled the Government when the Government were being sorely tried by the perils of the war. But during all that time India stood by the Government, forgetting the evils of administration. His Majesty the King and the ministers have stated that India's help exceeded all expectations. Though the non-official members of the Legislative Council pleaded, with one accord, the inadvisability of passing measures which on the very face of them indicate diffidence of Indians who confided in the Government and loyally helped them, measures intended against the disloyal but drafted in such a way that it may trouble the loyal subjects of His Majesty too, and will become in the hands of impetuous officers of Government a veritable instrument of torture. Yet their pleadings were in vain. In the opinion of many, the course of the proposed measures is an excellent proof of the fact that when the Government makes up its mind to do a thing, it does not care very much for public opinion. . . Any way the opinion is gaining momentum as the days pass by that the proposed measures are such as would destroy the freedom of the people.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 15th Feb. 1919.

A note in the *Samadarsi*, of the 15th February, severely criticises the Rowlatt Bills and observes that experience shows that the arming of the authorities with such terrible legal weapons for the preservation of peace will only produce contrary results. Repression has never and nowhere succeeded. Repression will only agitate the people again and again. If the Government of India which is aware of the fact that popular agitation was first started in India when Lord Curzon set his hand to partition Bengal in the teeth of public opposition, now begin to proceed again counter to public opinion how can such action conduce to peace? . . . The Bills will certainly be passed and will become a halter round the neck of patriotism and love of freedom. We can now only hope and pray that the law may not become so severe as to make the people desperate beyond all bounds.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

111. The *Dravidan*, of the 13th February, publishes in Tamil the sentiments contained in *Justice* of the 12th idem, advocating the passing of this Bill.

The Intercaste Marriage Bill.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

112. Remarking that almost all the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Council opposed this Bill and the provisions thereof, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th February, makes the following observations among others:—It is regrettable that, without realising it to be their duty to give proper answers for the objections raised by the non-official members, the Government members and the Governor opposed all their proposals obstinately. The Government have completely lost sight of the obvious fact that the capacity of the Indians for taking part in the administration of the country depends upon their training and experience in local self-governing institutions. The Government find fault very often with the Indians that they do not evince much interest and enthusiasm in municipal affairs, but refuse to grant them freedom in this respect. . . Sir Francis Spring proposed an amendment that it would suffice if all the buildings and lands under the Port Trust Board are assessed at 4 per cent of the annual income derived from them. This was accepted by the Government and the

The Madras City Municipal Bill.

reason for doing so is not known. We ask why the Government should render any help to the Port Trust Board who are growing rich from provincial revenues. It is unjust on the part of the Government to have declined to accept even the modification proposed by the representative of the Chamber of Commerce to increase the rate to 5 per cent. It should be noted that by this concession, the Corporation loses an income of two lakhs of rupees a year. We painfully state that on the whole the way in which the Government conducted themselves when the Bill was discussed in the Legislative Council was loathsome.

The Madras City Municipal Bill.

The *Dravidan*, of the 17th February, reproduces almost the same sentiments on this Bill as *Justice* of the 15th idem, commenting unfavourably on the utility of reforms on the lines adopted in this Bill and remarking that a good deal of time of both the official and non-official members has been wasted in the discussion of its provisions.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 18th February, observes:—It is not satisfactory to the people that certain provisions in this Bill should become law without being amended, chiefly those relating to the levy of taxes. If the Bill becomes law as it is, the people will not accept it cheerfully. According to the Bill graduates will no longer have the voting franchise. This only shows the apathy for graduates and the failure to appreciate their work and services. Graduates had votes till now, not because they owned houses and other properties in the city, but because they were considered to be intelligent and fit to espouse the public cause with a liberal heart. Depriving graduates suddenly of this privilege is certainly a great loss to the country. The number of people's representatives on the new Council will increase. But European representatives, though few in number, are very powerful and these together with the members nominated by the Government may form a majority and act against the elected members. We consider that even those that till now were a party to the enactment of this new piece of legislation will not appreciate it in its present form.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

The Agricultural Pests Bill.

113. Observing that the Government have passed this Bill without the slightest consideration for the suggestions of the public to effect certain alterations and corrections in the provisions thereof and remarking that the action of the Government in this matter is regrettable, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 18th February, says:—How far this Act will be conducive to the interests of the agriculturists of this province remains to be seen. The arguments advanced by the representative members are sound enough. It appears that big European planters in this Presidency were in favour of this Bill, but they do not seem to care for the welfare of the uneducated villagers. The benefit of this Act very much depends upon the way in which the object of the Government in passing it is explained to the ignorant ryots. Though the amendments suggested by the non-official members may not be carried out, still we trust that the Government will become convinced of the expediency of their suggestions while enforcing this Act.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

Disappointment: the Congress deputation.

114. Referring to the rejection by the Government in the Imperial Legislative Council of the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's resolution asking for the cancellation of the prohibition order regarding the Congress deputation, the *Andhravani*, of the 5th October, observes:—The rejection of this resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council is highly regrettable. . . The Secretary of State and the Viceroy have both expressed their readiness to consider any popular representation or criticism on the Scheme of Reforms. But the Government do not really seem to be in right earnest to consider public opinion. There is none in England to represent the aspiration of the Indian people. The members who proceeded in April on behalf of the Home Rule League, were ordered to go back. The Bombay censors stand in the way of our communicating our real opinions by means of letters and newspapers. The misrepresentations circulated in England by the Sydenham party with Dr. Nair to keep time to their tune are causing despair to Indians. As for the scheme of Reforms, Indians are not prepared even to look at it, unless many modifications are made therein. It is not proper for the Government here as well as for the Cabinet in England to treat so lightly the opinions of the leaders of those people for whose benefit this Reform Scheme is

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampore, 5th Oct. 1918.

published and whose future greatness depends on the reforms contained therein. . . To refuse passports to the Indian representatives at such a favourable critical juncture as this cannot at all be statemanship. . . We request that the British statesmen who are well known for their love of justice and for their championship of the right, may revoke their orders and earn the gratitude of the 300 millions of Indians by fully complying with their wishes. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampore, 12th Oct. 1918.

Recommendation of the Rowlatt Commission.

115. Regarding the rejection by the Government of the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council to put in abeyance the consideration of the recommendations made by the Rowlatt Commission, the *Andhravani*, of the 12th October, remarks. . . Since the Defence of India Act is only a temporary measure, the Government want to make some permanent legislation on that model. It is not proper for Indians who have tasted sufficiently well the evil consequences of such laws to be silent at this juncture. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampore, 1st Feb. 1919.

Are repressive laws our new political reforms?

116. Referring to the Rowlatt Bills, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 1st February, writes under this heading:— . . . It is nothing but ridiculous for Government to talk of granting self-government to Indians who have not the fundamental rights of human beings. . . Perhaps, these Bills constitute the first step in the new scheme of reforms. . . The Rowlatt Commission has stated that sedition in India had its origin in the Chitpavan Brahman community of Mr. Tilak, and that the speeches and writings of Swami Vivekananda, the great Hindu religious worker and disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, have largely contributed to its growth. . . It has likewise expressed its thoughtless opinions on many debatable points. . . Indians should hold meetings in every town and village and express in unequivocal terms their disapproval of the attempts made by autocratic rulers to destroy their inherent rights. . . Some of our rights as men have been already stamped out by the bureaucracy. There is no freedom of speech. There is no freedom of the press. There have already been repressive provisions to imprison boys, nationalists and such others who may criticise the bureaucracy. The Government should be able to understand with the very little foresight they have, that these new repressive Bills cannot have any other effect than creating unrest among the people of India, who seem to think wrongly that they have still some rights, despite so many coercive laws already in existence. . . Is it a principle of British administration of justice to coerce the whole of India for the punishment of a few anarchists? . . . It is as highly regrettable as it is most shortsighted that the Government of India should think fit to inaugurate new repressive measures on the eve of the new era when greater cordiality should prevail between the rulers and the ruled. The Government will not refrain from doing what they want to do. But let them think of resorting to this despotic action, after realizing with a clear insight how the future condition of the country would be under these Bills. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampore, 1st Feb. 1919.

Repressive laws.

117. Referring to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhravani*, of the 1st February, writes in its leaders under this heading:—. . . It may be said that the new Bills beat out the Defence of India Act itself in point of severity. . . The people know how the Government apply repressive laws. Those laws will render national service impossible, enhance the influence of the Police, and leave no refuge for the people from the abnormal acts of the bureaucracy. It will be an offence according to the new Bills to agitate for reforms as at present. The freedom of the people will be curtailed in every way and bureaucratic power will raise its head. Such coercive measures were not deemed necessary, even when India was in a most turbulent condition. . . There does not seem to be any special reason in the condition of the country calling for the enactment of measures which are even more drastic than the Defence of India Act. . . The Government have failed to carry out the promise made by them at the time of passing the Defence of India Act, that they will make it only a temporary measure and apply it discreetly. . . The people of India have never expected that the Government, instead of repealing the repressive measures already in force, will try to embody in the permanent

statute book, laws of even a harsher nature, based upon the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission. They are asking in shame whether this is the reward for the thoroughly loyal services rendered by them to the Empire. . . While the whole civilised world has accepted the principle that the burden of proof should lie on the prosecuting party, the amendment to the current Indian Penal Code throws that burden on the accused. . . By the second Bill, the people will have no facilities to question the conduct of the executive, even though they behave in an autocratic way. Statesmen are anxious that the autocratic measures already adopted by the Government have estranged the rulers from the ruled. To estrange them further cannot be far-sightedness. . . The Government will introduce the new Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council in the first week of February. The elected members should then express their disapproval with an undaunted voice, and make the Government give up their attempts. May the people convey to the Government their disapproval by holding public meetings in time, and thus uphold the honour of their country!

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

118. Referring to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th February, writes in its leader under this heading :—It is clear that the first of the Rowlatt Bills is more dangerous than the second. While the second Bill only confers some extra-ordinary powers on the Government, in emergent cases, the first proposes amendments to the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, which permanently upset law. . . The newly proposed section 124-B in the Indian Penal Code is opposed to the principles of British justice. . . The man in whose possession a seditious document has been found will have to prove that he has kept it with him in good faith. Lawyers know how difficult it is to prove such a fact. . . How is it possible to know which newspaper or which book contains sedition? Will it be possible for one who has not gone through a book to find out which part of it is seditious. So many books will be sent to newspapers for review. Who can know whether there is sedition in them all or not. As has been pointed out by Pandit Malavya, if such documents fall into the hands of students, can they be expected to exercise proper discrimination? Even grown up people find it difficult. Sedition has not till now been defined, and there is difference of opinion about it among the Judges of the High Courts. The section of the repressive Bill is even more stringent than the corresponding section of the Defence of India Act, for the latter enables the people to know what documents they should not possess by clearly specifying the prohibited ones. The new Bill, on the other hand, throws on the people the burden of deciding which documents are seditious, and keeps them in a state of fear by affording room for doubt. Besides section 2, there are many others like 510 (*a*) and 565 (*a*) which are fraught with evil consequences. . . Such drastic provisions will disturb the peace of the country by calling forth unnecessary agitation. It is the highest duty of the popular leaders to protect the country from such a calamity. The new Bills are retrograde and do not help progress. Writing to the *Bengalee* on these Bills, Mr. A. C. Mazumdar has expressed his anxiety in the following terms: ". . . The provisions of these Bills are fit for countries which have been newly conquered and placed under martial law. . ." . . . Whatever be the number of our representatives going to England, all that they can do is to represent the wishes of the people, which will be crowned with success only when the people firmly express their opinions and are ready to make the necessary sacrifices.

The crisis.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Feb. 1919.

119. Referring to the discussion on the Madras City Municipal Bill in the Local Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th February, observes:—. . . It looks improper that the bureaucracy should introduce this narrow Municipal Bill before the introduction of the scheme of self-government in the country. . . The amendments proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar with a view to still further narrow the report of the Select Committee, are accepted. . . Local self-government cannot progress, so long as it is in the hands of the authorities. . . According to the new Bill, the authority of the President of the Corporation becomes nominal while that of the Commissioner

The Madras City Municipal Bill and Doctor Nayar's speech.

increases. . . Similarly, the Hon'ble Mr. Spring moved an amendment prohibiting the Corporation from levying taxes on the buildings of the Port Trust. By this amendment, the Corporation will lose two and a half lakhs of rupees out of its income. Instead of increasing the income of the Corporation, the new Bill only makes it still smaller and multiplies the Corporation's responsibilities. Self-government cannot but look ridiculous in these circumstances. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and the European Association.

120. Referring to the resolution of the European Association on the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th February, observes in its leader:—. . . What is the advantage in having the Bills made temporary? People know from experience that temporary measures would be retained as permanent. Though the Seditious Meetings Act was intended to be in force for only three years, it has been made permanent subsequently. The Press Act has not been made temporary in spite of the promise made by the Government in deference to the request of the non-official members. When once a repressive law has been passed, it will be difficult to have it abrogated. . . Though Lord Chelmsford may be inclined to have these Bills as only temporary measures, it cannot be said with certainty that his successor will respect such a promise. When it is a matter of obstructing the birth-rights of the people, three years is not an ordinary period. It will be hard upon the people to forego their rights for so long a time. Leaders like Mr. Bannerjea no doubt expressed their pleasure on hearing the fact that the Government mean to pass the Bills as only temporary measures; but such a sentiment cannot prevail among the people. It is the duty of every Indian to see that such coercive Acts have no place among the laws of the country. That the European Association should express, in these circumstances, its disapproval of the attitude of the Government in making the Bills only temporary is in keeping with its traditions. The reasons advanced by it are quite ridiculous. . . The European Association deserves our thanks for speaking out its mind without reserve. Its main object is to see that the reforms will not be of the least use and that repressive acts are freely promulgated. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

The leaders we have lost in the Legislative Council.

121. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th February, gives in Telugu an extract from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, regarding the attitude of some Moderates in the Viceroy's Council towards the Rowlatt Bills which contains:—It is thus clear that these gentlemen (the Moderates) have renounced their principles and views in order to please the authorities. . .

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

The City Municipal Bill.

122. Referring to the discussion of the City Municipal Bill in the Legislative Council, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th February, says:—The Government believed the opinions of the Select Committee as gospel truth and have rejected every amendment proposed by the non-official members. . . The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Rajagopala Acharyulu, a member of the Select Committee, may have obtained a sufficient knowledge of local self-government from books. But what is the use of it? It can shine only after being polished on the whetting stone of experience. Again he is a high-placed officer and as such he could not run counter to the views of the Government. It may be supposed that the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar also had the same difficulty. From the discussion of the Bill, it will appear that the Government are not evincing any interests in the matter of local self-government. We do not see any difference between the old and the new law. The new law does not relax the interference of the Government to any the least extent. Should the people obtain the permission of the Government even in insignificant matters connected with finance? How can the people be trained in responsible local self-government in such a case? How many centuries will it then take for them to obtain responsible self-government? We do not understand this persistence on the part of the Government. Are they acting under instructions from the higher authorities? Or, what could be the reason for the Government invariably considering as unfair those matters which the peoples' representatives consider just? It is unfair that the authorities who think that the people are to some extent fit to have self-government, should themselves throw obstacles in matters relating to local self-government. We submit that the

Government should know that it would be well to entrust the Indians with greater responsibility as they gain more and more experience.

Well-done! Mr. Narasimha Ayyar!

123. Congratulating the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar on his walking out of the Council and contrasting his conduct with that of the Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao on a similar occasion at Ootacamund in May 1917, the *Hitakarini*, of the 9th February, writes under this heading:— . . . Could it be that such a course of action did not strike the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao then? As he is a cold tempered gentleman, he has swallowed his indignation and sat silent. That is why the name of Mr. Ayyar has not had the fortune of having any titles tacked on to it while Mr. Rao has been promoted from Rao Bahadur to Diwan Bahadur. . . It is his own gentle disposition and not any desire on his part to win the favour of the authorities that has prevented Mr. Rao from walking out of the Council like Mr. Ayyar.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 9th Feb. 1919.

The Imperial Legislative Council.

124. Referring to the recent Delhi session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Hitakarini*, of the 9th February, observes:— . . . Many important topics have been discussed in the Viceroy's speech, but those that are favourable to the popular aspirations are very few. . . It will be no excuse for Government to neglect to concert measures for the prevention of epidemics on the ground that they are due to defective sanitation. His Excellency the Viceroy freely lavished his sympathy on the Indian Civil Service officials who receive thousands of rupees every month but who seemed to him to be special victims to the ravages of famine. Has he failed to realize the condition of those poor people who have no house to live in, no bed to sleep on, no food to eat and no rag to wear? Would he not otherwise express some small pity for the poor in their misery?

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 9th Feb. 1919.

It must be said that the way in which he has spoken of the reforms and the Rowlatt Bills which are now agitating the public mind is disappointing. He gives ample assurance to the Indian Civil Servants who are crying that they will be reduced to the position of 'serpents deprived fangs.' . . It appears that only those who have recognized the services rendered by these officials and their readiness for co-operation will be appointed as ministers. . . Why will not the Viceroy look at the obstructions which the bureaucrats are causing to the aspirations and freedom of Indians and to the Home Rule movement with the same eye? Where will his liberality go then? Water always flows down but does not go up. When an Indian happens to be the Viceroy, will the situation be like this? But blood is thicker.

The Viceroy's statement made in defiance of the opinions of Moderates like Sir N. Chandravarkar, that the Rowlatt Bills should be at once passed into law is as surprising as it is regrettable.

. . . On the whole, the Viceroy's speech from start to finish lands the people in a world of despair. . .

The Sedition Bills.

125. The *Hitakarini*, of the 9th February, reports the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* to have written:— "The *Maharata* says who will be responsible that the Rowlatt Bills will not be abused like the Press Act and the Defence of India Act? We cannot sell our privileges and birthrights for even a hundred schemes of Mr. Montagu". . . No Indian will approve of the Bills without being a traitor to the country.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 9th Feb. 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

126. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 14th February, in the course of a leading article criticizing the Criminal Law Amendment Bills, observes:—The Bills have been condemned alike by moderates and extremists, Hindus and Moslems, and we wonder why the Government should be so resolute in its endeavour to override such overwhelming public opinion. Has sedition spread over the country like the influenza epidemic or the furious famine of which we see signs everywhere in the country, or is it spreading like the strikes among the labouring classes which have resulted from the greed of the capitalists? The reason for the persistence of the Government in passing these laws is to be found in the imaginary fear of the Government that the sudden withdrawal of the

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 14th Feb. 1919.

strong measures enacted during the war might lead to untoward results. If there were signs of anarchist tendencies as a result of enemy intrigue during the war, would it be right to perpetuate such hard measures which take away all individual liberty against a whole nation of such steadfast loyalty? It is not foolish to go about in the streets brandishing swords even after any tigers that may have strayed into the city have been killed? Nothing can be so stupidly absurd as to impose such hard laws on a whole nation in order to control a handful of anarchists. Sir Vincent thinks that the proposed measures will affect only the anarchists. But it is easy to see that the dog that is let loose on these handful of anarchists will pounce on others as well. Those who argue that the measure will not harm loyal citizens do not seem to have comprehended the dreadfully comprehensive nature of its provisions which repress all popular liberty of speech and writing. It is indeed a strange fate that prompts the bureaucracy to hang these mill-stones of the Rowlatt Bills round the necks of a loyal people, just at a time when England herself has the garland of victory round her neck. The reason of this is to be found in the fact that the bureaucracy wants to ensure that no harm comes to its own selfish interests and authority. When the Government is determined to pass these laws in the face of such unanimous opposition from the popular representatives in the Council, what can the meek masses do beyond entering their mere verbal protest?

In another article on the subject, the same paper observes:—The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent with a view to sunder the extremists from the moderates and win the latter to his side, tactfully suggested that the members may suggest amendments. Poisoned sweets cannot alter their poisonous nature and become edible by taking away a portion from those sweets or by adding some new constituents to them . . . The attitude of the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nayar in connexion with this measure cannot be reconciled with his attitude as President of the Congress in 1897-98 when he criticized the law relating to sedition.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 17th Feb. 1919.

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 17th February, writes:—The Government have decided to keep the Rowlatt Bills in force for three years after the conclusion of peace. We have to suppose that there would be no arm if innocent persons remain in jail for three years and act accordingly.

A correspondent of the same paper, writes:—In England the Government is responsible to the people. But here all the protests of the people proved unavailing. The Government want to rule like *nawabs* by providing an official majority in the Imperial Council. Thus the democratic methods which obtain in England have no place in the administration of this country. It is suggested in some quarters that the non-official members of the Imperial Council should resign in a body. When will the Indians gain that manliness and straightforward manner? They are destined to remain in servitude. How can a people steeped in class and religious hatred acquire British traditions and British unity? So long as the majority of our people are without the power of sacrificing even their lives for the sake of their rights and liberties, and remain engrossed in petty quarrels among themselves, it is better that our Government should be *nawabs* over us. It is no use regretting that the innocent among us may have to suffer punishment as offenders. What cannot be cured must be endured.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 18th Feb. 1919.

A correspondent of the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 18th February, writes:—Many of the farseeing among the Indians feel troubled by the thought that a section of the white men in India have resolved that the Rowlatt Bills should be passed into law, whether the Indians give their consent or not, and that the new law will give the white men autocratic sway over India, and keep the Indians in utter servitude, that it will help the white men to obtain all the wealth of this country and make the Indians suffer from want of food and clothing, and that it will make it possible to put into prison without trial all those who complain of such suffering and to punish them more severely. The rulers are the final redressers of popular grievances. Our rulers are the British public—the British Parliament Some of the self-seeking white men are trying to weaken us by increasing our caste and religious hatred, in order to prevent us from realizing even our just ambitions. If the Indians are careful not to fall victims to the tactics designed for creating differences among themselves and expose the

jugglery of these men before the Emperor and the Parliament, our grievances are sure to be redressed.

The *Mysore Star*, of the 16th February, after referring at length to the discussions in the Imperial Legislative Council, remarks :—Though the Government had never before heard such strong protests against their action, their calmness and patience in listening to them were equalled only by their statesmanship. The same kind of protests had been made when the Defence of India Act was about to be passed. And yet, everybody was subsequently glad of the good it had done to the country. All the bombs, dacoities, and anarchist conspiracies which were so frequently heard of before were nearly warded off by that measure. Who will dare to say that the withdrawal of that measure will not lead to a reappearance of similar crime ? The people ought to trust the promises of the Government that care will be taken to see that the new laws do not do harm to the innocent. They should support the Government in their attempts to ward off crime and not look upon the Government as a kind of step mother.

MYSORE STAR, Mysore, 16th Feb. 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

In an article eulogising Sir N. G. Chandavarkar's articles in the *Times of India*, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 20th February observes :—If the Government should follow Sir Chandavarkar's suggestions British sovereignty in India will be established more firmly than ever. But the authorities are naturally fond of autocracy and indifferent to democratic methods. A tiger which has tasted human blood is seldom satisfied with animal blood. Autocratic Anglo-Indians are altogether averse to democratic methods. This was made clear in the Imperial Legislative Council. The proposed measure will be approved by the Select Committee and assented to by the Viceroy. This will make it evident that British justice can have no place in India. The people will seal their lips. They will not give utterance to dangerous words. But that will not prevent them from cherishing treachery at heart. The attempts to put down anarchist tendencies will thus serve only to increase them. Though Sir Chandavarkar has not said this so explicitly, he has said as much as he could without giving offence to the British authorities.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 20th Feb. 1919.

A correspondent of the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 20th February, subscribing himself R. K. Venkataramayya, *Searchlight*, Patna, writes :—The Government are offering liberty with one hand and are trying to snatch it back with the other. How would God like it? How are the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which propose to take steps towards responsible Government, consistent with measures of this kind ? Do we not see with our own eyes that so many lives are needlessly lost every day in consequence of measures of this kind ? How many Editors and Printing Presses, aiming at the enlightenment of the people, are being ruined ! To say that so much wealth is being drained out of India to England every year is sedition. To have a copy of Lajpat Rai's *Young India* is association with sedition ; and it means arrest or fine that very instant. If such laws are passed one after another, how can the country prosper at all ? . . . Is it not deplorable that the Government should propose measures like this in the face of the fact that India has helped in the great war with men and money beyond her means, although at least 48,000 of her own people are so poor as not to be able to have one full meal a day ? Is human memory getting so short that India's part in the war is to be forgotten as soon as the curtain is dropped on the tragedy ? Oh, Compatriots ! Do you not see or hear that meetings are held in every city in India to show that if the bureaucracy should go on in this manner, Mother India will not be able to bear it a minute longer ? Should you not save Mother India by likewise holding meetings in every village, by enlightening the people and by protesting against such measures ?

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 20th Feb. 1919.

The *Vokkaligara Patrike*, of the 19th February, after publishing a portion of the above letter, remarks :—The Government have to enact measures from time to time in order to punish the wicked and protect the good. The present Rowlatt Bills also come under the same class. Those who are never guilty of sedition in mind, word or deed have nothing to fear from these laws.

VOKKALIGARA PATRIKE, Bangalore City, 19th Feb. 1919.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

127. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 4th February, in a leader on the marginally-noted subject, writes:—We have not hitherto commented on the Bill for the special reason that we have been anxious to see what the public and the Ulama have to say about it. We now find that concerned voices are being raised from every nook and corner of South India. Among Mussalmans there are a few persons who regard the question of legislation a secular one, and the Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hasan as well is trying his utmost to make it appear so. To defeat the end of this small party a very large section of the Mussalmans of South India has prepared itself. The small one is trying to give the Bill a secular colour whereas the big one is endeavouring to prove it as against the Muhammadan law.

The Registration of Marriages and Divorces Bill.

We have taken the arguments of both the parties into consideration and have come to the conclusion that the matter is a religious, and not a secular, one.

Hence it is, we respectfully bring to the notice of the Government "that the late Queen Victoria, the late Emperor Edward and the Emperor George V have reiterated by means of proclamations that the Government of India shall have no power to interfere with the religious and secular affairs of any."

The question being a religious one, the Government should avoid interference.

We are astonished to see that the Secretary to Government has announced in the *Fort St. George Gazette* the receipt of only 23 petitions. Those important meetings that do not appear in the list have been reported on in the local English and Urdu papers and intimation of which has also been given to the Secretary, Legislative Department. God alone knows the secret of the omission. Most astounding is the fact that only a few of the meetings held against the Bill are mentioned, and hence we give below the names of a few of those important meetings.

Name of the meeting.	Place.	Name of Chairman.	Date.
Meeting of the Shias of Madras.	Abbasi Ashur Khana, Thousand Lights.	Shams-ul-Ulama Moulvi Saiyid Hasan Raza Sahib.	8th December 1918.
Meeting of the Anjuman-i-Ahli Sunnat-ul-Jamat.	Amir-un-nisa Begam Sahiba's Mosque, Triplicane.	Moulana Moulavi Qudrat Halim Sahib.	4th January 1919.
Meeting of Anjuman-i-Islahul-Muslamin.	Farrier's Mosque, Triplicane.	Shams-ul-Ulama Moulavi Shah Zahid Husain Sahib.	Do.
Meeting of the Musjid-i-Walajahi.	Musjid-i-Walajahi, Triplicane.	Do.	7th December 1918.
Meeting of Mussalmans of Chittoor.	Chittoor	Sahukar Saiyid Mir Husain Sahib.	9th December 1918.
Meeting of Ponneri.	Ponneri	Vaiz Muhammad Shams-ud-din Sahib.	3rd December 1918.
Meeting of Covelong.	Covelong	Governmant Kazi, Covelong.	Do.
Meeting of Khan Khabi Fukhria.	Juma Musjid, Mylapore.	Do.	Do.

The Editor invites the attention of the Secretary, Legislative Department, to the omission with a request that the same may be supplied in the next gazette

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 2nd Feb. 1919.

128. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 2nd February, in a leader on this subject, writes:—The Government of India is now determined to frame two preventive laws against sedition. For example the two Bills have been published with a hope that the people of India will welcome them. We do not understand the necessity that leads our Government to draw up some drastic law or other every year. People say that India is making advancement in education and civilization, and the Government in their report very proudly and conceitedly assure the world that they have inspired education and art in the Indian people and have raised the inhabitants of India to a very high standard of civilization and progress. But we plainly ask, can the country, where a severe Press Act exists, or the Government which has framed several strict laws, or the land upon which internment,

Two Acts on sedition.

transportation and imprisonment without trial exist, claim to have inspired education and civilization in the human community? These drastic laws are dealing a death blow to educational and moral prestige and the enforcement of such laws is spreading feelings of alarm and distrust among the people.

Only recently the most dreadful world-wide war has ended, when India has given such a genuine and grand proof of its loyalty that even the enemy has recognized the fact that officers from the Premier down to the Commissioner have appreciated the patience, perseverance, sympathy and loyalty displayed by India. This is perhaps its reward for which the two laws are being framed, and it is proved to the world that India is very turbulent and anarchical, and drastic law is necessary to reform and rectify it.

The 20th day of August 1917, the auspicious day in the political history of India, has just passed when the necessity for a responsible government for India was announced, when the Reform Scheme is being circulated far and wide and India is expressing its joy and gratitude at the preservation of its rights, when the Peace Conference is still considering the question of granting freedom to the world and when the ruined nations are being revived, two more laws are being enacted, which are proclaiming that we cannot be trusted and we are worthy of a severer treatment.

The Rowlatt Commission's Report has decided that the germs of sedition and agitation are spreading in our country and the Government has, on its decision, resolved to add certain sections to the Indian Penal Code and to confirm the temporary measures of the Defence of India Act.

Some Anglo-Indian papers taunt us by saying if we are cordially loyal and are really opposed to sedition, why should we fear such preventive laws. We submit that we are not afraid of the effects of the law, but we consider its very name detestable, for we know that a country where drastic laws are constantly passed cannot be worthy of appreciation and we cannot have any credit in the eyes of the public. Surely we wish that mischievous and turbulent people should be punished and those who are rebels to their mother country should be summarily dealt with. But the hand of the law extends so far that it generally involves innocent people also, and the law forms a sort of weapon in the hands of the authorities who commit mistakes in discriminating between right and wrong and between the innocent and the guilty.

If, however, we are given the assurance that a just and free treatment of law will always be extended to us, we have not the slightest objection to the introduction of not only two but thousands of such laws.

The editor in conclusion asks if it is not possible to postpone the amendment until Peace is signed, and to see how the Reform Scheme is dealt with.

129. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 9th February, in a leader on the marginally noted subject writes:—As regards the new Bill relating to sedition at last the expected thing has happened in the Imperial Legislative Council. At ballot time all non-official Members were against, but all official Members were for, the Bill, and hence the obnoxious and unjust Bill has been referred to a Select Committee.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 9th Feb. 1919.

The stubbornness of the Government of India.

The same will be the case in the Select Committee and the Bill will be passed into law.

This state of affairs opens our eyes to the fact that our freedom is a figment of the imagination, our existence unreal and our voice a vapour.

The Government does whatever it likes and can do so without the opinion of the subject races, nor is this all, it does whatever it likes to do against the will of people. This is due to the predomination of official element.

We are not afraid of the sedition law, nor are we afraid of its effects, because no law can nullify the truth. An oppressive law can convict an innocent man and sentence him to punishment, but it cannot destroy innocence and falsify truth.

The political practice, in which in spite of the opposition of non-official Members a measure is carried out by an official majority, is absurd.

IV.—Native States.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

Mysore.

130. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th February, refers among other things to the decision of the Mysore Government to appoint a committee of scientific experts to advance the spread of scientific knowledge and to make researches in regard to the economic condition of the province, and remarks:—We see indications of advancement in the province of Mysore. If, in addition to this, the Government habituates the people to the responsibilities of self-government, the province of Mysore will set an example to the other Native States.

[Issued, 26th February 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 9 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 1st March 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

1. The *Commonweal*, for the week ending 21st February, says:—"The most terrible disillusion among all the disillusions of the war is the so-called League of Nations. . . . The proposed League is not a League of Nations, but a League of White Nations, who are to give each other mandates to manage the affairs of the coloured nations of the world. It is an alliance of white races against the coloured, the subjection of the huge coloured majority to the white minority, the beginning of the most terrible war that the world has known, not the end of war. For the moment Japan is admitted into the League, because the white nations dare not exclude her, but the aim of Japan in Asia is not consistent with the objects of the League. . . . The League declares 'the mandatory'—chosen by the League, not by the people—is to be responsible for the administration, for order and 'morals'—presumably on white lines—for the prevention of fortifications, military bases, and the confining of military training to police purposes and defence of territory; that is, they are to be disarmed as India is, and to be helpless in the grip of their armed white masters. Moreover, the mandatory is to 'secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League'. In other words, the unhappy coloured races are to be exploited for the benefit of the white."

The League of White Nations.

Commonweal, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

2. The following appears in the *West Coast Spectator* of the 20th February:—"It is very likely that a motion will be made in the Legislative Council for the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to inquire into the periodical outbreaks of 'fanaticism' in the Ernad taluk. Outbreaks come and outbreaks go; the local officials send a report after every outbreak, and there the matter ends; but so far nothing has been done to eradicate the evil. A committee of officials and non-officials will certainly probe into the matter and prescribe remedies. It is no longer politic to fight shy of an open inquiry and to disguise the real issues although these issues might be unpalatable."

Fanatical outbreaks in Ernad.

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 20th Feb. 1919.

3. The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 20th February, observes:—"The fiat has gone forth from the Throne of Theosophical Grace that the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council should oppose the Rowlatt Bills tooth and nail; in fact they should obstruct them at every point. The message expresses the hope that Sir Sankaran Nayar would resign and head the opposition. Now that the mandate has gone forth, every moderate and every extremist should cry amen, kiss the hem of the High Priestesse's garment and loyally go forth to battle. But, will Sir Sankaran Nayar bow before the mandate and play lieutenant-general to the great Goddess of War?"

Mrs. Besant and the Rowlatt Bills.

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 20th Feb. 1919.

4. *New India*, of the 22nd February, remarks:—"It seems sometimes to be forgotten by our rulers that it is one thing to make concessions on paper but quite another thing to carry them out in fact. . . . But India has at last discovered that promises by no means herald performances. . . . But the India of 1919 is not the India of before the war. India has learned from western civilization the value placed upon solemn obligations and treaties. She knows that a treaty stands only so long as may be convenient or expedient. She also knows that on but few occasions has Great Britain been true in the performance of her own solemn promises with regard to Indian reform. If the Montagu-Chelmsford

Promised reforms and broken pledges.

New India, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

Scheme goes the way all other schemes have gone, if it has already been decided what exact proportion of the scheme shall be allowed to become law, no matter what India may say, an India far different in temper from the India hitherto known will have to be reckoned with. Even patient, long-suffering India will grow tired of camouflage."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

Bolshevism and Rowlattism.

5. *New India*, of the 25th February, concludes a leader under this heading with the following:—"It is, we think, idle to deny that a serious revolutionary movement at one time threatened this country. But if the danger was averted, it was not because the Government was wise but because the responsible leaders of public opinion were able to turn the tide of India's restlessness under bureaucratic mismanagement—to use no stronger term—from the channel of revolt into the channel of constitutional agitation. If India stands true to Britain—and there is no question that she does—it is in spite of the Government, not because of it. India from the lips of her own trusted leaders has received the message that her greatest and noblest destiny is within the Empire, not outside it. By that message she stands. But we warn those in whom power resides that Rowlattism is the road to Bolshevism, and not the road to a strong contentment resting upon the sure foundation of justice and goodwill."

WEST COAST SPECTATOR, Calicut, 25th Feb. 1919.

Mrs. Besant and rowdyism at meetings.

6. Referring to Mrs. Besant's complaint of rowdyism at meetings, the *West Coast Spectator*, of the 25th February, observes:—"We can very well understand Mrs. Besant striking this doleful note. She is tottering on her throne; she has to be very careful and do everything in her power to avert a calamity. But pray who taught these young men irreverence to elders? Mrs. Besant sowed the wind, and she is now, necessarily, reaping the whirlwind. We very well remember how she used to attack both on the platform and in her papers, our old respected leaders, in fact everybody who had declined to swallow her nostrums, and the Moderate leaders especially were her anathema. Was it not she who coined the word 'yesterdays'? Nemisis has overtaken that old lady. When she was indulging in her diatribes against the old leaders she little thought that chickens would one day come home to roost."

HINDU, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Mrs. Besant and the *Hindu*.

7. The *Hindu*, of the 26th February, writes:—"In an article on 'Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and before' and an editorial note in yesterday's *New India*, Mrs. Besant has honoured the *Hindu* and its editor with copious references and accusations. Our first impulse was to let the lucubrations alone but it is perhaps desirable to make a brief reference to them. . . The proximate cause of the explosion of Mrs. Besant's anger against the *Hindu* seems to be due to its editor having presided at the first of Mr. Pal's lectures in the Gokhale Hall on the subject of the Delhi Congress and after. . . Regarding the accusation that the policy of the *Hindu* is to insert all insults except against its own favourites, and that it is sedulously fostering divisions ruinous to the country we wish to say nothing more than that we are content to stand by the cool judgment of the Indian public in preference to the emanations from the heated brain of Mrs. Besant."

JUSTICE, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Women and politics.

8. *Justice*, of the 26th February, states:—"The fact that about half a dozen women have taken into their heads publicly, impatiently and hysterically to agitate for complete Home Rule for India, proves nothing. The Hindu and Muhammadan women of India remain where they are, and till at least a reasonable fraction of them shake off their traditional orthodoxy and superstition and become enlightened enough to take an active part in the political life of the country, it is absurd to ask for the right of women to be elected to Legislative and Municipal Councils being legally recognized."

JUSTICE, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Mrs. Besant and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

9. *Justice*, of the 26th February, says:—"There is an old saying that when a certain class of people fall out honest men come by their own. These reflections occurred to us on reading a report of a speech delivered by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal about Mrs. Besant. . . Yesterday the word of Mrs. Besant might

have stood against the world, and now lies she there, and none so poor to do her reverence, except Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar. Mr. Pal thinks that the spiritual eminence of Mrs. Besant is immeasurable, especially as he does not possess a theodolite for carrying out the estimation of the height of that spiritual eminence. But last year Mr. Pal was apparently going about with theodolites and sextants and other mathematical instruments for estimating not only the spiritual but also the political eminence of Mrs. Besant. Perhaps, the extraordinary amount of heat generated by the Delhi political discussions has deranged these instruments of precision, or, perhaps, these instruments are now required for measuring the political eminence of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal himself, as the meeting of the citizens of Madras held on the sands of the seashore has expressed its unabated confidence in the leadership of that gentleman. . . What a fall was there my countrymen, when the uncrowned queen of India who thrice refused the kingly crown at the Gokhale Hall (or was it Adyar?) does not now find a place even among the trusted leaders of India! Can human ingratitude be more unkind? That the school boy crowd that used to shout and cheer and join in the triumphal processions of Mrs Besant should now flock to the sea sands to hear the puny Bengalee jeer at the spiritual eminence of the great White Mahatma is a subject for tears."

Reuter's agency and the Tilak libel case.

10. The *Hindu*, of the 28th February, remarks:—"It is now several days since the news was received through private agency of the result of Mr. Tilak's libel action. Elsewhere we publish *Reuter's* telegram conveying the same news. The Indian public at any rate is not more interested in, for example, things that M. Clemenceau did not say or in the soulstirring fluctuations in the prices of tea and silver than in the fate of this important case. . . One of these days we shall perhaps have *Reuter* parading out as an exclusive item of news the lamentable demise of Her Majesty Queen Anne."

HINDU, Madras, 28th Feb. 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. Cadell on the Arms Act.

11. The following appears in the *Hindu* of the 28th February:—"We are not among those who admire and would eulogise a fighting spirit for its own sake. In civilised life it is as well that the spirit of combativeness and truculence should remain dormant, and that it should ultimately disappear as a survival of barbarism, but we cannot agree with Mr. Cadell when he makes the sweeping generalisation when he said: 'In this connexion, it may be pointed out that the suggestion that the absence of arms makes the nation effeminate and cowardly is not borne out by the experience of this war. Building such conclusion on the foundation of facts furnished by a few traditional brave Mahratta castes is erroneous and unwarrantable. Prohibiting a whole nation of free men to bear arms and exempting the ruling class and the Anglo India (new style) community from the molifying, degrading, ungenerous and, shall we say, pusillanimous prohibition cannot but react on a people in a manner calculated to sap the fighting instincts and to suppress the spirit of independence. . . We contend that bravery is the monopoly of no nation or community. The fighting instinct is implanted in every human being, and it needs arms, self-respect and opportunity to assert itself. . . To turn round now and talk of the military instincts of particular classes as if all the rest were cowards, and to generalize on the prohibition just when the Government of India and the Secretary of State have determined to remove all racial difference in administering the Arms Act, appears to be as ungenerous as the facts are most certainly and wholly erroneous."

HINDU, Madras, 28th Feb. 1919.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

The League of Nations.

12. Referring to the seventh article in the covenant defining the qualifications for membership in this League, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 19th February, observes:—We are disabled from representing our grievances to the League of Nations, because we have no right of self-government. Unless the British Government are graciously pleased to grant this to us soon, there is no salvation for us.

Kistnapatrika, Masulipatam, 22nd Feb. 1919.

The League of Nations.

In its leader under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 22nd February, observes:— . . . The present is a commercial age, an age, that is to say, with money-making as its main aim. The wealth of other countries is being exploited in every way on the pretext of political connexions. Machines, factories, companies, etc., are all accompaniments of this commercial age. Looked at from the commercial point of view all human beings are but creatures with hunger and thirst. "How to live?" is the life-problem. The struggle for existence is the chief work of life. . . Ambition increases proportionately with money-making. Just as the pouring of oil increases the flame, the acquisition of wealth multiplies the desire for enjoyment. Who can check this desire? Where are mines to dig and carry away their contents? Where are countries, to establish new markets in? How should schemes be matured to facilitate the largest sale of our own articles? Such are the burning questions of the day. . . Though the wonderful cry of self-determination is echoed in one corner, we find a syndicate in America, an association in Britain and a company in France formed for the purpose of devising the best way of exploiting the resources of Persia. How is it possible to prevent mutual jealousies in these circumstances? There is no use of trying to deal with the root causes of dispute superficially without applying a radical cure. Quarrels, competition, and schemes will be cropping up, so long as the wound exists inside. It will be ridiculous to ask now whether this party or that is responsible for all this blood-shed which is really the result of the present commercial age. By means of such leagues of nations, they may prevent blood-shed. But mere blood-shed should not be treated as so dangerous after all. It is this commercial spirit which is more dreadful than that, which constantly tells upon the society, which weakens other countries, which reduces our fellow-men to slaves and drowns humanity in sensual enjoyment. . . These leagues, rules and treaties can be absolutely of no avail, unless this havoc of factoriess, machines and steam-engines, this hankering after money is counteracted from within. If blood-shed is prevented this disease is bound to reappear in a new and yet more dangerous form. Guns can only destroy the body while factories will kill not only the body but also the soul and will thereby foster demoniacal spirit. Can the League of Nations root it out? To say, while encouraging the desire to amass money, that there should be no mutual jealousies is as strange as pinching a person and then asking him not to cry.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

Republican move in South Africa.

13. Referring to the movement of the nationalist party in South Africa to secure the old republican form of Government, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th February, draws attention to the statement of Mr. Malan to the effect that those born and brought up in democracy will not relish much to be connected with the British Empire.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 20th Feb. 1919.

Referring to this movement and observing that a new sprit has sprung up in South Africa which is characterized as divine and as one which cannot be suppressed by anybody, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th February, writes:—The South Africans demand a republican form of Government, and Ireland threatens

England that it has established one. Who can foresee what the other colonies such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand, are going to demand of the British? All these want to secede from the British. But what India requires is nothing more than responsible government under the British Empire and that too not the whole of it but only a part. For this, the British threaten the Indians. The Anglo-Indians raise a loud cry against this and the Indian Civil Service party are endeavouring to enact cruel repressive laws whereby they can keep the Indians for ever under subjection. What can the Indians do under these circumstances? It will be fair and proper for the British statesmen who are credited with a far-sighted policy and mature consideration to realise the trend of the times and satisfy the Indian aspirations in a liberal manner.

Republican move in South Africa.

The *Dravidan*, of the 21st February, reproduces in Tamil the sentiments contained in the *Justice* of the 20th idem under the heading 'South African Nationalists', commenting adversely on the nationalist movement in South Africa and elsewhere.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

Indians in South Africa.

14. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st February, observes:—The whites in South Africa have brought into force many cruel laws with a view to oust the Indian merchants from there. We are witnessing the disparaging treatment which the whites accord to the Indians, in spite of the repeated assurances of the British Government that the Indians will be treated in the same way as the other subjects of the Empire. It is not apparent why the British Government are indifferent to the low condition of the Indians in Africa. The South African Union Government have resolved to oppress and enslave the foreigners. When will the hardships of the Indians there come to an end?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

Indians in South Africa.

Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st February, writes:— . . . The difficulties of Indians in South Africa have not yet come to an end. The Indian merchants are now to face new obstacles. The President of the Transval British Indian Association has sent a cable to the *Bombay Chronicle* that attempts are being made to exterminate Indian commerce. The Indians in South Africa, therefore, request their brethren in this country to help them and avert such a danger. But the people of India will not be in a position to help their brethren in foreign countries until they themselves secure an efficient system of self-government. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

Indians in British East Africa.

15. The *Swadesamitran*, in its issues of the 12th and 14th February, reproduces in Tamil, in parts, the gist of a lengthy article by a correspondent appearing in the issue of the *Modern Review* for February 1919, detailing the hardships suffered by the Indians in British East Africa.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th & 14th Feb. 1919.

Self-determination.

16. Regarding the right of India for self-determination and for representation in the League of Nations, the *Andhravani*, of the 8th February, writes:— . . . It is but just that India should have separate representation in the League of Nations. The efforts of the London branch of the Indian Home Rule League to place the matter before the Peace Conference for consideration are very commendable. They have recently published a pamphlet proving the fitness of Indians for the right of self-determination. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 8th Feb. 1919.

The end of the war.

17. Referring to the cessation of hostilities between the Central Powers and the Allies, the *Andhravani*, of the 16th November 1918, observes:— . . Will they accord to us along with other countries the right of determining our Government? There is no wonder if they accord it. Our country also has fought for the establishment of this right along with the Allies, and triumphed. Are they going to deny her what she has established? Will they not be ridiculed, if they do so? While destroying autocracy in Europe, will they not destroy it in our country? It will be just that they destroy. The Montagu-Chelmsford report was prepared during the war. The Congress, the Moslem League and even the Moderates have

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 16th Nov. 1918.

suggested many modifications to those reforms, as they did not suit the then existing conditions at least. The recommendations in the report are too inadequate to meet the present requirements. What we now want is real democracy. In its absence, we shall be obliged to say that the Allies are supporting in this country with their left hand the very thing which they are rooting out with their right in Europe. Let there be no occasion to say so!

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 22nd Feb. 1919.

The Peace Conference.

18. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 22nd February, writes:—The Allies gave their support to President Wilson's fourteen points, because when the war was continuing they were afraid that Germany might win and gain supremacy over the whole world. Now the Allies have become more powerful. The Germans have gone down in power. Hence the thought whether they should still adhere to justice and be controlled by the League of Nations and be one like the rest, giving up the excellent territory which Providence has thrown into their hands. This thought has arisen in the minds of some of the Americans too. It is believed in some quarters that President Wilson has come to to the Peace Conference owing to the fear that his fourteen points might not be adhered to, that he is even ready to give up the friendship with the Allies in case these points are overlooked, that if this should happen the discontented might all unite again and that America, too, might join them, so that eventually truth and justice might be upset. These things are not likely to happen. The British are a democratic nation. The majority of them are just-minded. That is why they won and agreed to Doctor Wilson's terms. We can hardly believe that they have not the foresight to see the calamities that would follow in case they go back on their word.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

The draft constitution for the League of Nations.

19. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 18th February referring to the subject, observes:—From a cursory glance at the draft it appears that section 19 needs a careful consideration and its effects are beyond imagination. We consider that the draft will become as detestable and difficult in its practical scope as it appears to be interesting and simple on paper, and we are afraid that the ideas of the league cannot attain success while such sections are in force.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

The problem of countries and colonies.

20. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 18th February, in giving an extract from the 19th clause of the League of Nations as regards the future of countries and colonies which requires a careful examination, writes:—The proposal has in view the freedom and benefit of those nations that have been liberated from the yoke of their respective Governments by this war. From this it is quite clear with what courage and ability the League of Nations has taken upon itself the task of securing an everlasting and universal peace.

Every civilized or half civilized nation may choose its own Government and obtain advice in the administration of the country as necessity arises. Uncivilized nations are privileged to enjoy their personal and religious freedom without any interference by any Government. Both friends and foes derive benefit from this law. It contains no favouratism nor anything to prejudice the claims of any. Owing to the difficulty arising in the practical working of this scheme, the President has declared that any secret agreement or peace will not be looked upon by the Peace Conference as legal and binding.

The Turkish nations and the Arab tribes are left the masters of their own destiny. The duty of every civilized nation is to assist its neighbour in its difficulty and in stamping out political unrest. The bond of union that will be created by this arrangement will be an earnest of everlasting and abiding peace in the world.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

Northern Russia and its occupation by the Allies.

21. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 19th February, has a leader on the subject written by the British Rear Admiral Camp, a retired officer from Northern Russia, contradicting the views of the majority of the Liberal Party, suggesting the exclusion of the Allies and the withdrawal of their forces from Northern Russia, and remarking that:—Besides the oppressive acts, the vote that will be given in support of the Russian Bolsheviks will, perhaps, be worthy of

being called a strong weapon for disturbing the peace of the whole Europe; in which it observes:—"We concur in the experienced officer's views and assert that it will be unsympathetic and unjust on the part of the Liberal Party to strongly support an act calculated to spread further restlessness in Europe."

II.—Home Administration.

(*a*) *Police.*

22. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th February, observes:—We are sometimes driven to consider that the British rule is getting to be more and more a police rule. The police in many cases set at naught British righteousness and justice. If the evil acts of the police are then and there brought to the notice of the Government and they are requested to see that the culprits are punished and steps taken to prevent such occurrences, their reply is highly disgusting . . . The Government are still in ignorance of the fact that discontent and unrest are in the increase in India, only on account of the wicked acts frequently committed by many in the Police Department.

The excesses of the police.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

(*b*) *Courts.*

23. In a leader in English, the *Desabhimani*, of the 8th February, takes exception to the extension of the term of this court for another year for the following reasons, viz.: That there is already a temporary Sub-Court which is likely to become permanent in course of time, that the District and Sessions Court of the district has been one of the lightest courts in the Presidency, that litigation has, as a result of the war, appreciably decreased in all courts, that there being no institution of suits or appeals in the additional court, it is no source of revenue and so it does not justify its existence from a financial point of view, and that the existence of an additional court will not facilitate speedy disposal of cases inasmuch as sub-courts are not empowered to receive appeals directly from the parties. The paper then expresses its surprise at the Government finding funds for expenditure like this, while they are pleading want of funds even for applications for small grants for improving village sanitation or village education.

An additional Sub-Court at Cuddalore.

Desabhimani, Cuddalore, 8th Feb. 1919.

(*c*) *Jails.*

24. A correspondent in the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 19th February, regrets that persons confined in the Civil Jail are not given travelling allowance on release to enable them to return to their homes.

Travelling allowance to civil prisoners on release.

Kerala Sanchari, Calicut, 19th Feb. 1919.

(*d*) *Education.*

25. The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 17th February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, the latter portion of an article on this subject in which the following finds place among others:—If our civilization and learning are to be preserved, we should hold views contrary to those of the westerners. What are the several points in which we should differ from them? The foremost is our language. . . If, at the very beginning, we had put a check upon the spread of the English language properly, our vernaculars would have been spared their present predicament. . . There are statistics to prove that India is in a comparatively low condition in point of education; because vernaculars are not the medium of education here. The prohibitive scale of school fees is the chief cause for education not having widely spread in this country at present. It is evident that in former times there was no system of payment of school fees, and students were also getting free boarding at the houses of their teachers who were under the protection and patronage of the benevolent public and of the righteous Government. Further, the fees paid by the poor students are at present expended on several unncessary items. Large sums are being utilised on school buildings and furniture. Sitting on benches is no *sine qua non* for acquiring knowledge. For Europeans unaccustomed to sit crosslegged, these articles of furniture are indeed necessary, but we

Education in India.

Vaisyamitran, Karaikudi, 17th Feb. 1919.

had none of them in our ancient pial schools, which are the best suited for our civilization and learning.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

Vernacular schools.

26. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd February, says:—Principal Vaswani (sic) has stated clearly in the *New Times* that if national reconstruction is to be effected, education should be imparted through the medium of vernaculars. An education that has not for its foundation the ancient civic and literary traditions will not help on the development of the nation. Such an education will separate the educated from the masses. Only vernacular schools can help to encourage the vernacular languages and literature.

MUKHBIR-I-DAKHAN, Madras, 12th Feb. 1919.

The Madras University and the educated Mussalmans.

27. The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 12th February, has a lengthy leader on the marginally-noted subject which is briefly to this effect:—In our opinion the University is in need of oriental scholars in connexion with Arabic, Persian, and Urdu. The paper, in commenting at length in support of this assertion, speaks highly of the attainments of Moulvi Muhammad Abdur Rahman Shatir, and thinks that his opinion will prove beneficial as regards those languages in prescribing texts for the curriculum. Hence requests the Government to appoint him a Fellow of the University.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 16th Feb. 1919.

The Muhammadans and the question of Khalipate.

28. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 16th February, referring to the following announcement made by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd at a Darbar held at Karachi on the 14th February, viz.:—"The Muhammadans will necessarily be very uneasy with regard to the safety of their holy places. I have discussed this subject with the Viceroy, and I can assure you that the Government of India will take up your cause and place your views before the Peace Conference," writes:—The entire Muhammadan community is indebted to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay for his promise, but it is regrettable to find that His Excellency the Viceroy did not mention a word in the opening speech of the Council regarding this matter, but he dwelt at length in his speech in discussing and supporting European rights. It seems that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay, bears real sympathy with the Muhammadan and probably the reason for it is what he expressed at the Darbar, viz., "I have spent a great portion of my life in Islamic countries."

The question of the Islamic territories is not purely a political one, on the other hand it includes secular Islamic rights as well.

It should be the duty of the Peace Conference to have regard to the political and religious aspects of Turkey, and it should decide in a manner calculated to meet the approval of the Islamic world.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

The Madras Corporation.

29. Observing that the European members of the Madras Corporation are said to have resigned their membership, because the objection raised in the recent sessions of the local Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Thonger and others to the provision in the Madras City Municipal Bill prohibiting contractors with the Corporation from being members thereof, was not accepted either by the Government or by Indian representative members, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th February, observes:—If the Director of any Company doing contract business with the Corporation happens to be a member of the Corporation it is but natural for him to look to the interests of the Company. So it was decided that such persons should not be members of the Corporation and a similar rule is in vogue even in Bombay and Calcutta. The contention of the Europeans, however, appears to be that they should not continue to be members of the Corporation, while their party was not supported by the Government. Is this not passive resistance? The moment the Indians think of resorting to this policy, they are condemned by many Europeans. The lessons to be learnt by our people from this action of the European members are twofold.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 20th Feb. 1919.

Referring to the same incident the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 20th February, remarks:—A good precedent has now been created for the Indian members of the

Corporation and of the Legislative Councils, so as to enable them to follow, under similar circumstances, the example of the European members of the Corporation.

Adverting to the same subject with regret, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th February, observes:—What have the Anglo-Indian papers now got to say about the mean nature betrayed by the European members of the Corporation? Does not the nature of these Anglo-Indians, who always boast of their interest in India's progress, become patent by this act of theirs? Will the meetings of the Corporation come to a standstill on account of the resignation of these European members? Never. The Anglo-Indians in Madras are very few in number, while they have a large number of representatives for them in the Corporation. Madras is deriving ten times as much good from the European members of the Corporation as India from the Anglo-Indian members on the Legislative Councils!

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th Feb. 1919.

The Madras Corporation.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 24th February, comments almost in the same strain as the *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th idem, about the resignation of the European members on this body.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

Village panchayats.

30. The *Panchayat*, for August-September 1918, suggests that the Government should, by means of legislation, authorise village panchayats to dispose of civil suits in respect of sums below a specified amount, and remarks that this will not only make the ryots abide by the decisions of the panchayats, but will also induce the panchayats to be specially persevering in and enthusiastic over their work.

PANCHAYAT, Trichinopoly, Aug.-Sep. 1918.

To-day's meeting of the Corporation.

31. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th February, says:—Diwan Bahadur Tyagaroya Chetti is to move in the meeting of the Corporation for an address to be presented to His Excellency the Governor on the eve of his departure from this city to England. Putting aside the question of ordinary administration, if we can see anything that His Excellency has done for the promotion of local self-government the Corporation will be justified in presenting him with a farewell address. The representatives of the people in the Legislative Council desired that the settlement of the question of local self-government should be left to the assemblies of the people's representatives to be formed after the introduction of the reform scheme and that the new City Municipal Bill might be suspended. But the Madras Government proceeded with the Bill. The amendments which the representatives proposed have been almost all rejected. The rejection of the proposal that Government property should not be exempted from municipal taxation and the acceptance of the proposal of Mr. Spring that no tax should be imposed on the buildings belonging to the Port Trust have resulted in a loss of Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs to the municipality. While the authority of the President to be elected by the Corporation has been made only nominal, arbitrary powers will be vested in the Commissioner to be appointed by the Government. Doctor Nayar himself, who may be said to be the right hand of Mr. Tyagaroya Chetti, opposed the provisions of the Bill, and suggested the introduction of a new Bill by the people after the introduction of the reforms. The *Justice* and the *Andhra-prakasika* have strongly criticised the Bill and the attitude of the authorities. It is a wonder that while the defeat of the representatives of the people in regard to the Municipal Bill are still fresh in our minds, Diwan Bahadur Tyagaroya Chetti proposes the presentation of an address to His Excellency. Again, the medical aid given by the Government while influenza was raging in the country was not satisfactory at all. The indifference of the Government towards Indian medicine is quite plain. It is needless to write much about the ordinary administration of the country by His Excellency the Governor. Our readers know about it quite well. We could not yet forget the contempt with which he treated the question of Home Rule in the session of the Legislative Council held in May 1917, the G.O. No. 559, which is aimed at students, the internment of Mrs. Besant and others, the stopping of the addresses of political bodies on the occasion of Mr. Montagu's visit, the Madura troubles, the scant courtesy he shows to the representatives of the people in the local Legislative Council, the disallowing of many resolutions being discussed, etc., are no indications of a liberal administration. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the development of the misunderstanding

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th Feb. 1919.

between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans. The calumny against political agitators, which appears in the report on the administration of Madras, has provoked the indignation of the whole Presidency. In the last meeting of the Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar asked for an opportunity to discuss the matters contained in this report. His request having been rejected Mr. Ayyar had to leave the meeting. The non-official members requested that the Collectors should be vested with discretionary powers to exempt very poor ryots from the expenses of removing the diseased plants. But His Excellency the Governor rejected the proposal with his casting vote. He also set at naught the unanimous resolution of the Corporation to stop the Park Fair this year. Under such circumstances, it will not be in keeping with public opinion and the self-respect of the people that the Corporation should accept the resolution of Mr. Chetti.

The paper then quotes a passage from the *Indian Patriot* which attributes a motive to Mr. Chetti in proposing the presentation of an address to His Excellency.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th Feb. 1919.

The European Commissioners and passive resistance.

32. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th February, refers to the rejection of the resolution recommending the removal from the Municipal Bill the rule that those who are connected with municipal contracts should not be members of the Council and writes:—It appears that the European Commissioners resented this fair proposition and resigned their membership. It cannot but be strange that the Anglo-Indians who resort to passive resistance without caring for the welfare of the people, whenever their interests are at stake, should teach morals to others. The Indians should particularly note the persistency with which the Europeans accomplish their object.

(*h*) *Railways.*

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

Railway administration.

33. Adverting to a booklet by Mr. S. C. Ghose dealing with Indian railway fares recently published by the Government of India, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 21st February, observes:—Mr. Ghose has clearly pointed out in his book, by comparing the rates of freight obtaining in various railways, that these rates are highly favourable for foreign trade and quite unfavourable to the progress of the trade of this country. For instance, in the case of foreign sugar arriving at Indian ports, the Indian Railways charge special rates for its transport besides taking the responsibility for all risk and damage during transit, while Indian sugar receives quite a different treatment at the hands of the Railway authorities. It is patent from the reports published by Government that jaggery is a foodstuff for Indians and the poor people take to it largely. The railway freight on this, however, far exceeds that on foreign sugar. The price of jaggery is in consequence enhanced with the result that the difficulties of the people increase. Not only sugar but also other commodities, such as oil seeds and flour, suffer on account of this partial treatment by the Railway authorities. Similarly, the freights on the raw products of this country intended for export to foreign countries are easy enough; so also the fares on these materials when they are received back in the shape of manufactured articles. These rates have been so fixed only with a view to crush the industry and trade of this country. Can this partiality be tolerated in any other country? This is punishable under the Railway Act in force in England. Though the Indian Railways Act has been enacted on the basis of the English Act, and the phraseology in both is the same, still there is difference between the two in the matter of this partial treatment. Mr. Ghose's book serves to afford information as to the particular points in respect of which amendments are needed in the Indian Railways Act. The defects and drawbacks pointed out in this booklet are sufficient to urge the necessity of making the Indians the proprietors of the Indian railways.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

The Indian Railway administration.

Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd February, says:—The income of the Railways in 1916–1917 itself was deemed to be unusual. In 1917–1918 the income increased by 14 crores. . . It is plain that all the profits that the Railways have earned have been from the third-class passengers.

It will, under such circumstances, be fair on the part of the Railway authorities or the Railway Board to provide the third-class travelling public with conveniences proportionate to the increase of rates at least. But the sufferings of the third-class passengers are beyond description. . . They are not provided with clean waiting rooms at the Railway stations. They do not have water and food conveniences at many places. The practice of allowing more than the fixed number of passengers in the third-class compartments is a source of indescribable trouble to the passengers going long distances. Mr. Gandhi, who personally witnessed their troubles, has given a heart-rending description of the same. There is no use gloating over the fact that the profits from Railways have increased. The Railway authorities have to see that they have duties corresponding to profits. It is unjust on their part to fail to discharge them. If the lot of the third-class passengers is to improve and the administration of railways to become efficient, the Government should take the management of railways into their hands, as has long been suggested by the representatives of the people. . . All those exercising authority over the Railway companies are in England. They do not know the grievances of the Indian passengers. So long as they get large profits, they will not see to the redress of the grievances, even though they may be represented to them. The Railway Board appointed to superintend the administration of Railways have not been able to discharge their duties. It is necessary that the Railways are handed over to the management of the Government now that self-government is at hand. The Parliamentary Committee has to consider this question along with the question of political reforms. . . The Railway Board is intending to construct 3,708 miles of railways in India after the war. But we recommend to Government to spend more money on irrigation than on Railway, as a safeguard against famine.

(*j*) *Salt and Abkāri.*

The drink evil.

34. In describing the measures adopted by the western countries, especially America, to put an end to this evil, there, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st February, observes:—The measures adopted by our Government to minimise this evil are very curious. The authorities are under the illusion that drinking can be curtailed by increasing the taxes thereon, by auctioning liquor shops, by reducing their number and by slightly raising the price of liquor. It is no doubt true that many toddy shops have thereby been converted into restaurants. But the abkāri revenue continues to increase greatly year after year and so also the consumption of liquor. Thus the authorities are in reality encouraging this evil all the time boasting that they are endeavouring to check it. Attempts to minimise drinking can never succeed. The authorities should begin to root it out, but as a preliminary to this, they should be prepared to forego the large revenue from this source.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

(*k*) *General.*

The Madras Legislative Council.

35. Referring to the change in the date of the presentation of the Budget before the Council, the *Sirtiruttam*, of the 5th February, remarks that the Government are, either on account of their fear for or sympathy with the political agitators, introducing certain petty changes, which are not productive of any good to the people, and, apprehending that this affects the regard the people have for Government, observes:—The withdrawal of most of the resolutions moved by the non-official members indicates want of careful consideration on their part. Such resolutions are brought forward merely to win popularity and fame among the masses. Neither the Government nor the members of the Council paid sufficient attention to several salient points, to the question of high prices of foodstuffs and to the condition of labourers, and this is due to the fact that suitable representative members are not on the Council. The subjects at present dealt with by the representative members lack the support of the people. The Government will not be against those proposals which have such a support. So we urge that, to obtain this support, the education of the masses should be improved and the Honourable Members should make tours in their electorates.

Sirtiruttam, Madura, 5th Feb. 1919.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 17th Feb. 1919.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 17th February, echoes almost the same sentiments as those expressed by the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th idem, and abstracted in the last paragraph on page 229 of Report No. 7 of 1919, regretting the failure on the part of the Government to render pecuniary aid for village sanitation as proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. K. Rama Ayyangar at the last meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council.

SOURASHTRA, Madura, 15th Feb. 1919.

The Sourashtras.

36. The *Sourashtra*, of the 15th February, while advocating the cause of the Saurashtra community, makes the following observations:—A very large majority of this community are uneducated, though they are paying numerous taxes to the Government. The number of employees under Government from among this community is also very limited, and even these get very low salaries. This is due to the indifference of the higher authorities towards those getting poor salaries and the caste distinctions observed by them. This deserves prompt attention at the hands of the Government.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

The Bolsheviks and India.

37. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th February, contains the following:—According to the news from Moscow received by the *Evening Standard*, it is said that Russian Extremists called the 'Bolsheviks' propose to invade India in a body with a view to cause a revolution here. . . There are also many Indians among these Russian Extremists and they were staying in Germany before. The Indian authorities are hereby warned to be on the alert.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

Present Indian political position.

38. The *Dravidan*, of the 19th February, reproduces in Tamil the comments of the *Justice* of the 18th idem, under this heading, declaring both the Congress League Scheme and the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals to be unworkable.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

Indian reforms.

39. Adverting to the criticisms passed on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms in this country, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 19th February, observes:—The course of events in England and the attempts of persons hostile to the interests of India afford us no reasons to feel buoyant in our spirits. The announcement in the *London Times*, which maintains friendly relations with the authorities and which may be considered to represent almost the views of the Government, that the reforms proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report will not be accepted as they are, blights all our hopes. Different political parties in India attempt to send to Enland their representatives to acquaint the British public with their own views in the matter of reforms. If the British people hear such divergent views in regard to Indian administration, they will only become confused and get staggered. The efforts of all will become futile and the contentions of those in England who are hostile to India's welfare will appear to be true. It is said that a committee from among the members of the two Houses of Parliament will be entrusted with the question of deciding the Indian administrative reforms. This committee will sit in England, and it is rare to find in England people who can advise the committee in the interests of India. People mostly to be found there are the retired officials from India, ex-Governors and old merchants and capitalists. Consider how far the reforms to be effected in consultation with these will be favourable to India. Let our moderate friends who were gaping wide expecting that all kinds of benefits would be secured by the Montagu Chelmsford reforms, ponder over the present situation.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

Rice from Rangoon.

40. Adverting to the observation of a correspondent to *Justice*, that the Controller of Foodstuffs has acted improperly and partially in having issued permits to five European companies for purchasing from Rangoon about 12,000 tons of rice and allowed fifty Indian merchants who have already registered their names to export and distribute among themselves only about 8,500 tons, the *Dravidan*, of the 19th February, remarks:—It is essential that the Controller should, without making any invidious distinction among the merchants, issue the same kind of permission to every one of them.

Sedition and how to root it out.

41. Quoting Lord Bacon's words that, if the trend of the times shows signs of disloyalty, its causes, namely, extreme poverty and discontent should be removed, by such means as the curtailment of unnecessay expenditure, improvement of agriculture and industries and the regulation of the prices of articles, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th February, observes :—The administration of a country depends on the King and his subjects. If the King carries on a righteous administration according to the wishes of the subjects, the latter will lead the life of loyal citizens. If, on the other hand, he oppresses them, they will become disloyal. Disloyalty is thus engendered by the cruel acts of a ruler. On account of a foolish act of the King, it is usual for the subjects to suffer the pinch of poverty and take to seditious acts out of discontent. It is poverty that is the cause of sedition and anarchism. The best way for rooting out sedition is to redress the grievances of the subjects as pointed out by Bacon. It will be foolishness to resort to repressive measures for putting down sedition, as this will be only 'adding fuel to fire'. Most of the Indians are dissatisfied with the rule of the bureaucrats, because of their cruel deeds. It is to get rid of completely this rule of the bureaucrats and to obtain self-government under the British Empire, that the popular leaders have been making efforts for the last 35 years. All those that agitate to get rid of the bureaucratic administration so as to avoid any discredit attaching to the British Empire, are characterised by a high sense of loyalty. What to say of the bureaucrats who consider these to be seditionists and go on enacting cruel laws to put them down ? Ever since the commencement of the European war, poverty, disease and lootings are on the increase in India. Those benevolent persons, who witness these, agitate within constitutional limits for obtaining a responsible form of Government with a view to relieve the hardships of the poor. The bureaucrats attempt to curb them. When the Rowlatt Bills become law and begin to harass the popular leaders, who can prophesy what the condition of these bureaucrats in India will be ? As the actions of the bureaucrats in India are contrary to British justice, we fear that these, if permitted to continue, will indeed injure the British Empire. We put the bureaucrats in mind of the story of the wild beasts which were freely roaming in the forests delightfully suddenly becoming a prey to the fire caused by a thicket of bamboos. Let the bureaucrats do whatever they like. We shall serve our mother Bharata without causing any injury to the British rule and without fearing for and obeying the cruel laws of the bureaucrats.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

The lesson from the late Mr. Gokhale.

42. Referring to the words of warning said to have been given to the Government often by Mr. Gokhale to the effect that it is improper for the Government to discard public opinion, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th February, observes :—The authorities have proposed to disregard this warning and stifle the spirit of liberty in the Indians by cruel repressive measures. Administration is still carried on with great distrust. The Government are thus attempting to increase the discontent and unrest among the people, but how far can this be considered to be a proper administrative policy ?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

The *Madras Mail* and the Hon'ble Mr. B. C. Mitter.

43. Adverting to the fact that the *Madras Mail* invites the attention of those opposing the Rowlatt Bills to the remarks of the Hon'ble Mr. B. C. Mitter, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th February, observes:—We can understand the rare qualities and greatness of the Hon'ble Mr. B. C. Mitter without the assistance of the *Madras Mail*. We know him as a member of the Rowlatt Committee and every one knows what value should be given to his views, inasmuch as he has opined in the same way as the other members on that Committee. This Anglo-Indian paper asks us to note Mr. Mitter's statement that, as a result of the operation of the Defence of India Act, murders and thefts have decreased in Bengal. Even granting this to be the case, is not Mr. Mitter aware that it is only consequent on this Act that many innocents have been kept in custody and their families made to despond in misery ? Or, is he feigning ignorance ? Let the *Madras Mail* content itself with the opinion of Mr. Mitter. The Indian subjects will not pay heed to them at present.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

British India and Native States.

44. Referring with satisfaction to the progress made in Travancore in different directions as detailed in the opening speech of the Diwan at the session of the Srimulam assembly, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 19th February, remarks that the value of this progress can be appreciated only by the Indians who feel the pinch on account of the absence of such progress in British India, and regrets that the efforts made in Mysore and Travancore for relieving the distress caused to the people by the scarcity of foodstuffs are not made in this Presidency.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 17th Feb. 1919.

A call to the youths of India.

45. Referring to the proposal that the allied countries will take over the control of all the industries handled by the enemy countries in India before the war, and to the fact that Japan is capturing the trade of this country in all possible ways. the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 17th February, observes:—What do you propose to do in these circumstances? Those who have been governing you for the last 160 years have, without the least consideration for the general good of India, been making India only a market for the whole world. Your ancient industries, unable to stand foreign competition, have all perished. India has not the capital necessary to start factories. It is not known how she is to fare in the question that the colonies should contribute to the Imperial war loan rateably. The Viceroy states that 100 lakhs of rupees are needed for the soldiers who served in the war. The Indians are now suffering ten times more than what they suffered during the war for want of foodstuffs, and there appears to be no means to relieve this suffering. No attempt has been made in our Indian Universities for industrial education and for scientific training in practical chemistry being given to us, and we have to expect industrial experts from foreign countries to give us the required training. We cannot even dream that these will teach us the industries wholeheartedly. Further you have to depend on the foreigners for all the machines you require. How will it be possible for you to reform and progress all on a sudden, while you have to depend upon others for everything? Have you the power to prevent the foreigners from capturing the Indian industries until you get reformed? Will the Government come forward to give you an assurance that they will guard your interests till then? It behoves you to work unremittingly in the cause of the country's progress without depending on others for help.

INDIA MITRAN, Madras. 19th Feb. 1919.

India's claim to war indemnity.

46. Remarking that, if any rateable distribution of indemnity is to be made according to the expenditure incurred by each country towards the war, India cannot be denied a share in it, the *India Mitran*, of the 19th February, observes:—Articles to the value of 150 crores of rupees are being exported from India every year. If the allied countries had purchased all the materials needed for the war from India at the enhanced prices, their expenditure would have swelled very largely. India has supplied plentifully the allied countries and the Indian troops in Mesopotamia with munitions for the war. By purchasing them at prewar rates the allies have gained to the extent of 120 crores of rupees. In other words in this matter alone India has foregone all this profit in view to help the British Empire. Further she has given a free contribution of 150 crores of rupees for the war, besides purchasing a portion of the British loans and sending ten lakhs of men to the field. As India has rendered help to such an extent, we trust that the British will not fail to see that she gets justice, when the question of indemnity is taken up for consideration.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 20th Feb. 1919.

The censorship.

47. Referring to the words of Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons in connexion with the censorship of newspapers, the *Swadesamitram*, of the 20th February, observes:—We were deceived in our expectations that the allied countries would also follow President Wilson when he said recently that he had issued orders to discontinue censorship of communications to newspapers. We can safely infer from the words of Mr. Bonar Law that the public can get news only after being passed by the censor. This is likely to create misapprehension in the minds of the people. At a time when matters have to be publicly discussed without any reserve, we fail to see why the British are endeavouring to retain the censoring bother. We

can say the sooner the authorities change their views, the greater will be the benefit.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 20th Feb. 1919.

Are we fit for *swaraj*?

48. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, a long article under this heading, in which he quotes several instances to prove the fitness of the Indians for *swaraj* and in which the following observations find place among others:—The duties of one country cannot be satisfactorily discharged by the people of another country. It cannot be fully believed that the English people who hold their country to be different from a dependency of theirs will ever govern the two countries with the same principle and love. A little consideration of the benefits they have conferred on us and the facilities they have yet to afford us is quite sufficient to prove this statement. . . The British are well aware of the great mischief caused to them by the Romans in ancient days, and for them to repeat the same mistake here only betrays want of wisdom on their part. They recruited some Indians only for the purposes of the war which is now coming to a close, but in reality they have no mind to train the Indians as sepoys. Similarly in several administrative matters, they have not got a hearty desire to give us a training. . . It is simply ignorance to declare that we are not fit for Home Rule. . . Laying aside all the assurances given by Queen Victoria and her successors, they coax us and satisfy us by sweet words. The majority of the authorities recruit inexperienced youths with mere theoretical knowledge from England, Canada and Australia and appoint them as officers over experienced Indian officials. . . Very few of the English officers in this country take an interest in India's welfare and care to acquaint themselves with the conditions of the Indians. Even these few leave this country after a time and in their place fresh youths arrive to eke out a living and to acquaint themselves with the State secrets and laws. But no attempt seems to be made to carry on the work with the help of the talent available in India alone. . . Has any Englishmen of the stamp of Sir Seshadri Ayyar, Sir Salar Jang, Madhava Rao, Dutt, Gupta, Gokhale and Mehta set foot on Indian soil? . . . It is certain that there are thousands of such capable men in India. . . It is not that the English are unaware of all this; but their selfish fear that, in case they openly admit this fact, they would be required to appoint a larger number of Indians to eminent posts which will make many of the English people leave India in quest of employment, that blinds these people. Further, their arrogance that all dark-skinned persons are low in civilization, prevents them from recognising our real worth. . . The reforms effected in Japan during the last fifty years are sufficient to disprove the argument that darkskinned people are unfit for Home Rule.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

The Indian leaders.

49. In commenting upon the work in England of the several deputations to proceed from India shortly in connexion with reforms, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st February, states:—Popular leaders in India are at present at loggerheads with one another and are reviling each other without shame. The bureaucrats have gained their object. What else can we say except this, when we see the leaders differing from one another at a time the benefits from their united agitation are expected? . . . By the time the representatives from the Congress, the Home Rule League and the moderate party return to India with the reforms for relieving her bondage, there is no doubt that the Rowlatt Bills will be passed into law and ruin India. Our prayer is that a few of the nationalist leaders who have decided to go to England should stay in India at present. The bureaucrats are now ready to grant permission to any number of persons desirous of going to England. The leaders should act drawing their own inferences from this. They should adjust their actions so as to suit the trend of the times and the devices of the bureaucrats. They should not get themselves beguiled by the acts of these bureaucrats.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

The Indian Legislative Councils.

50. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st February, observes:—It is within our experience that the Government turn only a deaf ear to the representations of the Indian members on these councils. When once the official members come to a decision on a

particular subject, any amount of argument by the representative members to prove that the views of the Government are wrong, will not correct them. Interpellations by these members on matters connected with public interest, only elicit some irrelevant replies from the Government. We ask Sir William Vincent himself, if he has given a suitable reply to the interpellation by Khan Bahadur Asad Ali Khan at the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council, whether the reports of the Reforms Committees will be published for the information of the public, and whether permission will be accorded for discussion on the Reforms Bill in this Council before it is introduced in the Parliament. Do not the Government of India know whether it is in their power or not to permit the discussion of the Reforms Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council? Why should they not give any definite assurance on this point? We doubt very much if they replied in this strain without realising their responsibility. It has thus become a practice with the Government of India to give such evasive replies. They boldly say in answer to interpellations by non-official members on matters connected with Provincial Governments that they are quite in the dark about them, and cannot interfere with their actions. What purpose is served by the existence of such Councils? When is the day to dawn for altering the constitution of these Councils in such a way as to make them pay heed to the grievances of the people's representatives?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

Legislative Councils.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, a communication in which the following finds place among others:—If any laws for relieving the difficulties of the people have to be enacted and that at the instance of the non-official members, the official party are quite ready to thwart such an attempt and are bent upon doing so; but if laws hampering the liberties of the people have to be enacted, they can be passed at any time. . . None of the non-official members spoke in support of the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar, when the latter left the Council Chamber for some time on the first day, for our representative members lack the courage to secede from the Council which is making attempts to crush us. A deep consideration of the proceedings in the Legislative Councils shows that the condition of the members therein is no better than that of bondslaves. Their suggestions are seldom cared for or accepted. . . The law is ready to put down the person that attempts to explain the nature of liberty enjoyed by the Indians. When there are no means to set right these matters, and to criticise the defects therein, we fail to see the purpose served by the Legislative Councils consisting of representative members.

PANCHAYAT, Trichinopoly, Aug.-Sep. 1918.

Grazing grounds for cattle.

51. The *Panchayat*, reverting to this subject in its issue for August-September 1918, calls on the mirasidars, agriculturists, panchayats and the public in the villages to hold meetings and request the Government to revoke their recent order on this subject as it will be an obstacle to the progress of the villagers, besides causing inconvenience to the agriculturists and hardships to the public. It also adds that, in Mysore, permission has been accorded for raising fodder crops on lands adjoining tankbeds and asks why the Government of Madras alone should act in this manner.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

Farewell address to His Excellency Lord Pentland.

52. Referring to the proposal of Diwan Bahadur P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar, that a farewell address should be presented to His Excellency Lord Pentland by the Corporation of Madras, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 21st February, observes:—It is still green in the memories of the members of the Corporation how Lord Pentland and his party slighted and rejected their repeated suggestions in regard to the City Municipal Bill, and how they unanimously opposed the persistent contentions of the members of the Corporation on the Legislative Council to carry out certain alterations and amendments in the Bill. To say that the Corporation should pay some tribute of honour to the gentleman who treated them in this fashion, will only be worshipping the feet that kicked. We do not think that all the people in this province will endorse the view of Mr. Chettiyar that Lord Pentland has striven hard to develop its resources. As it is well to avoid here unpleasant scenes like those that recently occurred in Bombay in

connexion with a farewell address to the Governor of that province, we suggest that Mr. Chettiyar would, instead of proposing that the Corporation should present an address, arrange for an address being presented by a party holding views similar to his own.

The condition of the labourers.

53. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 21st February, observes:—The Indian labourers are not inattentive to the happenings in regard to the labour movement in the western countries. Union among labourers is growing strong here also. The authorities here should begin to attend to the benefits of the labourers so as to avoid any struggle between the labourers and the capitalists as in the western countries.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

Mr. Norton's reminiscences.

54. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th February, reproduces in Tamil Mr. Eardley Norton's 'reminiscences' in the *Looker-On*, containing among others his opinion on the work of the Congress and the attitude of the old and the present day officials towards it.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

Englishmen and *swaraj* for India.

55. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th February, publishes an article under this heading from the pen of a correspondent, in which he says that it is in the interests of India, which has become impoverished, that she should be linked with a great power for some time and that England is the power suited for this purpose and, remarking that the colonies are the best proof of countries having gradually acquired strength under the protection of England, makes the following observations among others:—The colonies themselves have demonstrated to India that it is not sedition to aspire for *swaraj* and make the necessary efforts. There is therefore no harm in demanding that the Royal family of England should be considered to be the Royal family of India and that all appointments should be conferred only on persons who will be helpful to the people. If some officials illtreat those who make this demand strenuously, they are acting illegally. It will connote manliness only if we make a bold, though constitutional, demand for *swaraj*, without being ruffled by hardships and it is meanness on the part of one to give up one's right, for fear of the punishment unjustly inflicted by the authorities. . . As for the attitude of the British Parliament towards this question of *swaraj*, both the parties therein would like India only to remain where she is. This is the nature of officials everywhere, and they care only for the administration being conducted easily. Even in England, any public good has had to be obtained only after a struggle for it, and, as such, it is no wonder the Ministers in England are not inclined to grant *swaraj* to far-off India, which does not send its representatives. Even the petty concessions now enjoyed by the Indians have been obtained only in this manner. If pressure is brought to bear upon the Government through the friends of India, the authorities will, to satisfy the people, appoint a commission, comprising some among themselves, to inquire about the demands and this commission will take some years to do its work. If, by the time this work is finished, the people become quiet, the authorities will drop the question altogether. If, on the other hand, they find the people still awake, they will grant some concessions, which will not meet even half the demands. But all the same they are afraid to express openly that they are against the efforts made in any country to acquire *swaraj*. . . The Labour party no doubt sympathise with the efforts made by India to improve her condition and are doing their best to draw the attention of Parliament to the high-handed acts of the officials in India. Though this may not benefit India immediately, it will, of course, be useful to her in course of time. But the House of Lords always stands by the bureaucrats in India, in the matter of the progress of the country. The reason for this is nothing but the almost hereditary claim which the members of this House have for governorships in India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

A public meeting.

56. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th February, publish in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held in Gokhale Hall in Madras on the 18th idem, when Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal delivered a lecture on the 'Delhi Congress and after.'

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

A public meeting in Madras.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th February, publish in Tamil the proceedings of an open air meeting held on the Triplicane Beach, Madras, on the 23rd idem, to protest against the Rowlatt Bills, in which Mr. B. C. Pal is reported to

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

have delivered an address, after passing of the usual resolutions calling on the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council to dissociate themselves from these Bills, and the popular leaders to begin to agitate.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

The food situation.

57. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd February, observes:—Rangoon rice cannot be had anywhere in the Presidency for the price fixed by the Director of Civil Supplies. The importers are required to charge a profit not exceeding 8 annas per bag. If they are so sold, what makes the purchasers from these importers charge three or four rupees in addition for each bag. If our report is true, this is what actually takes place. The Director's order is binding only on the importers but not on others. Between these importers and mufassal merchants there was already a broker who was including in the invoice his commission at the rate of 1½ per cent. But now many brokers have sprung up, and each of them gets a profit of at least 8 annas per bag, and all this has to be borne only by the consumer. Sir Claud Hill, while speaking in the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 19th instant, admitted that the prices of articles had gone up unduly high and attributed it to the situation caused by the war. We are unable to accept this. The present high prices seem to be due to the licences and certificates given by the Director of Civil Supplies. Licences are not freely issued to all the applicants but are issued only to those importing not less than 200 tons of rice which cost about Rs. 25,000. The import trade is thereby being monopolised only by a few. Why not the importers sell by bags in retail for the price prescribed by the Director? Why cannot this condition be insisted on when the licence is granted? . . . The authorities without according permission for getting paddy hulled in any of the mills in the districts of Tanjore, Gōdāvari, etc., have directed that only certain mills should be so utilized. This enables them to favour certain mills in preference to others, and the mill authorities to obtain this favour will have to take much trouble, and on whom will this tell? Is the quantity of paddy produced in the districts of Tanjore and Gōdāvari sufficient to leave a surplus for export to other places, after meeting their own demands? Are statistics of the harvest available? On what basis was the price fixed? Will either the Director or the Government enlighten us on these points? Though we should feel grateful to the Government for having attempted to regulate the prices, still the results do not justify our feeling grateful. The only benefit is that the prices have risen higher than what they were. If steps had been taken for reporting the retail prices prevalent in various places, it would have become clear then and there that the existing arrangements were not adequate to produce the desired effect. The authorities should note that it has become necessary to completely revise the present arrangements. One word about the scarcity of kerosene oil. No supply has been received from America. The charges for getting the oil from Burma appear to have become heavy, because of the coal difficulty. If immediate attention is not paid to this, the poor people will be under the impression that the merchants are harassing them and that the Government are winking at their ways.

The same paper publishes an article contributed on this subject by a correspondent, which contains the following observations among others:—The Director of Civil Supplies only fixes the prices at which articles should be sold, but he does not appear to inquire whether these are actually in force in the market. Otherwise there is no reason for the existence of such differences. Many are of opinion that the appointment of the Director is in itself the main cause of the heavy rise in the prices. We cannot say how far this may be true; but such a feeling is prevalent not only in Madras but throughout the Presidency. At present the prices of all foodstuffs have risen very high and the hardships of the masses are indescribable. If at this time the Government fail to see whether their orders as regards the regulation of prices are being obeyed, what can the poor people do? It is necessary that, hereafter at least, the Director should publish a weekly list of those people in the Presidency to whom permission has been granted to get rice from elsewhere, stating therein the quantities that can be so obtained and actually received by them together, with the quantity sold and the rate at which it is sold during the week. It will then be impossible for any one to raise the prices of articles.

The food situation.

Remarking that, though the food situation of this Presidency has not yet improved, the Government of India are prepared only to curtail the export of rice and other foodstuffs and not to prohibit it altogether, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 24th February, observes that, under existing conditions in this Presidency, it is very necessary not only to prevent the articles produced here being taken to other places but also to afford facilities for grains being freely brought into the Presidency from other places and adds:—The prospect of the crop is not very encouraging not only here but even in Bengal and Burma, the two provinces which have been supplying us. It is regrettable at this juncture that even the Government should be unaware of the exact stock on hand in this Presidency. Under these circumstances, it is a great mistake to allow grains to be exported from here. Of course the Government of India have stated that the question of export will be regulated after ascertaining the needs of every province and other facilities and the stock on hand. The people are entitled to be informed of the figures on which the Government base their action.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

The paper then attributes the present rise in the price of rice to the action of the Director of Civil Supplies in fixing the price of rice at the delta tracts of the Gōdāvari and the Kistna and says:—The natural conclusion of the people will be that he has fixed this price, with a knowledge of the stock on hand, and the merchants will therefore go on increasing the price, as the stock goes down. The only way of remedying the situation will be to adopt the suggestions made by us.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 24th February, also refers to the hardships suffered by the people on account of the abnormal rise in the prices of foodstuffs and points out that the authorities are not taking any steps to see that articles are sold for the prices notified in the Gazette. It observes that poverty can never prevail in a country, if the Government deem it their duty to see that all their subjects have equal status.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

Political parties in India.

58. The *Dravidan*, of the 22nd February, reproduces in Tamil the comments of the *Justice* under this heading in its issue of the 21st idem regretting the existence of numerous political parties in India and observing that the Parliament cannot be easily convinced that the people who oppose the Rowlatt Bills which have been introduced obviously for the maintenance of peace in the country, can be entrusted with the control of the Government of India.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

Mr. Tilak's case.

59. Referring, with regret, to the news that Mr. Tilak's case against Sir Valentine Chirol was dismissed with costs, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th February, remarks:—How can the soul force and veracity of Mr. Tilak become perceptible in England which is steeped in materialism?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

Mr. Tilak's case.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th February, says that if the news that Mr. Tilak has not won his case in England against Sir Valentine Chirol, many cannot but be disappointed.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

The future of India.

60. Adverting to the unionist majority in the new House of Commons and observing that gentlemen sympathising with India such as Messrs. Ramsay Macdonald and Philip Snowdon have not been returned to this House, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th February, writes:—There is reason to think that the present British Cabinet will uphold the views contained in pronouncement of August 1917. But the Indians will never get satisfied, unless the assurance is completely fulfilled. People regard Mr. Lloyd George as dear as life, because he discharged the duties connected with the war efficiently. But as the Unionists form the majority in the Commons, and as there are many outside the House still smarting under a sense of disappointment, it is feared that the influence of Mr. Lloyd George will soon wane away. If such a contingency should arise, what will be the lot of India? The head of the Nationalist party has spoken in Parliament to the effect that either England should decide the Irish question or the Irish themselves should

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

apply to the Peace Conference and obtain self-determination. In view of these words, we have to infer that the British political condition will not be favourable to us. If even the State of Ireland should be such as it is, we have to feel anxious about the lot of India. We, however, trust that the British Government will act in such a way as to suit the trend of times.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

Referring to the statement of one fully acquainted with the affairs in England made in the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* to the effect that though the Labour party have not succeeded, as they anticipated, they will be in the opposition and always favour India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th February, observes:—It is true that India cannot expect much good from the Coalition Government. Most of those who speak in the cause of India are of the Labour party. So long as we have their support, we need not fear. . . But our moderate brethren preach to us that, because the Coalition party have come to power in England, we should not be exorbitant in our demands. This argument is irrelevant. Only if our demand is for more than what is offered, we will get at least a measure of what we ask for. We hold that it is a great mistake on the part of the moderates to have stated that they are quite satisfied with Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. We trust that, hereafter at least, they will realise their mistake and without extolling the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, boldly point out the defects therein.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

Political agitation in India.

61. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th February, observes:—The oppression of the bureaucrats is ever on the increase. The demon of the bureaucrats is going on devouring the nationalist newspapers, and the papers that disappear come out again very rarely. Why? There are funds in the country but these do not serve the country's need. Many do not take part in politics. The wealth of India is drained away to foreign countries. The surplus left is spent on useless items. . . Political agitation should hereafter grow strong in India, and India's wealth should be spent only towards that. Many political *sanyasins* will spring up to spread constitutional agitation everywhere. Nationalist papers will go on doing their work with zeal. The work of one nationalist paper can well be compared to that of a lakh of patriots. For these papers to work unceasingly, public support is indispensable. The hatred which now exists among the different religious parties in India should be diverted hereafter towards foreign articles and the actions of the foreigners.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar at Thenneri.

62. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 21st February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, a summary of the proceedings of a public meeting held in Thenneri on the 16th idem, in which the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar is reported to have delivered an address on the present situation comparing and contrasting the ancient greatness of the Indians with their present condition. At the end of the meeting resolutions were passed protesting against the Rowlatt Bills and urging the application of the principle of self-determination to India. A free rendering of the above appears in the *Hindu* of the 20th idem.

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st & 22nd Feb. 1919.

A public meeting at Tanjore.

63. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st and 22nd February, respectively, publish a summary of the proceedings of a public meeting held in Tanjore on the 20th idem, in which resolutions were passed protesting against the Rowlatt Bills, the movement of the members of the Indian Civil Service in respect of reforms and the Viceroy's speech in the Imperial Legislative Council with reference to this movement and the British merchants.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

The use of false weights and measures.

64. Adverting to the conviction of certain bazaarmen in Madras recently for having used false weights and measures, the *Dravidan*, of the 24th February, remarks that, as this deceptive practice is not a new thing, the Police should always keep an eye on the bazaarmen in this respect and especially now that high prices and famine are afflicting the people much.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

The Delhi Congress.

65. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th February, publishes in Telugu Mr. B. C. Pal's speech on "The Delhi Congress and After", delivered at the Gokhale Hall on the 18th instant, and observes in the course of its comment thereon:—The importance of

the Delhi Congress has been brought home to the public by Mr. B. C. Pal's lecture on it last evening. The difference between the Bombay Special Congress resolutions and those of the Delhi Congress is very little. The time limit fixed for the grant of complete autonomy has been dispensed with in accordance with the public opinion which had already found expression in different provinces. The system of diarchical government will have no other useful result than giving room for dead-locks. . . Mr. Pal has made it clear that in no other congress the popular opinion has commanded greater respect than in the Delhi session. . . The wishes of the colonies are being readily complied with . . Though their status is being considerably raised, the Nationalists in South Africa are demanding absolute independence. . . India does not want the immediate grant of even the colonial position. She wants forthwith the introduction of full responsible government in the Provinces and the grant of colonial status within a limited time. India has defended the cause of the Empire at a grave crisis. It was the Indian soldiers that had saved France at a crisis. When India bears greater responsibilities than the colonies, she should have the corresponding privileges also. Apart from the interests of India, the British Parliament will do well to accept the Congress resolutions in the interests of the British Empire at least. . .

66. Referring to the ignorance of the British public about India and Indians as particularly betrayed by the remarks of certain English papers on the appointment of Lord Sinha as the Under Secretary of State for India, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st February, writes under this heading:—The ignorance prevailing in Britain regarding India, notwithstanding that it is an important member of the British Empire, cannot but rouse our wonder. Some people there do not know even the most elementary facts about India. This is the reason why the words of Anglo-Indians are accepted as the gospel truth. The remarks made by certain papers in England betray their ignorance. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

Strange notions.

67. Referring to the discount on notes which is said to be very high in the Guntūr district, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 19th February, writes under this heading:— . . . We are shocked to hear that they are taking Rs. 3½ discount in the Guntūr district. Some Marwari merchants and other wealthy men of Guntūr are reported to be coming to Madras every day and cashing notes in the Fort for thousands of rupees and going back, even evading the payment of the railway charges. We are at a loss to understand what the police and the railway authorities are doing. Can it be that the payment of *mamul* to every one concerned, by the Marwaris on their being threatened is the reason why these day-thieves are not caught hold of? . . .

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

Exchange of notes.

68. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 19th February, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the Sixth Kistna District Ryots' Conference held at Nidadavole on 15th February 1919 and the resolutions passed thereat.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

The Sixth Kistna District Ryots' Conference.

69. Reviewing the administration of Mr. E. A. Davis, the Collector of Guntūr, who has been transferred to Salem, the *Desabhimani*, of the 5th February, observes:— . . . His regime has been peaceful but for the disturbance which occurred during the Muharram festival last year. . . Though there is not much good, not to do harm is itself a feature that characterises a virtuous man. . .

DESABHIMANI, Guntūr, 5th Feb. 1919.

Mr. E. A. Davis.

70. With reference to the controversy on the Delhi Congress, the *Andhravani*, of the 8th February, observes in its leader under this heading:— . . . A new era in the history of the National Congress has opened with the last session at Delhi. The false charge that the masses have nothing to do with the Congress has been shown to be unfounded. The habit of conducting business in the vernaculars of the country has come into vogue. . . As has been suggested by Pandit Malavya, all political associations in the country should organize a branch of the Congress in every village and educate the people on the last Congress resolutions and get their support. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 8th Feb. 1919.

The duty of the people.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 8th Feb. 1919.

71. Exhorting the people of India to acquire business habits and organizing capacity, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 8th February, writes under this heading :— . . .

Organizing capacity.

The want of organizing capacity among us is as strong a reason for the failure of of our public movements as that of national education. . . The ambition of western people is the subjugation of the elements and the triumph of physical comfort, while our endeavour is to conquer passions and attain to the sovereignty of spirit. Their ideals are as far from ours as the west is from the east. . . The different nations of the world should be each independent of and brotherly to the other and contribute to the world prosperity as the members of United States of America. This is exactly what the Peace Conference which is now assembled at Paris is trying to do. It will be difficult for this Conference to attain its object, if it should concede freedom to some nations only and withhold it from others. It is just to prevent such a chance that President Wilson has urged upon the necessity of every people in the world being made free and independent.

So, if we want to thrive equally with other nations, we should get Home Rule. For that, we have to first improve our organizing capacity. Whatever ability, wisdom and genius we may have, they will all be useless without this capacity for organization. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 8th Feb. 1919.

72. In continuation of his article under this heading on the Rowlatt Bills appearing in the issue of the *Andhravani*, dated 1st February 1919, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 8th February, writes :— . . .

Repressive Acts.

Section 2 of the first Bill would show the nature of the amendments therein proposed. The newly proposed 124-B to the Indian Penal Code makes the possession of a seditious document a crime, unless it is shown that the document in question is kept in good faith without any intention to publish or circulate it. . . Is there any country in which such a repressive measure is in force? Even the despotic Czars of Russia have never promulgated a legislation of this nature. Not even the originator of the great world-war, the arch-despot, the cruel Kaiser, has introduced such laws in Germany during his reign. Should the abovementioned section become law, it is impossible to imagine to what unrest it may lead. Is an individual in any civilised country presumed to be a criminal for the simple reason that a seditious document is found in his or her possession even without any intention to publish or circulate it? . . . If a police officer, in order to bring his enemy into trouble somehow, throws a seditious document into the latter's house and then arrests him, how can that unfortunate person prove his innocence? Who can guarantee against the occurrence of such mean acts? Which person will refrain from arrogance, when once he gets arbitrary power into his hands? In these circumstances, is it right to enact such measures? It is needless to point out that this section will soon seal the fate of journalists in the country. The second Bill confers unheard of arbitrary powers on the police. . . The ordinary administration of justice is suspended only in countries where there is war or revolution or foreign invasion. But now, there is no war in India; nor does any foreign nation contemplate an invasion of the country. The number of anarchists, according to the statement of the Government themselves, is very small. What necessity is there for repressive legislation then? The readers are aware how many times more severe is anarchy in Ireland than in India. But there are no permanent repressive laws even in such a country. The Government are pardoning there men who really deserve a severe punishment. The United States of America has granted self-government to the Philippine Islands in only 17 years. . . Though it is nearly 100 years now, not only has the British Government not given us self-government but is trying to stifle the freedom of the individual by enacting repressive laws. . . Mr. Rajagopala Achari of Salem has expressed a doubt regarding the competency of the Viceroy's Council to enact these measures. It is highly necessary that the views of eminent Indian and English lawyers on the subject should be ascertained. Our Indian leaders should work with firm minds and see that such an unlawful measure is not passed. Ye! Indians! Take immediate action: and enter a strong protest. Safeguard your

inherent rights, your self-respect and your patriotism. Carry on strong constitutional political agitation. If Indians agitate with three-hundred million voices, what bureaucratic Government will not lend its ear? How can their wishes fail to be fruitful? Should these new Bills become law, my countrymen! think of the name of Mahatma Gandhi and be prepared to take up the vow of passive resistance. That is the surest remedy. Beseech Gandhi to lead you in this great fight for freedom. As delay is dangerous, hold meetings and convey to the Government your disapproval of these repressive Bills. Look, yonder stands mother India! She is weeping over her fallen condition. She is discussing within herself whether her children can redress her sorrow and restore to her her ancient fame and glory. May the sons of India relieve her distress, win this fight for freedom, safeguard the ancient fame and glory of mother India and win their political salvation! Victory to mother India! Vande Mataram!

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

India in the Parliament.

73. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th February, says in its leader:—From what Mr. Montagu has said in the House of Commons, it is certain that Reform Bills will soon be introduced into the Parliament, and the views of the Governments will be placed before it. It is easy to guess the opinions of the provincial Governments. It is rumoured that most of them have expressed the opinion that even the reforms of Mr. Montagu will not suit India and that no important departments should be transferred to the people. When such views are placed before the Members, they will certainly believe them as gospel truth. We see no chance for the views of the people being placed before the Parliament The addresses presented by the various associations when Mr. Montagu came to India were not published. It was asked in the Imperial Legislative Council whether, after a Bill is introduced into the Parliament, the representatives of the people will have an opportunity to express their opinions, and the Government replied they could not give any promise. Under such circumstances, we cannot believe that there will be any opportunity for the publication of the opinion of the people on the Bill. Some may ask if the evidence given by the leaders of the people before the Reform Committees is not enough. The Reform Committees do not enquire into all matters. . . They conducted their enquiry in camera and have not recorded the evidence of popular leaders. There is thus no room for the publication of Indian public opinion in the report of the Committees, and so the Members of the Parliament cannot know the opinions of the Indians. Mr. Montagu's reforms may be made much narrower in the Bill, and it is the duty of the Government to obtain the opinion of the people only after the Bill is published. Otherwise the Parliament will have before it only the views of the provincial Governments and the Government of India. Before the Committee of Enquiry that will be constituted by the Parliament after the Bill is published, it will not be possible for the real opinions of the Indians being placed; nor will it be possible that any such opinion will be placed before the Members of the Parliament. For it is not possible for any large number of the Congress leaders to go to England and give expression to their views. The opinion of a few leaders will not carry weight before the opinion of the Sydenham party which consists of many members. So the Indians will not profit much by an enquiry held in England. From the present constitution of the House of Commons, it will not appear that the Members will consider the Bills with far-sightedness. The English people in England being very ignorant of the Indian affairs, we can hardly expect any very liberal reforms. So it will not be advantageous to leave the reforms to the work of time and to the discretion of Mr. Montagu. The interval is short. There ought to be a new stir in the country, and public opinion should be published from every quarter. The Indians should request the Peace Conference that they along with the other nations should be allowed the privilege of self-determination. The popular leaders should represent to the British people in England their aspirations based on the firm determination of the people. Mr. Tilak is working in England to acquaint the British people and the members of the Peace Conference with the aims and aspirations of the Indians. Mr. Lajpat Rai is doing similar work in America. If the Indians should help Messrs. Tilak and Lajpat Rai who are working in foreign lands their object would certainly be fulfilled. It is well known that

Mr. Lajpat Rai is one of those who advocate constitutional agitation. It is highly improper that such a man should be prohibited to step into any part of the British Empire. We are at a loss to know what harm will result from allowing him to enter the British territory even after the war.

Mr. Montagu said that for the purpose of importing rice from Burma, the shipping rates had been reduced. But, perhaps, he is not aware that the virulence of famine is on the increase, so much so that the life of the masses in Madras has become very unbearable. It will, under such circumstances, be well for Mr. Montagu to direct the Government of India to take steps to ameliorate the condition of the people. The authorities will do well to devote to this matter at least some of the attention they devote to the Rowlatt Bills. If the evil is not remedied soon it is difficult to say how despondent the people may grow. There is no use to rest satisfied that the political agitators are at the bottom of such despondency. We submit that the authorities should know that the people cannot live a happy life unless their economic wretchedness is removed and should take steps to combat the evil.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

The labour question.

74. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th February, says that the labour question is growing more critical in England, and that the idea is gaining ground that the present British Government cannot solve the question.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

The political situation.

75. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th February, says on this subject:—Many in the west are of opinion that the proceedings of the Peace Conference are not in accordance with the principles of democracy. Mr. Borah stated in the American Senate that the League of Nations was not in accord with the American policy. In the same way, papers like the *Observer* in London are expressing their feeling of disappointment. Upon this, the *India* remarks:—While the proceedings at Paris up to date are in this fashion, what wonder is there in Indians, who have understood the nature of the bureaucrats, not believing that the members of the Civil Service will give effect to Mr. Montagu's reforms? Even the British people are labouring under such disabilities. From this the Indians who are under the control of the bureaucracy, will easily understand what great difficulties are to confront them.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 22nd Feb. 1919.

The high-handedness of the bureaucracy.

76. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 22nd February, writes:—. . . If the rulers are not prepared to assume the responsibility of redressing the grievances of the people, they should place the Government of the country in the hands of the popular representatives. Then, the people will bear all responsibilities. Unlike our ancient kings, our present rulers are foreigners, and they cannot therefore understand our weal and woe, our wants and grievances, so well. Further, it is but natural that the western nations should consider the interests of those races which are under their Government, after they have looked to their own first. So, there is absolutely no scope for our national development in the absence of a representative Government.

His Excellency the Viceroy has stated in the Imperial Legislative Council that notwithstanding any measure of self-government which may be granted to us, he would see that provisions will be made to safeguard the interests of English merchants and to maintain the arbitrary power of the Anglo-Indian officials. The authorities are ready to enact the Rowlatt Bills merely on the strength of official majority, in the total absence of any reasons calling forth such legislation and in the face of the unanimous opposition of all the elected members including the moderates. Our freedom of speech and our freedom of writing have been already curtailed; and these new Bills, when passed into law, will force upon us such restraints as are not known in any free country in the modern times. The observation of Professor Lowell in his book on the British Administration, to the effect that the Czar of Russia and the Viceroy of India are the greatest autocrats in this modern world, is true. The scheme of Mr. Montagu has been prepared with a view to the preservation of the absolute power of such a Viceroy. Is it the Defence of India Act that has kept the people of this country loyal during the four and a half years of the war? Can such Acts frighten real anarchists? Those

who are opposed to the grant of self-government to us lay against us the charge that the number of the literate among us is not large. Whose fault is this? This is one of our charges against our Government. Our rulers have forgotten their duty during the last 150 years. They rejected the resolution brought forward by the late Mr. Gokhale on compulsory elementary education. In these circumstances, to say that the reason for not granting us political rights is the illiteracy of our masses is adding insult to injury.

Mr. Montagu's scheme is not at all conceived in the faith that liberty is the primary essential for our self-development. . . To say that a nation should get its freedom step by step is ridiculous. A slave should have his liberty restored to him all at once; it will be impossible for him to receive it gradually. His chains must be snapped at one stroke and not at leisure. After he gets his full freedom all at once, he may gradually improve in every respect.

They say that it has taken England six centuries to get her full freedom. But it has taken France only six months; and in Russia, despotism has come to an end in six days. . . It will therefore be seen that, granted full freedom, India will rise by a leap, like Japan, and, besides being a source of strength to England, will contribute her valuable service to the civilisation of the world by contributing a new culture to it. . . But the present circumstances afford room for the suspicion that the English people may dispense with the advice of President Wilson, after once they have gained their object, which will be like kicking the ladder after scaling a height. . . Will those who set at nought the humble prayers of the popular representatives in these peaceful times, apply to us the principle of self-determination? When the Viceroy placates the Anglo-Indian merchants and the Indian Civil Service officials by saying that he will see that even the meagre powers given to the Indian ministers in Mr. Montagu's scheme are rendered ineffectual, it will be an idle dream to expect that this British Government will now grant us complete autonomy. . . Though we may not be allowed popular representation in the League of Nations I believe that the foreign members will not only ask our Government point-blank why the principle of self-determination has not been applied to a fifth of the human race, but also will help in the early grant of our freedom to us. . . The British administration in India and Egypt will be discussed in the League of Nations. I am of the firm belief that the League of Nations will soon make us fit for complete freedom like the British Colonies and allow us separate representation in it.

77. Referring to the opening speech of His Majesty the Emperor in the new Parliament on the 4th instant, the *Hitakarini*, of the 16th February, remarks:—The speech is full of liberal views. . . To give effect to them is the work of the authorities on the spot. If they do as they are told, what more do we want? The Indian proverb that though God grants a boon, the priest does not, holds good, we think, in the case of the Government of India.

The liberal views of the Emperor.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 16th Feb. 1919.

78. The *Hitakarini*, of the 16th February, publishes in Telugu a letter under this heading contributed by Mr. Joseph Baptista to the *Herald*, which contains:—. . . France and America are free. Is the British Empire free? It may be, and is so within Great Britain. But India and Ireland are kept in bondage and governed by arbitrary force. . . The British Empire is governed by an autocratic principle with regard to a fifth of the human race as though to threaten democratic institutions. On what ground can British statesmen urge the compulsory introduction of democratic forms of Government in Austria and Germany? Democracy is also like charity which should begin at home. Let the British Cabinet think what it may, the problems of India and Ireland are sure to crop up at the Peace Conference. . . The storm is not going to stop, simply because the ostrich buries its head in sand. The United States cannot keep thirty-two millions of people in bondage, posing at the same time as the champion of democracy, preaching sermons on representative government to the central powers keeping concealed all the while a big plot. . . The British should, therefore, set their own house in order first. . . Portugal, Spain, Holland, France,

The Peace Conference and India.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 16th Feb. 1919.

Russia and at last Germany have all had an eye on India as the fittest country for exploitation and for the exercise of their power. In case England should retain that power, there will be room for jealousies which will be sufficient to call forth war, and which will eventually defeat the object of League of Nations. . .

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 16th Feb. 1919.

The opinion of the Labour party.

79. The *Hitakarini*, of the 16th February, publishes in Telugu under this heading an extract from the *Herald*, attributing hypocrisy and gross selfishness to the Coalition leaders.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

Intoxicating drugs.

80. Referring to the legislation in the United States prohibiting the manufacture, etc., of intoxicating liquours, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 22nd February, observes :— . . . How beneficial it will be, if the Government totally prohibit drinking in our country also which is immersed in poverty !

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

Temples.

81. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 22nd February, writes :—. . . At the present time when we are anxious to have the rights of temple priests in their service inams still better defined, the Government should do justice to the priests by seeing that the plaintiffs in scheme-suits will not have their own way.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 19th Oct. 1918.

The economic situation.

82. Referring in its leader, under this heading, to the report published by the Honourable Members of the Executive Council of Madras, regarding the rise in prices, the *Andhravani*, of the 19th October 1918, writes :—It does not seem to have been prepared with an impartial mind. The lootings in Madras are said to be, in some measure, due to political agitation. It is neither just nor safe to draw such perverse inferences. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 9th Nov. 1918.

Pudukkōttai.

83. Referring to the prolonged stay of the Maharaja of Pudukkottai in Australia, the *Andhravani*, of the 9th November 1918, remarks under this heading :— . . . Having spent only Rs. 5,000 on agriculture, the Maharaja has, perhaps, utilised the balance of his State revenue for his private enjoyments. It is strange that the Madras Government should not take any notice of such Maharajas. It is, therefore, their duty to see now at least that the present Maharaja comes to his mother country or that another is appointed in his place as the Maharaja.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 9th Nov. 1918.

The Industrial Commission Report.

84. With reference to the Industrial Commission Report, the *Andhravani*, of the 9th November 1918, writes in its leader :— . . . The report has recognized two main principles at the very outset. The first is in order to enable India to be self-sufficient in men and resources without the necessity of depending on foreign countries, the Government will have to endeavour very earnestly for the industrial development of the country. The second is, the Government cannot accomplish this task without an industrial department and without the advice of experts and research workers. How the Government have hitherto failed to take any interest in our industrial advancement, how this has led to our poverty and industrial dependence on foreign countries at enormous loss, how our industries and commerce have been sacrificed for the benefit of Englishmen, and how the Government have been utterly indifferent to research work are some of the facts which are brought home to our minds by these principles. Is it not because we have no self-government that we have to submit to such troubles? If any Viceroy is inspired by real sympathy to do any good to us, the English merchants will raise a hue and cry and try to defeat his attempts. It is all well and good for the Government to work for the improvement of our industries But we are afraid that, in the absence of responsible government, the conditions will be a thousand times worse than what they are now. . . Though the English rulers express their wishes for our progress, those wishes will be useless, so long as the Government remains irresponsible. Our country cannot progress, unless we are accorded equal rights with the colonies. As the proverb says, God grants a boon but the priest withholds it. Similarly, our bureaucrats will prevent the grant of any advantages to us. . .

85. Referring to that part of His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech at the Imperial Legislative Council, which deals with the Scheme of Reforms in its bearing on the I.C.S. officials and the Indian Ministers, the *Andhravani* of the 15th February, writes under this heading:—. . . His Excellency the Viceroy has ably convinced the Government officials that the new reforms will not curtail their powers. . . The Indian Ministers cannot have their own way before these officials, and they can have no control whatever over them. The Governor, the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India, will see that the official stronghold is preserved intact. . . The grant of responsible Government to the people and the safeguarding of official power cannot go on simultaneously. The grant of real responsibility cannot but have the effect of curtailing the power of the bureaucracy. They will not consent to it. The Viceroy has given a description of the form of responsibility which will be granted to the peple in future. From what he has said, it will be clear that Indians will not have anything worth having after all. The schemes of reforms contemplated by statesmen are bound to be ineffectual, so long as the Government are in the hands of the bureaucracy. It is the duty of the people to see that such a fate will not overtake the Montagu scheme of reforms.

Political reforms.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 15th Feb. 1919.

86. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 15th February, writes to say that the *Andhras* will have their day of exultation when they get a separate province, a separate university and a separate High Court and that day will not come so long as they use foreign articles, foreign dress, and foreign language neglecting their own.

Which is that day for us?

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 15th Feb. 1919.

87. Under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 16th February, reproduces in Telugu, an article from the *Herald*, advocating self-government and self-determination to Ireland and India, the political problems of which, the paper observes, are not internal Imperial questions to be excluded from the Peace Conference.

Not internal Imperial problems.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 16th Feb. 1919.

88. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th February, gives a summary of the speeches delivered by Mr. Pal and others at the public meeting held on the beach to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.

A protest meeting.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

89. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 24th February, writes:—Mr. Tyagaraja Chetti is trying to present farewell addresses, etc., to Lord Pentland on behalf of the Municipal Corporation. This seems likely to end in just the same way as it did in respect of the Governor of Bombay. We understand that many people regret to see that these persons are attempting an impossible task and creating disaffection in the mind of His Excellency.

Farewell addresses to His Excellency Lord Pentland.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 24th Feb. 1919.

90. A note in the *Manorama*, of the 18th February, expresses regret that India will have no representation in the League of Nations, as only self-governing countries, the dominions and the colonies will be represented in it. It is a pity indeed that India should be denied what is allowed to the colonies. It is occasions like these that make us feel ashamed of our position. Indians should protest against the denial to India of a place among the nations.

India and the League of Nations.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 18th Feb. 1919.

Referring to the same subject the *Yogakshemam*, of the 25th February, points out that the exclusion of India and other countries that are under the rule of European powers, from the League of Nations, renders the League quite useless for the world and the majority of people will have to continue to live in disappointment and discontent. The famous preliminary speech of President Wilson and this draft constitution are as far from one another as the north and south poles. It asks "Where is the speech! What is the deed!"

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 25th Feb. 1919.

91. Referring to the existence of a strong party in South Africa and Ireland trying to establish a republican form of government in those countries, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 25th February, points out that though in India there is no such party, there are many

The republican movement.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 25th Feb. 1919.

who are opposed to the policy of the Government, and hopes that as the increase in the number of such organizations in the countries under British protection is likely to reduce the strength of the Empire, this matter is receiving the serious attention of the British Cabinet.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 25th Feb. 1919.

92. The *Yogakshemam*, of the 25th February, refers to the action of the European Members of the Madras Corporation resigning their membership; because they considered that the provision in the City Municipal Act excluding persons having pecuniary dealings with the Corporation from becoming members thereof cast an aspersion on their honour, and says:—Such is the strength of union. The Government of India introduces in the Imperial Legislative Council a measure which will curtail wholesale the liberties of the people of India. The non-official Indian members protest against the passing of this measure. Without paying any heed to their opinion the Bill is accepted by the official majority. In spite of all this, the Indian members continue to be the members of that Council. This is the actual difference between Europeans and Indians. Such occurrences are only instances proving that Indians are wanting in strength of will and co-operation to establish their views.

The European City Fathers of Madras.

III.—LEGISLATION.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

93. In thanking the Delhi correspondent to the *mrita Bazaar Patrika* for divulging the secret which made the moderates who were stubborn in the beginning in their opposition to the Rowlatt Bills, suddenly change their mind when the Government announced that the first Bill was to be in force only for three years, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th February, observes:—Does not this clearly show that the moderates had agreed with the Government in secret that one of the Bills might be in force for three years? If the statement of the Delhi correspondent should be true, what to call those moderates on the Imperial Legislative Council who approved the Rowlatt Bills in secret? Are they to be called patriots or traitors?

The moderates and the Rowlatt Bills.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

94. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, a communication in which the following finds place:—By the operation of this law, it is manifest that countless will be the number that will suffer by getting entangled into difficulties and enter prison without proper trial, that the movement for liberty will be blocked and that political life will be prejudicially affected. . . The Government have resolved to establish this law. So the noble sons of mother Bharata should agitate to get rid of this piece of legislation. The popular leaders should stand firm, taking to passive resistance.

The Rowlatt Bills.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

Remarking that the unanimous opposition of the people to these Bills makes the bureaucrats seek the favour of the moderates and exhorting the moderates to resign their seats on the select committee and agitate against the passing of these Bills, a correspondent writes an article to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st February, in which the following finds place:—The present situation puts us in mind of the history of the United States, which belonged to England about 140 years ago. In the year 1765 the Stamp Act was enacted in Parliament. The Americans agitated against this enactment and eventually succeeded with the result that the Act was at once repealed. If the Americans made such an agitation for the levy of a tax, without their consent, what a huge agitation should we make for condemning these barbarous Sedition Bills which attempt to deprive us of even our present liberties and make slaves of us? Therefore brethren! Our liberty is to be forfeited and justice is to vanish. Take the necessary steps before it is too late. Arise to oppose these Bills that tend to steep mother Bharata in the abyss. Meetings should be held in every town and every village for condemning these Bills. If the bureaucrats do not yield even after that, you should seek the leadership of Gandhi and be prepared to resort to passive resistance.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 17th Feb. 1919.

Adverting to the remark of the Viceroy that it is only the Defence of India Act that saved India at the time of the war and that a permanent Act is needed in its place,

The Rowlatt Bills.

the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 17th February, observes:—Words such as these to escape from the lips of the Viceroy cast a slur on the British administration itself. Other countries are likely to infer from these words that, as the British administration is not being carried on properly, anarchical views have cropped up here. Further, these are contradictory to the words of the authorities from the Premier down to the Provincial Governors eulogizing the services rendered by the Indians in the war and their loyalty. There is no necessity for the whole of India to suffer by these Bills, merely to put down a few persons here and there with anarchical tendencies. It is not in keeping with their responsibilities that the moderate leaders should surrender the rights of the people. Even as the official members obstinately carry their point, why not these also be bold in working for the cause of the people's liberty?

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th February, reproduces in Tamil a communication by Mrs. Annie Besant under the heading 'Rise Parantapa!' to the *Bombay Chronicle*, condemning the Rowlatt Bills and observing that, in the face of these Bills, reforms will be of no use and that only Home Rule will restore liberty to India. DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th February, observes:—Such a stressful condition is quite unprecedented in the political history of India. Attempts are now being made to enact a law to invest the Police and the executive authorities with powers that will prejudicially affect the liberties of all the people of the country. The endeavours of the authorities to enact this piece of legislation and their having condescended to restrict the term of its operation to three years make it clear that they feel anxious to have the consent of the Indian members for this measure. It is apparent that the Government do not wish to pass this on their own responsibility. If, therefore, the Indian members decline to co-operate with them in this matter the Government will drop the Bills. A Delhi correspondent to the *Tribune* states that it is wrong to say that the moderates erred in having agreed to the passing of these Bills as a temporary measure, as it was through their endeavours that at least this advantage was secured. This cannot be deemed to be an advantage at all. Did Sir William Vincent say that this law would not be renewed at the expiry of the present term? So the party that had the benefit at present are not the people but the Government. During the currency of this law for three years, every one will be afraid of doing political propagandist work of making public speeches and of writing to newspapers. Though our cause is just, our European brethren do not hesitate to revile us. It thus appears impossible for both of us to work in union for the progress of India, as pointed out in the Montagu-Chelmsford report. Some of the Englishmen, who are the descendants of persons that warred against their Government for establishing the liberty of the people, have now stated that these Bills should be passed into law and that those of the Indians who object to it are not fit for political privileges. Perhaps the European association will admit the competency of the Indians to conduct administration, if all the dictates of the Government are readily obeyed by them. Though Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have pronounced that the Congress-League scheme is unworkable, future historians may have to record that Montagu-Chelmsford scheme is equally unworkable. It appears that the very mention of the expression 'dual government' brings on laughter among eminent barristers in England! One day the European association says that the Indians do not deserve any political rights, because they oppose the Rowlatt Bills, and another day, when the authorities considered the administration of the Burdwan Municipality to be unsatisfactory, it says that the Indians are unfit for political privileges. Perhaps it may ascribe the same unfitness to the Indians, if they object to the wealth of India being exploited gradually by European traders and capitalists! What a miserable lot is ours? We have to contend with such implacable enemies! SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

In justifying the statements of the correspondents to the *Hindu* and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* that the Government and the moderates had come to an understanding between themselves in the matter of the passing of these Bills, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 21st February, observes:—The views of Sir Narayan Chandravarkar have come out in time. If these had been expressed already, the SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

moderate members would not have consented to serve on the Select Committee. Even hereafter if all the non-official members in a body oppose the Bills, we believe that the Government will drop them. What will the members do in case the Bills are passed compulsorily? Would they remain quiet with the satisfaction of having done their duty, or would they venture to take measures to compel the Government to have the law repealed? It is suggested that, in case the Bill is forcibly passed into law, the people should resort to passive resistance. But some are of opinion that, as only a few will be involved so far as passive resistance to this law is concerned, it is not likely that the Government will change their attitude, while others consider that passive resistance should be resorted to by all so as to necessitate the Government to change their attitude. As such a feeling is prevalent among the people, the leaders should make use of it and chalk out the lines on which they should proceed. We trust that, if the Bill is passed into law, all the Indian members will represent to the Government the extraordinary consequences likely to result in the country and that, if the Government proceed further without paying heed to their objections, they will not fail to secede from the Council.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

Adverting to the news that the Bills as amended will not again be brought for the consideration of the Council before October next, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd February, observes:—The Hon'ble Mr. B. Narasimheswara Sarma recently stated in Berhampur that the first of these Bills might, in all probability, be dropped. This is chiefly due to the able pleading of the representative members on the Imperial Legislative Council. However, if our friends had expressed their objections very strongly, as was done recently by the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar of Salem or by certain European members of the Madras Corporation, the Rowlatt Bills might have been got rid of altogether. It is not, however, too late for our representatives to do so.

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th February, reproduce in Tamil the letter written by Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar of Salem about Mrs. Besant's message on these Bills.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 20th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 20th February, publish a summary of the proceedings of a public meeting held in Salem on the 16th idem protesting against these Bills.

SWADESAMITRAN, 22nd Feb. & DESABHAKTAN & LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd February, and the *Desabhaktan* and the *Lokopakari*, of the 24th idem, publish in Tamil a gist of the memorandum issued by the Vakils' Association, Madras, protesting against these Bills.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st February, publishes in Tamil an account of a meeting held in Ammapet on the 14th idem, protesting against these Bills.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th February, reverts to this subject and, doubting whether it is the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjee himself that is said to have suggested to an official member the desirability of making the Bills a temporary measure, remarks:—Even accepting the version of Mr. Bannerjee about this incident, the question arises as to why the said Indian member, whoever he may be, should have made such a suggestion, when the Government were nonplussed by the unanimous opposition of the Indian members? Did it not mean that, if the Bills were made temporary, some would support them? When all the moderates had strongly opposed the Bills on their own merits on the first day, how did they hail with satisfaction the later announcement that the Bills would be in force only for three years? Were they carried away by the praises bestowed on them by Sir William Vincent? After the announcement that the Bills would be temporary, the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjee said that the attitude of his colleagues would depend on the changes that are made in the Bills by the Select Committee. Are the Bills to be passed into law then, if a few changes are introduced in them? Our duty is only to do what appears to our mind to be correct and we need not care for the consequences. A certain section among the people have been, for a long time, spoiling political matters by their over-readiness to compromise, on the

impression that it is they that are doing all good to the country. Even those who were divided on the question of presenting a farewell address to Lord Willingdon at Bombay have now joined together in opposing these Bills. When even moderate leaders like the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri openly say that the Bills may endanger them too, how can others escape from them? Why should they be accepted for three years? Within these three years, they are sure to crush all spirit in political life and there will be none to oppose their continuation after that period. This is the idea of the Government. As the opposition is very strong now, they propose to enact the law for three years now and to perpetuate it easily later on. It is for this purpose that they have patted the moderates on the back and made a show of yielding to their wishes. The latter have fallen into the snare. The whole country is sounding a note of warning to them and we feel sure that they will hear it. They should not be carried away by the flattery of the Government. Whatever changes may be introduced in the Bills by the Committee, if all the members fail to oppose them with one voice, the slur of having betrayed the country will attach to them eternally.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 24th February, takes exception to the non-official members having agreed to serve on the Select Committee, after opposing the Bills in the Council, and remarking that the object of the popular leaders is not to amend particular portions thereof but to do away with them altogether, advocates the secession of the non-official members from the commitee.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 11th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 11th February, says with reference to the remark of Mr. Chakravarti that the hatred of the Government officials against the bureaucratic Government is greater than that of the Home Rulers:—There is some truth in the statement that the Government officials themselves are dissatisfied with the present Government. It is true that some of the Government officials themselves have openly joined political agitation and are acting against the interests of the Government. Should not the Government open their eyes now at least and examine the conduct of their officials? The people fear that if they do not do so, some catastrophe may befall the country. Some people try to see that the Rowlatt Bills are not passed and thus harass the Government.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 12th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

With reference to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Desabhimani*, of the 12th February, writes:— . . . All our agitation against these Bills ended only in the waste of our voice, money and paper, and has not been productive of the least good. . . We have to infer from the present circumstances that the Bills will be passed into law soon after the receipt of the Select Committee's Report. If the Government want to act against public opinion, there is nothing impossible for them to do. "But no law whatever which is contrary to public opinion can have the desired effect." . . . . .

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

The Excess Profits Duty Bill.

95. Referring to the opinion of Sir Fuzulbhoy Kharimbhoy that the Government can, without resorting to this new taxation, very easily get the funds required for their expenditure by increasing the rates of customs duties and income-tax, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 22nd February, observes:—This view will not find favour with the public of this country. Most of the European Chambers of Commerce in India are arguing against the imposition of this new tax, but their arguments will not stand. It is but right to pass this Bill into law. This law urges that it is not proper that large capitalists, in view of the effects of the war, should amass huge profits without caring in the least for the hardships of the poor. It is not equitable for the Government to tolerate the rich to grow wealthier by getting inordinate profits and the poor to get poorer day by day and suffer more miseries. We deplore that the Government did not till now move in the matter of removing this injustice. We trust that, hereafter at least, they will pass this Bill and teach a lesson to the big capitalists.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

The Madras City Municipal Bill.

96. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd February, observes:—According to the Bill recently discussed in the Madras Legislative Council, the Commissioner, an officer to be appointed by the

Government, will wield all sorts of powers. The Government declined to accept the proposal of the Hon'ble Mr. Ranga Achariyar that they might reserve to themselves the power of appointing the Commissioner, but that the selection should be made from among those nominated by the Corporation. Is not the Madras Corporation competent to appoint the Commissioner who is the head of the executive? Or are the Government, by appointing the Commissioner, trying to take into their own hands the municipal administration of the city? If so, when are the councillors to get responsibility in local administration? Further out of the total number of 50 councillors, only 30 will be the representatives of divisions. Limits have been placed on sources which might bring in large revenues. The horses and carriages in the fort belonging to the Government have been exempted from payment of taxes. Are not these using the municipal roads? Or are they the property of the poor or of charitable institutions? Why should they not pay taxes? If the Port Trust Board, the Government and other bodies who get large revenue cease to contribute towards the expenditure of the Corporation, the required funds have to be collected only from the poor. It is now clear that adequate provision has not been made for the expenditure of the Corporation, and it cannot, therefore, continue to discharge its duties properly. Then there will be room to say that local self-government is not a success. But as the legislation contemplated at present is the cause for this, it is but essential to enact a fresh legislation in its stead.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

The Madras City Municipal Bill.

The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 18th February, publishes under this heading a letter from a rate-payer in Madras, urging the citizens of Madras to hold forthwith a grand public meeting, protesting against the enactment of the Madras City Municipal Bill which will probably take place in March, and to refrain from standing as candidates for election and to boycott such as have the cheek to so stand, in case the Government pass it into an Act in spite of the protest made by the people. The paper, in commending the action suggested by the correspondent, says that the Bill is likely to be passed into an Act before the 11th of March, and exhorts the people to hold a protest meeting without any delay.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and Sir G. N. Chandravarkar's criticism.

97. Referring to the opinion of Sir G. N. Chandravarkar on the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th February, observes in its leader under this heading:— . . . Nobody can call Sir Chandravarkar an extremist or a sympathiser of the Nationalist party. He was a member of the Beachicroft Committee which inquired into the condition of the internees in Bengal. Even such a man has clearly explained in the 'Times of India' how the Rowlatt Bills infringe the fundamental principles of British justice. . . "With Regulation III of 1918 still in force, and with the power of the Viceroy to issue temporary orders for the defence of the country, what necessity is there for the Government. Sir Narayan asks, to pass another coercive Act even as a temporary measure? . . . He exhorts the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council not to extend even the least support to these Bills, unless called upon to do so by the strength of popular opinion; and what that opinion is can be easily understood from the resolution passed by the open air meeting held in Calcutta under the auspices of the Bengal Moderates Association to the effect that the elected members should not accept even the temporary measure. . . Sir Chandravarkar wants the popular representatives not to assume the responsibility for the enactment of the Bills until the grant of self-government. It is not possible to explain more clearly the line of action to be followed by them than Sir Chandravarkar has done in his article. . . Though the Emergency Powers Bill becomes temporary, there is another which wants to make some permanent alterations in the existing Criminal Law. There seems to be absolutely no reason to accept the latter. The provision of this Bill are even more stringent than the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and The Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma's speech.

98. Reviewing the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma on the Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Legislative Ceuncil, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st February, observes in its leader:—We are now in receipt of the full report of the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma's speech on the Rowlatt

Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council. Mr. Sarma has stated in the course of his unambiguous and well-reasoned speech that there is not the least necessity for the enactment of repressive laws . . The courts of law have been till now invested with the power of questioning the acts of the executive except those done under the Press Act. The new Bills will upset the fundamental principles of law. Hitherto, law-courts have been the main source of protection for the people. It is the fairness of British justice that has helped most in the creation of unshaken confidence in the British Government among the people in India. If this firm bond is to be broken, why should not the people demand complete self-government forthwith, asks Mr. Sarma. . . Mr. Sarma has proved by irrefutable arguments that there is no necessity now for these Bills and attacked their very basic principles.

Had he stuck to this position to the very end, his tenacity would have been really praiseworthy. But instead of doing so, that he should request the Government to please the moderates seems ridiculous. . . He further observed: "make the measures temporary, for to make them permanent would border on madness." By the above sentence, he has surrendered his original position. . . It is because the non-official members have failed to maintain their determination to the very end that the Bills have been allowed temporarily. . . That the non-official members should try to fall back, when even Sir N. Chandravarkar wants them not to accept the Bills, even as temporary measures does not look proper. . .

99. Referring to the answers given on behalf of the Government in the Imperial Legislative Council to some questions, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st February, remarks:— . . . In reply to the question whether an opportunity would be given to the Council Members to discuss the Reforms Bill after its introduction in the Parliament, Sir William Vincent has stated that the Government are unable to make any promise in the matter. This reply cannot but be disappointing to those who have been eagerly expecting such an opportunity.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

Questions and answers in the Imperial Legislative Council.

100. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 18th February, reproduces from the *Ravi*, an article approving of the Rowlatt Bills and refuting the arguments of the opponents to the Bills.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

The Sedition Bills.

Referring to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Desabhimani*, of the 5th February, writes under this heading:—At a time when the heads of all countries are concerting measures at the Peace Conference to destroy autocracy and establish self-government all over the world, that the Government of India should try to forge in the Imperial Legislative Council fetters in the shape of these Sedition Bills, for India that has fought to the best of her ability against despotism in the last war—Bills which have not been in force in any civilized country at any time in the world—strikes awe and terror in our heart. These Bills are objectionable for more reasons than one. That they should be sought to be employed at a most inopportune time against such a dumb, innocent and helpless subject nation as the people of India is the first objection against it . . . The people are being now tried by famine and pestilence; and to annoy them still further by forcing this legislation upon them is unjust. It does not become the civilized and freedom-loving Englishmen . . . The Secretary of State came to this country and has prepared a scheme of reforms. Whatever its faults, it evinces a liberal spirit. Those reforms have not yet been embodied in an Act. The agitation against them in England and the attempts made by the Indian Civil Service officials in this country to defeat them minimise the chances of their being so embodied. By trying to pass this repressive legislation at a time when the political horizon in India is so gloomy, the Government will be only insulting Indians, setting at nought all their loyalty . . . If these Bills are entrusted to the newly constituted Council after the introduction of the scheme of reforms, it would then be in keeping with the British traditions. But if they are to be passed now, it will only show the obstinacy of the Government, who carry out their will, taking

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 5th Feb. 1919.

The Sedition Bills.

advantage of the differences which the Scheme of Reforms has unfortunately created among our politicians. The principles which are going to be applied to races that are a thousand times inferior to us in point of civilization are being denied to us at the Peace Conference. . . All the members of the Rowlatt Commission are Government men. . . The reading of such religious and devotional works as the Bhagavat Gita has been condemned in the report. National education has been similarly treated; and patriotism has been regarded as sedition. Their inquiry and their recommendations are alike bereft of all discretion. Because we say all this, we should not be understood to deny the existence of anarchists in India or the fact of there once having been anarchical conspiracies. . . As in every other country, in India also there are some anarchists. . . But their number is very small. The Rowlatt Report itself makes this fact clear. . . In these circumstances, no self-respecting Indian can give his consent to these Bills. . . It is the duty of the people to carry on agitation in the country and see that these Bills are not passed into law. . . The time has come when everyone should be ready to observe passive resistance, should a need for it arise. It is difficult to imagine a more cruel and terrible piece of legislation. May the members of the Legislative Council realize their responsibilities and discharge their duty, inspired by self-respect and by their country's honour!

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 20th Feb. 1919.

The European Commissioners of the Madras Corporation.

101. Referring to the Madras City Municipal Bill, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 20th February, writes in its leader under this heading:— . . . The *Mail* is of opinion that when the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme is introduced, there will be a chance of annulling this Bill and passing a new one. We think it is not at all proper for the Government to pass it into an Act, when there is such a strong difference of opinion upon it. . . A protest meeting of some Municipal Commissioners alone will not do. As suggested by us the day before yesterday a grand assembly of five to six thousand rate-payers at least should be held to protest against this dangerous Bill. . . If the Government carry out the Bill even in the face of such strong and unanimous popular opinion, it will be the indispensable duty of the Indian Commissioners to resign in a body like their European brethren and see that everybody is discouraged to stand as a candidate for election. . . The opinions of the citizens, of their representatives, and of the members of the Legislative Council elected on behalf of the Corporation have never before been flouted so flagrantly to our knowledge. . . We regret to state boldly that not to recognize the opinions of the citizens of this city in the management of the municipal affairs within its four toll-gates is altogether condemnable. It is indisputable that the leaders are responsible for the well-being of the citizens in the city. We regret to have to repeat that it is not proper for His Excellency Lord Pentland and his Government to ignore the opinions of such leaders on the subject and rush this unpopular Bill in indecent haste on the eve of His Excellency's laying down his office. . .

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 12th Feb. 1919.

The Imperial Legislative Council and the discussion on the Rowlatt Bills.

102. With reference to the opening speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Imperial Legislative Council, and the Rowlatt Bills, the *Desabhimani*, of the 12th February, writes in its leader:— . . . We are very sorry to observe that His Excellency's speech is cast in a most disappointing tone which is least calculated to satisfy the aspirations of Indians or to facilitate the progress of their country. On the other hand, we regret very much to see the Viceroy devoting the greater part of his speech to give an assurance to the Indian Civil Service officials, those opponents to Indian interests, who want to retain absolute power in their hands so that they may always play with the aspirations and the rights of Indians and keep them down. . . The way in which he has referred to the Scheme of Reforms, while making this assurance, cannot but have the effect of shaking the confidence of Indians in the impartiality of the English Government officials. . . Hitherto, the Government could get the support of many non-official members for each and every repressive measure passed by them. . . But as regards the Rowlatt Bills, there is no Indian, whether within or outside the Council, who has not expressed

his disapproval of them. It is extremely regrettable that such a clear, unambiguous and unanimous opinion has not been respected. This one instance is enough to establish the necessity for reform in the Government. . . The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri and the Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Bannerjea did not consent to resign their membership on the Select Committee over the Rowlatt Bills, lest it should be a disrespect to His Excellency the Viceroy. There is no wonder in their saying so. But we cannot agree with them in their opinion. We are of the firm opinion that no self-respecting Indian should accept a membership on this committee, as it is opposed to the interests of the country. We request the Honourable Members to change their views and resign their membership from the committee even now, since they cannot do anything though they are on it.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 12th Feb. 1919.

A huge monster meeting at Calcutta.

103. Under this heading, the *Desabhimani*, of the 12th February, gives in Telugu the proceedings and resolutions of a monster meeting held at Calcutta to protest against the Rowlatt Bills and a summary of the speech of Mr. C. R. Das.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 16th Feb. 1919.

The Imperial Legislative Council and the Black Bills.

104. With reference to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Hitakarini*, of the 16th February, writes in its leader under this heading:—. . . The speech which Sir William Vincent made introducing the Rowlatt Bills, otherwise known as the Black Bills, immediately after His Excellency had concluded his opening address, is full of self-contradications. . . It is hard to guess what reason Sir William Vincent could have for introducing these Bills, when once he admitted that there had been no political crime in the last three months of the year 1918. . . If these Bills are to be applied to anarchists, for whom is the Defence of India Act intended? The suspicion, therefore, arises that the latter legislation has been passed with the object of punishing constitutional as well as unconstitutional agitation indiscriminately. . . The agitation carried on by all parties is directed towards the attainment of a single object. That object is the establishment of democracy. The proper remedy for this lies in the fulfilment of the national aspirations. When the boy raises a hue and cry for something, what should the mother do to quell his clamour? Will it do, if she abuses and beats him all the more and binds him with ropes? Can such a procedure put an end to the disturbance? The very next moment that she places in the boy's hand what he wants, not only will his agitation subside, but the peace and content which then pass through his mind will be reflected in his smiling face. Whatever be the number of repressive measures passed with the object of rooting out the seeds of unrest in the country, the spark of that fire will be smouldering somewhere, and will bring disaster to the country at some time or other. . . The thirty-four members who voted against Mr. Patel's amendment were all official members. Should the Government go according to the opinion of the people to govern whom it has been established, or should it go according to the official majority? Will not our moderate friends recognize now at least the efficacy of the Congress-League Scheme of reforms? . . . It is strange that the unanimous cries of the people from every part of the country, namely, "these Bills are dangerous and productive of unrest! withdraw them!!" should not reach the ears of the Government. Has the voice of people to be a cry in the wilderness under this Government?

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 16th Feb. 1919.

Village officers.

105. With regard to the Hereditary Village Officers' Act Amendment Bill, the *Hitakarini*, of the 16th February, observes:—. . . Taking away the hereditary right and leaving the power of appointing village officers in the hands of Deputy Tahsildars are matters which cannot but be open to criticism. It is on account of their unwillingness to leave the villages where they have been long residing to forego their hereditary right which has been coming on from time immemorial and not on account of any pleasure in leading precarious lives, showing servile homage to every one from the taluk peon to the District Collector, that the village officers are still clinging to their offices. . . We fear that this Bill may lead to strikes among village officers similar to the labour strikes. A rumour has reached us that such attempts are on foot. It is not possible to say how far this is true; but anyhow, it is certain that the Bill will create some trouble. . . Unless the date of receiving

representations is postponed at least to the end of June, the opinions of village officers cannot find a full and adequate expression. It is not safe that there should be unrest in the village administration which is the very foundation of the political edifice in the country. . . If one servant resigns his post, another will not come forward to take it up. Whatever reasons there may be for it, this is a principle of village life. The Government will, therefore, do well to withdraw this Bill.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 15th Feb. 1919.

106. Referring to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhravani*, of the 15th February, writes in its leader under this heading:—. . .

The popular awakening.

In spite of certain differences regarding the political reforms, all Indians are agreed on the question of the Rowlatt Bills. All of them, with the exception of Doctor Nayar and some of his followers have condemned those Bills. The clarion voice of the people resounded in the Imperial Legislative Council during the discussion on these Bills. . . In the face of protests made by the people, the Government have introduced the Bills. They are bent upon passing coercive legislation which is unknown anywhere else in the world. The fact that they will be in force for only three years after the war in no way tones down their rigour. . . However hard we may rack our brains we cannot find an answer to the question: 'What necessity is there in India for such drastic legislation which is not deemed necessary anywhere in the world?. . . The people can possibly have no confidence in the ex parte inquiry held by the Rowlatt Commission. . . There is only one way of creating confidence in the people, and that is by holding an open inquiry into anarchy. . . Sir William Vincent has told the members of the Council that the proposed legislation is not meant to root out political agitation and that it only tries to make that agitation free from taint. But no agitation which is not liked by the authorities can be untainted. . . No freedom-loving people can ever accept repressive laws. It is not good that the Government should proceed in haste without heeding public opinion. . . .; nor is it safe to afford room for strong agitation among the people at a time when they are suffering from famine and pestilence. The people will not be responsible for the consequences that may follow. It is impossible to obstruct national awakening by repression. By employing repressive laws, the Government will have to swim against the opinion of 300 million Indians. May the Government use gentle means and help on the progress of the country?

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 22nd Feb. 1919.

107. In the course of an article criticising the Criminal Law Amendment Bills, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 22nd February, writes:—We think Justice Rowlatt is a great benefactor of India. Those who are wanting in far-sightedness and allow themselves to be led away by angry passion prove a great asset to the country. In the Madras Presidency, the people began to fight for their rights and liberties ever since Grant Duff became its Governor and did not cease their fighting until he retired The Indians, chiefly the Bengalis, were wanting in manly qualities until Lord Curzon came as Viceroy. They were slavish in their attitude towards Government and were bowing before them until they touched the ground. But this did not satisfy Lord Curzon. He became a 'Viceregal *Nabob*'. He ascended the throne at the Delhi Darbar and regarded the Indian Rulers as his servants and the Duke of Connaught as his Minister. But such pride and haughtiness always brings punishment in its train. Great deeds as well as great sins bring their result without delay. Differences arose between Lord Curzon and the Military department and also between him and the Indians. The untoward consequences such as the Bengal partition, and the boycott movement that arose from it are well known. He even feared that his life was in danger, was made to retire from the service, and, without the honours which his exalted position deserved, returned to England despised by the very country which he ruled like an Emperor. These curious events are by no means infrequent; and yet few people profit by the lessons which they afford. The very first result of following the treatment which Justice Rowlatt prescribed in the belief that there was political disease in India is that even the moderates in the Imperial Council became extremists, Justice Rowlatt. Instead of prescribing any treatment for India, seems to be in need of treatment himself. Mr. Welby and

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

other Anglo-Indian journalists are helping the cause of India. They are sowing the seeds of Bolshevism. We do not regret this in particular as adverse to Indian interests. We only deplore the blot that these people cause on the name of the just-minded among their countrymen. Once the prestige is undermined, all power disappears in an instant. Those who cherish the traditions of British justice regret to find that even so deeply cultured a nation as the British make the blunder of placing their confidence in a wrong quarter and are thereby bringing about their own ruin.

Writing on the same subject, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 21st February, remarks :—We have already pointed out how the authorities seeing the strong opposition from the popular representatives resorted to the policy of 'Divide and rule'. The whole secret in this connexion is out. The Government wanted at least some support from the moderates. Some of the members got scent that the Government were willing to enact the measures temporarily for three or four years. The moment the reply was given that they will be regarded as temporary in answer to Babu Surendranath's enquiry, the latter gave his consent and thus dug holes for letting into the Imperial Council these young snakes called Rowalt Bills. Ten years ago the late Gokhale had given his support to the Press Act relying on the promise that the measure would be regarded as temporary. But subsequently when the Congress and Gokhale himself urged that these fetters on the liberty of the press should be removed when the Minto-Morley Reforms had restored tranquillity, their cries were not heeded in the least. Though Gokhale deeply repented all the rest of his days for having given his consent to the measure this stump of a Press Act driven into the heart of India is still there. It must be due to the infirmities of his old age that Babu Surendranath who had long been known as a farsighted and veteran patriot still believes in the *temporary* nature of the present measure. If it be true that his mind has become infirm, it is really dangerous that he should represent the people in the Council.

Swadeshabhimani, Mangalore, 21st Feb. 1919.

IV.—Native States.

Travancore administration for 1093 M.E.

108. In the course of its review of the administration report for 1093 M.E. presented by the Diwan of Travancore at the current session of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly, the *Manorama*, of the 18th February, notices that the efforts of the Darbar to combat famine were creditable, e.g., the arrangements made to import paddy from Burma and to sell the same at moderate rates in different parts of Travancore and to supply kerosene oil for 'kol' cultivators, and inquires:—Has anything been done in British Malabar corresponding to these things? This affords evidence that Native States can appreciate the hardships and miseries of the people much easier (than foreign administrations).

Manorama, Calicut, 18th Feb. 1919.

Writing on the same subject the *Sathyanadam*, of the 21st February, considers the financial position of Travancore quite satisfactory. It also notes the successful efforts made by the Darbar to combat famine and regrets that the Cochin Darbar did not follow the example set by Travancore. "The neglect of the Cochin Darbar in the matter is quite unpardonable."

Sathyanadam, Ernakulam, 21st Feb. 1919.

Writing on the same subject, the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 19th February, and other papers congratulate Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar, Diwan of Travancore, on the success of his administration and note with satisfaction the sound financial condition of the State in spite of the difficulties caused by the war.

Kerala Sanchari, Calicut, 19th Feb. 1919.

Errata.

Report No. 6.

Page 189, paragraph 44, line 18, *for* 'certainly to be done' *read* 'certainly be done'.

Report No. 8.

Page 263, line 22, *for* 'libertive' *read* 'libertine'.
,, 263, ,, 3, from the bottom *for* 'Bolshviks' *read* 'Bolsheviks'.
,, 31 ,, 31, *for* 'arm' *read* 'harm'.

[Issued, 5th March 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 10 of 1919.

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 8th March 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*f*) *Land Revenue and Settlement.*

1. The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 27th February, has the following:— West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 27th Feb. 1919.

Agrarian discontent in Malabar.

"For how long are the local Government going to fight shy of a state of affairs which we have no hesitation in condemning as 'a shame and a scandal to civilization'—to borrow the language the late Lord Salisbury used once to condemn the Irish situation? Out of date wooden and inelastic, isolated from the real public, as Mr. Montagu said in the course of the Mesopotamia debate misled by its hangers-on, sycophants and 'conservative Indians', by cart loads of John Roes and Richard Roes who pose as leaders, the bureaucratic administration has failed to realise the strong undercurrent of feeling in Malabar against the landlords. . . The existence of this chronic distemper is and must be regarded as a serious indictment against the administration which has failed to realise that the interests of landlord and tenant are as opposite as Hyperion to a satyr.

Our agriculture is ruined, the major part of the population exists on one slender meal a day, wealth is in the hands of a microscopic minority, and the economic situation is becoming worse and worse. Verily, this state of affairs, which is the direct consequence of our agrarian laws, is not very creditable to anybody. We do think, however, that something will be done to improve matters before the situation gets out of hand. . . We appeal to the sense of justice and fair-play of the Englishmen concerned with the administration to do away with a scandal which keeps hundreds of thousands of human beings in perpetual bondage."

The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 4th March, remarks:—"To the casual observer, to the European civilian as well, it will seem that everything is going on as merrily as marriage bells in Malabar, with a population apparently contented and happy. For, is there any agitation in Malabar; is there any agrarian crime, and have the Government received any complaint from the tenants? . . . 'Internal' emigration still continues, for there is a steady influx of population into towns from rural areas, intensifying the unemployed problem. How we wish the Government realized the gravity of the situation before it is too late; how we wish the Government paid heed to the warnings and counsel of their own servants like Mr. Chantan! May we not hope that the words 'too late' will not be written on any legislation the Government might be compelled to undertake to allay the agrarian discontent that saps the vitality of the real people of Malabar?" West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 4th Mar. 1919.

(*k*) *General.*

2. The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 27th February, says:—"The impartial observer cannot but be amused at the new developments of Indian political activity and thought. Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, the super-Extremist, is at present in Madras hurling *anathema maranatha* against the moderates and, incidentally, against Mr. Besant as well. . . This has created a very interesting situation. We have now several parties, viz., the moderates, the super-extremists, the extremists, extremist—moderates and the revolutionaries. We believe Mrs. Besant now stands midway between the moderates and the extremist—moderates, and judged by her recent writings one is tempted to believe that she is making frantic attempts to join the moderate fold. . . Till recently the moderates were the *anathema maranatha* of the High Priestess of the Home Rule cult; she availed herself of every opportunity to discredit them, and to damage their reputation. It is a very strange irony of fate that to-day the old lady has turned round with her overtures! . . . There may be moderates, fools enough to be cleanly taken in by the emotional West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 27th Feb. 1919.

Mrs. Besant and Indian politics.

utterances of the old lady but the rank and file, and the leaders are not likely to allow themselves to be bamboozled. . . Her quarrels with her whilom friends, disciples, admirers and followers are no concern of ours; let her and them boil together, we do not in the least mind it. We cannot, however, but feel amused at the quarrel. Mrs. Besant herself set the example to her volatile following in the use of vituperation and denunciation. . . The question is whether a leader of her type who has no "settled convictions"—to use a Balfourian phrase—and who is very likely to doff her coat to-morrow and become a staunch pro-Bureaucrat can create confidence in the country and get a following from outside her Theosophical circle which is pledged to support her through thick and thin as the members of a vendetta would their leader?. . . It is our conviction that Mrs. Besant has at last been found out, and shunned by the moderates and looked upon with distrust by the extremists she must necessarily create a party pledged to and obeying her to the end. We have seen that possessed of a highly emotional temperament she needs must always be in the lime light, receiving the homage of all and sundry, and to a person of her temperament obscurity or enforced retirement is leaving death."

Hindu, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

Artificial agitation in India.

3. The *Hindu*, of the 1st March, writes:—"The assiduous efforts of the Indo-British Association seem to have borne fruit in the misguiding of British opinion. What kind of a scare-crow of a scheme, what a bitter mockery of a project of reform, is likely to emerge in the present state of things can be understood by reading between the lines of the *Times*' remarks. There is an old familiar ring about these sentences which betrays their inspiration if not their authorship. To call a 'facitious artificial agitation' a protest in which every shade of public opinion has joined in no uncertain terms, is carrying fatuity to absurd lengths. Why, even the facile consciences of the prize-boys of the bureaucracy revolted at so wholesale a repression of civil rights as the Bills proposed! . . . Most British people have forgotten that such a country as India exists, much less that there remained any unfulfilled pledges to carry out. The reactions of the Tilak case and the activities of the Sydenhamites have convinced such people as still bestowed a thought to India that British rule in India was seriously menaced. . . So far as British opinion is concerned therefore we seem rapidly to be harking back, after a period of maudlin sentiment and carefully vague assurances of a new angle of vision, into the old comfortable ruts. Humanity, democracy and self-determination once again become meamingless catch-words east of Suez. . . It is not the first time that tall talk has been followed by mean actions and we are not surprised at the frame of mind which reconciles itself to ranting about the sacred rights of humanity and self-determination and in the same breadth abusing those who insist on defending their most elementary civil rights. . . We ask for bread and have half a brick heaved at our heads. Because we think the half brick might not quite suit our digestion, we are promptly told that we are not fit to be fed at all. It is strange logic, but evidently one that holds the field at present in England where the idea seems to be: no repression no reform. So much for the keepers of a great democracy's conscience."

Justice, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

The following appears in *Justice*, of the 1st March, "Commenting on the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council on the Rowlatt Bills, the London *Times* says that India is on the verge of another of those factious artificial agitations which have repeatedly disturbed the country during the last ten years. . . What the *Times* says is not without force. . . But who are responsible for over-rating the importance of these artificial agitations? Who have been patronising and advancing the agitators to positions of prestige and influence? The answer will leap to the lips of those who have followed Indian politics for the past two or three years. The fact remains that the agitation of the variety described by the *Times* has been receiving encouragement, indirectly of course, at the hands of those whose duty it is to set their faces against everything artificial and objectionable. We need not go farther than Madras for instances. In this part of India even the loyal people have been painfully surprised at the manner in which the agitators and the agitating class are preferred for almost everything dignified, to the representatives and spokesmen of the loyal millions; and some people now

imagine that to be an agitator against the Government and against the established order is the surest passport to official recognition, fame and popularity."

The press in India.

4. The *Indian Patriot*, of the 5th March, observes:—"The history of the Indian press is one long story of dismal sufferings, cruel persecution and unaccountable misery. Newspapers have been banned from entry to certain provinces in India; they have been gagged with security and forfeiture and confiscation; they have been tormented in diverse ways; their independence is gone and it is a struggle for existence. Various ways and means have been devised since the outbreak of the war to silence the press and to stifle public opinion. The early struggles were nothing compared with the present-day difficulties, and the proud boast to establish a free press remains an unrealisable dream and 'a baseless fabric of a vision'. . . Two years have gone by since the unrelenting attitude of the Viceroy found expression, and it is time that the question should receive more detailed consideration, and may we not hope for tolerance of reasonable criticism of public acts and measures. Will not the Indian press be allowed to hold the acknowledged position of 'protector of freedom, watchful guardian, capable of uniting the weak against the encroachments of power'? Will an Indian editor be allowed to hold the worthy position of a 'ruler of the world,' as Carlyle put it? The question is of increasing importance, and the sooner the Government assuages popular feeling and indignation the better for the country."

INDIAN PATRIOT, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The Public Services Commission.

5. *United India and Indian States*, for the week ending, 5th March, says:—"The Public Services Commission made their recommendations long ago and the report is still being considered by the Government so far as the Indian-manned services are concerned. And when finally something is done, we shall hear that there is no money for their increase of pay without further taxation. So far as the European-manned services are concerned, the recommendations are being gradually carried into effect. Money *will be* found when the Government wants it. The Imperial Police and Medical services will soon enjoy the increased rates of pay: they barked long at the big salaries paid to the Indian Civil Service and as a result, their salaries are raised by the Government on the principle, evidently, of live and let live. It is a wise maxim, but when the people who live and those let to live both live at the cost of the Indian tax-payer, the latter's interest must, we urge, be considered foremost."

UNITED INDIA AND INDIAN STATES, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

India and self-determination.

6. The following appears in *United India and Indian States*, for the week ending 5th March:—"As we pointed out last week, the resemblances between India and the Philippines are so numerous and striking that the fate of these interesting Islanders is full of profound significance to the inhabitants of our own vast continent. . . We happen to know that there are people who call themselves countrymen of Fox and Gladstone according to whom Prussianism is not so black as it is painted and that though it may be bad in Europe, it is good in India. With regard to such opinions, it is sufficient at this time of the day to say merely that the war was fought for a different principle, the Allies fought and won it on a different principle. The Allies, the Peace Conference, are now pledged to the view that every nation however small or however weak is entitled to its own independent life and that therefore as good old Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman said, good government (by foreign rulers) can never be a substitute for government by the people themselves. In India we want government by the people and the British Imperial connexion."

UNITED INDIA AND INDIAN STATES, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The forfeiture of the 'British Indian Press' security.

7. *New India*, of the 5th March, says:—"Madras will do its duty on Friday next, when we hope the Government of Madras will be left in no doubt as to the public interpretation of its latest act of vandalism. . . One noteworthy feature of the present forfeiture order is the compilation of extracts from the articles, and not the articles themselves. . . Even more important it is to know whether the action of the Government of Madras is based on the passages now published or on the whole articles. Three members of the

NEW INDI Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

Government are ignorant of Tamil. Did they, before sanctioning the forfeiture go through the translation of the whole articles or merely through the few selected sentences? . . . Lord Pentland is to retire in a few weeks, and this is perhaps his final reminder to the public, as to the mischief of 'other rule' in India."

III.—Legislation.

The Madras Law Times, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

Bolshevism and Rowlattism.

8. The *Madras Law Times*, for the week ending 19th February, has the following:—"To sum up, the proposed Bill abrogates all sound rules of evidence and procedure; it places the life, liberty, and property of every subject of His Majesty in India at the arbitrary will of an Executive not responsible to the people; it abolishes the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of law established in this country. . . We are of opinion that the draconian provisions of the all-comprehensive Indian Penal Code ought to be sufficient for any conceivable purpose. From the necessity to have such drastic powers concentrated in the hands of the Executive, it would seem to an outsider that India is in a state of chronic revolt. Even if it were so, which we deny, this is not the remedy. Indeed this smacks strongly of Bolshevism. Although the nature and aims of the Government of India are totally and fundamentally different from those of the Bolshevistic idealists, still there is a surprising similarity in the methods they employ, which may not be quite accidental. There is the same distrust of lawyers, of judges, and of the ordinary courts of justice with their attendant formalities."

The Commonweal, Madras, 28th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and protest meetings.

9. The *Commonweal*, for the week ending 28th February, observes:—"The stage in India this week has been occupied chiefly by protest meetings against the Rowlatt Bills, Bombay being especially noticeable for its persistent opposition. Meetings have been held day after day, with well-known speakers at each, and the volume of disapproval grows as time goes on. . . Indians have had too much experience of the exaggerated use of coercion in the past to regard with equanimity the possession by the Government of such sweeping powers. . . Moreover, when the Bills become Acts, liberty ceases to exist in India. Liberty is very imperfect now, but when it depends on the proclamation of the Ruler it is not liberty at all. We shall be living under a pure despotism, hitherto unknown in India, and we shall hold everything by the mercy of the Viceroy. He may not intern, or imprison, or take our money as security, but he *can* do so at his own will and pleasure; that is, we shall be under the will of a man, not under the rule of the law. These Bills abolish liberty everywhere, by putting anyone in any area in danger of punishment by one man's will. . . Is it wonderful that we cannot trust authorities who behave in this way not to commit wrongs under cover of discretion, to say nothing of the worthlessness of Government promises made to procure the passage of obnoxious measures, as the promise of the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha—now Under Secretary of State for India—that a man should receive interest on the security he was compelled to lodge. Security has now become the imposition of a yearly fine—a scandalous abuse."

Nationalist, Madras, 2nd Mar. 1919.

Rowlattism and passive resistance.

10. The *Nationalist*, of the 2nd March, writes:—"People have begun to despair; hopes raised and dashed to the ground, prices ruling high and holding no prospect of the slightest fall, distress staring every Indian in the face by the high-handed behaviour of soul-less wheels in the great machine of the present day administration, are all contributing to make the sense of despair deeper and deeper day after day. What is the result of this despair? It either kills all activity in men and makes them mere cynics and fatalists or it drives them mad and throws them into the hands of bravadoes, bomb-throwers, and secret revolutionaries. The ineffectiveness of moderate politics has well-nigh exasperated the country. . . What is the real antidote to all this chaos—we answer emphatically it is none other than Passive Resistance."

Justice, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

Mr. Gandhi and the Rowlatt Bills.

11. *Justice* of the 3rd March, writes:—"Against Mr. Gandhi's new movement all loyal and law-abiding citizens must set their faces. The Rowlatt Bills are aimed at the most dangerous of criminals. They will not interfere

with constitutional agitation which will go on as before and must go on as before. Let us bear that in mind. If these Bills were intended to stop, or make legitimate forms of political activity impossible, we would be among the first to oppose them. But they are not so intended. What then is the object of this passive resistance movement? It is a mischievous idea which enlightened public opinion all over the country must unqualifiedly condemn."

The *Hindu*, of the 7th March, writes :—" The telegrams from Delhi published elsewhere, show that the interview of Mahatma Gandhi with His Excellency the Viceroy has not relieved the situation, and that the attitude of Mr. Gandhi ramains unchanged in respect of his firm adherence to adopting the principle of passive resistance in case the Rowlatt Bills are passed into law. The interview has cleared the air in so far as it has been made clear to the representative of His Majesty's Government in this country, viz., the Viceroy, by so selfless, so farfamed, and such a spiritual public worker as Mr. Gandhi that a large part of the thinking people of this country are prepared to resort to passive resistance in case the Rowlatt Bills are passed into law. That the movement of passive resistance has been seriously set on foot, that it is gaining ground and that it is likely to spread soon over every nook and corner of the country, there is already ample evidence to show. The name of Mahatma Gandhi is itself a soul-stirring force. . . The issue is now reduced to this: Either the Government must in deference to the unanimous public opinion in the country, abandon the Bills or they must face the fierce and widespread agitation for passive resistance which the proposed law will produce. . . As the proposed laws are subversive of their fundamental rights as citizens, and as their enactment will be in direct opposition to the view of the people at large as well as of their representatives in the Legislative Council, they do not possess the elements which render obedience on their part, a matter of moral obligation." HINDU, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

12. The *Indian Patriot*, of the 4th March, states :—" The committee proposes changes such as would not destroy the general principles of the Bill, and it is definitely laid down in the preamble and other sub-clauses that the Criminal Emergency Powers Bill is intended to cope with anarchical and revolutionary crime alone. The time-limit laid down will not afford considerable satisfaction as the measure is viewed as a menace to the liberties of the people. . . Changes here and there in the Bill are not the best means for making the Bill acceptable. The principle is wrong and the methods employed are faulty; and the findings of the Select Committee follow in the main those principles and methods which have been shown times without number to be quite unnecessary in the best and truest interests of the country. . . The Government has not shown any deference to the reasoned opinion of the country, and they will have learnt by this time the intense force of public feeling against the Bill. We need not here enter into a lengthy discussion of the provisions of the Bill as amended to show that the public still view it as a grave menace to the liberties and rights of the people of India." INDIAN PATRIOT, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The Madras Government and the City Municipal Bill.

13. *Justice*, of the 5th March, has the following :— JUSTICE, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

"**No, thank you.**

"That is what the Madras Corporation has said to the Madras Government about the new City Municipal Bill. We know that such polite refusals will have no effect on the Madras Government. That worthy body believes in ramming down the throats of municipal institutions in this Presidency not what the municipal bodies want but what the Government thinks is good for them. The process is very much like a mother administering caster oil to a child, with this difference, that the castor oil generally does good to the child, while the municipal measures of the Madras Government, as a rule, have the opposite effect.

"But we are thinking more about the effect that the resolution passed by the Madras Corporation at a special meeting last evening will have on those two high functionaries, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. . . The Montford report goes so far as to say that its distinguished authors could not content themselves with reforms in the sphere of local self-government as 'Indian hopes and aspirations have been roused to such a pitch that it is idle to imagine that they will now

be appeased by merely making over to them the management of urban and rural boards.' Quite so. If Indian aspirations will not be appeased by merely making over to them the management of urban and rural boards, how much more Indian aspirations will be ruffled by not handing over to them even the management of urban and rural boards? . . . The City Municipal Bill, however useless it may be as an instalment of municipal reform, is exceedingly valuable as an index of the nature of the Montagu reforms of the future. And if this is the nature of the reforms that India is going to get, may the good Lord deliver us from Montagu reforms?"

IV.—Native States.

Malabar Herald, Cochin, 1st Mar. 1919.

Mr. Bhore, I.C.S., Diwan of Cochin.

14. The *Malabar Herald*, of the 1st March, says:—"On Monday, the 3rd instant, Mr. J. W. Bhore, B.A., I.C.S., will vacate his office as the Diwan of Cochin which he has held for the past five years with what credit we shall endeavour to show as briefly as possible. We have no doubt that the whole of Cochin, with the exception of a microscopic minority composed chiefly of scheming sycophants, will have heaved a sigh of great relief when they heard of Mr. Bhore's impending departure from the shores of Cochin as a piece of positive information. As he is now leaving Cochin for good we, who have watched its affairs, would be failing in duty if we do not pay him a tribute which he richly deserves as the weakest administrator Cochin has ever had."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

15. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th February, observes :—It it seen that, though the war has stopped in a way, the Germans have not given up their wicked propagandist work. It is reported that their work is being carried on unchecked in America and that the chief mission of the German spies is to create ill-feeling between England and America. It is also stated that they have succeeded in their attempt to a small extent. The *Times of India* observes that, in such circumstances, if Germans are permitted to reside in India, great danger is likely to be caused by them here and that the Government should be careful in this matter.

German propagandist work.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

16. Adverting to a note of warning given by Mr. Gandhi to the Government of India, that unless the grievances of the Indians in South Africa are redressed, passive resistance is likely to be resorted to there, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th February, observes :—Mr. Gandhi says that, if the Government of India remain silent on the matter, the lot of the Indians who have been residing for generations together in the places where gold mines are worked in South Africa, will become very miserable. It is noted in the conditions of the passive resistance formed in 1914 that the liberty of the Indians in South Africa should not be forfeited. What to say of the Government of South Africa who contravene this stipulation and attempt to confiscate the liberty of the Indians without realising that they too are British subjects? If the statement made during the war, that the Indians also hold equal status with the other members in the British Empire, is true, it is necessary that the Government of India should put a stop to the excesses committed in South Africa. Is there none to question the South African Government who grew fat on the labour of the Indian coolies and on the blood shed by the Indians in sugarcane plantation and coal mines?

Indians in South Africa.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th February, reproduce in Tamil an abstract of a letter written to the press by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, with reference to a telegram received from South Africa complaining against the stringent application of certain laws prejudicially to the interests of the Indians in that place.

Indians in South Africa.

Swadesamitran, & Desabhaktan, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

17. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th February, publishes the substance of a lengthy article on this subject contributed by a correspondent to the *Herald*, in which the following finds place among others :—The first sinful act perpetrated by these Russian extremists is that they have made public the treaties entered into in secret. This provoked the statesmen and the Governments of the allied countries. The devices adopted by statesmen without the knowledge and consent of representative assemblies called the Parliament or the Senate were brought to light. Further the secret views of the statesmen of the allied countries were revealed to the public in spite of their proclaiming that they were working with the purest of motives. Such an act of the Russian extremists will never be excused by Ministers, office of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Ambassadars.

The Russian extremists.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

18. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 26th February, describes at length the hardships suffered by the Indian labourers in the plantations of Ceylon and observes :—The root of all this misery is the ignorance of the labourers. Without any idea of the nature of the country they are to serve in, the work they have to do, and the wages they have to get in return, they get into the clutches of the planters through the *kankanis*. It will be sheer injustice if the Government should merely look at an educated person duping the ignorant. But neither the Government of India nor

Indian labourers in Ceylon.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

the Government of Ceylon have taken adequate steps to prevent most of the labourers being taken to plantations by deceptive words. Some years ago, a committee was appointed by the Government of Ceylon to inquire into the complaint about the condition of labourers and Mr. Sundaram, a barrister of Ceylon, writes that the report of this committee has long ago been received and has been communicated only to the planters. If this is a fact, we have to remark that the Ceylon Government are partial, as the labourers that work in the plantations are also equally interested in the matter. If the report is made public, the labourers or others interested in their behalf, can say what portions of it are detrimental to their interests. The planters are said to be the primary cause for the hardships of the coolies. To remove these hardships, why should the planters alone be consulted? Indian leaders should at once attend to this. The recruiters may allege the stress of the present situation as a reason and induce many to emigrate. But as the services of these coolies are required in India alone, it is the duty of the Government to prevent them from going out in view of the wages, etc., they might earn here. The sufferings of the coolies in Ceylon are known to all and as the conditions there are worse than those obtaining here, it behoves the Government to prevent the recruitment of coolies in this country.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The League of Nations.

19. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd March, reproduces an article from the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* which quotes an extract from the *Evening Standard* to show that the decision at the Paris Conference, that only the five great powers can form the league, was resented by the smaller European States and observes:—We thought that the League of Nations would at least be a league of whitemen. It is clear only now how even the smaller countries of the whites are to be excluded from this league. This shows the fraternal feeling of the great powers towards the smaller States, though the latter too are occupied by the white races. The guiding principle seems to be only that might is right, and it is really a mockery for people, who are immersed in worldly attachment, to talk of rare subjects like 'human brotherhood' and 'divine equality'.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 22nd Feb. 1919.

The League of Nations.

With reference to the draft rules of the League of Nations, the *Andhravani*, of the 22nd February, remarks:—Those rules of the League of Nations which relate to the dependent nations are defective. The League is expected to set right these defects, when they come to discuss the draft rules. . . It is not proper that such a vast country as India should have no representation on the League. The people believe that it is the noble duty of the British nation to accord to India an equal place with the Colonies which are within the Empire. We hope that the rulers will soon justify the expectations of the people.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 1st Mar. 1919.

The League of Nations.

In its leader under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 1st March writes:—When an article is found without an owner or when its rightful owner is dispossessed of it, strangers other than the owner are generally treated as partners in respect to that article. The League of Nations has been created with the object of preventing dissensions among these partners. Thus, there is the seed of injustice in the very inception of the League. There are black races in Africa. Still, they are not regarded as the people of Africa. In spite of this fact, South Africa has been recognized as a self-governing country. What is meant by South Africa? It means the few white people who have settled in South Africa and their government which has been recognized as independent. What is to become of the original inhabitants who have been in South Africa long, long before the advent of the white people? . . . Australia, New Zealand and other colonies also are similarly treated. . . The few white settlers who have recently come and lived for some years become the owners. Is it not such owners who rule the League of Nations? See the justice of it! When the question of the German colonies comes up, they want to drive the Germans out of them on the ground that they have ill-treated the original inhabitants. Why should they not also inquire how the original inhabitants in South Africa and Australia are being treated? The oppression of labourers in the Congo State by the Belgians is now a matter of history. Still, Belgium can keep the Congo State in their possession.

It is thus clear that the League of Nations is intended to facilitate the partition among its members without any hitch, and not to do justice to the voiceless original inhabitants. Further, it is for the most part wealthy men, owners of factories, capitalists and their followers who are now dominating in the Government of every country. . . Finding no other way of escape from the tyranny of the rich, the labourers are obliged to develop their social strength. They are now giving to the owners of factories an idea of their social strength by means of their strikes. . . There is no wonder in the wealth of the rich, amassed with the tears of labourers, proving in the end to be poison to the world. This western commerce is depriving, on one hand, the labouring classes in the west of their status as men, while it drains the resources of foreign countries on the other. This economic problem is the cause of endless trouble among the western continents. Look at the present condition of Russia. It is the labouring classes that have rebelled all over the country. They have taken possession of large tracts of land, driving out proprietors out of their estates where they have been, till now, enjoying all pleasures. They are splitting up those estates into small pieces and dividing them among themselves. The workmen in factories are driving out the owners of their factories and working the factories themselves, sharing the profits. . . They are backing up their cause and power by the force of arms. This terrible revolution is undoubtedly the outcome of capitalism in Europe. It is also spreading in Germany, and it is not possible to say to what extent it may go. Since the defeat of the Labour Party in the last general elections in England, a strong reaction has been in progress there. The recent labour strikes prove this fact. England is in a serious crisis to-day. . . In addition to this struggle between labour and capitalism, a clash between women and men threatens to be imminent as regards professions. . . There is one more fact. A sort of jealousy between Europe and America seems to be in progress. America has realized a profit which is more than her loss during the war, and the problem which confronts every American to-day is how to make the American commerce the greatest in the world. The Americans also entertain a fear that they may have to face European competition. The Europeans are troubled on their part by the doubt whether they can stand the American competition. It has been published that America is going to double her navy. Why should they? It may be said beyond all doubt that the competition of Europe alone has led to this step. From the cables which are being received, it is understood that Americans are grumbling that they have only one vote in the League of Nations while the British Empire has been allowed five. There are many more points of discord of this sort. We shall describe them in our next issue and see how far the League of Nations can be helpful in setting them right.

The rules of the League of Nations.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Feb. 1919.

Commenting in the course of its leader on the draft rules of the League of Nations, the *Andhrapatrika*, weekly of the 19th February, observes:— . . . From this, it will be clear that there is very little hope of redemption for dependent countries. We suspect that the provision entrusting the administration of dependent countries to big powers in the interests of the subject nation contains in it the seeds of future wars. . . The first eight rules go to exclude India which has rendered great help in the war, from the Peace Conference. Though the League was formed for the purpose of establishing peace and dharma (righteousness) in the world, the rules make it clear that its object is to safeguard the rights of European powers and to provide against any foreign inroad on them. Its object is not the protection of the rights of all nations. . . Countries like India, Egypt and Mesopotamia will have to advance under the domination of full-grown powers. This arrangement, it will be understood, precludes the possibility of the grant of self-government to them in this age. The League of Nations does not recognize the national soul, honour and individuality of countries like India. The history of the world loudly proclaims that the ruling powers cannot enable their subject nations to acquire individuality. . . History does not furnish an instance of a nation willingly leaving a country which it has conquered. It seems to be an idle dream that the League of Nations will be able to accomplish this object. . .

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 28th Feb. 1919.

The League of Nations.

Writing on this subject, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 28th February, remarks:—Those dominions which are completely autonomous have a place in the League of Nations. This makes it certain that India will have no place in it. Under the system of Mandatory States the German and Turkish Colonies will have to remain under the shelter of some leading States such as England and France for some (?) time. If President Wilson should agree to this, it will be contrary to the 14 points announced by him prior to setting foot on European soil. The influence of the atmosphere of Europe is such that President Wilson, the moment he set foot on European soil has had to go contrary to his previous suggestions. We are unable to say whether it is the soil or the climate of Europe that wields this influence.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Feb. 1919.

The emigration of Indian labourers to Ceylon.

20. Referring to the announcement made by the Local Government recently, that all restrictions imposed upon the emigration of Indian coolies to Ceylon have now been removed, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th February, regrets that the Government have not made any reference about how far the hardships suffered by the Indian coolies in Ceylon have been removed, and adds:—We now learn that, in addition to the 'useless' commission appointed by the Local Government to inquire about the condition of the coolies in Ceylon, the Government of Ceylon also appointed another committee of inquiry and that that Government now propose to take action on the recommendations of their committee. We learn also that these recommendations are favourable to the European capitalists and prejudicial to the poor Indian coolies. We are, therefore, surprised at the Local Government having merely announced the removal of restrictions in the matter of emigration of coolies to Ceylon, without giving any information to the people about the work of the new committee.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The American Navy.

21. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th March, says:—It is strange that while everybody is hoping that after the conclusion of peace, there will be a reduction in destructive weapons, the Americans are trying to increase their navy for three years. It is difficult to understand how such a step will help to promote peace.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mangalore, 25th Feb. 1919.

Japan and China.

22. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 25th February, writes:—Japan has the wicked ambition of taking China into her possession. China has come to know of this. At the instigation of Japan, China has not been treated with the respect she deserved at the Peace Conference. China is discontented in consequence. Japan wants to introduce the Munroe doctrine into Asia. Japan's attitude towards China shows how she has been blinded by power.

MYSORE STAR, Mysore, 23rd Feb. 1919.

Germany and the war.

23. In an article referring to Germany's unwillingness to fulfil the conditions of the armistice, the *Mysore Star*, of the 23rd February, after explaining that Germany is sure to be completely ruined if she should be so foolish as to renew fighting, proceeds to observe:—Though German leaders have themselves confessed recently that their internal affairs were so bad that they could not but sue for peace, there are some Indian Bolsheviks among us who in their pride regarding Germany find satisfaction in asserting that Germany has not been defeated at all.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

An attack on the President of the Peace Conference.

24. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 22nd February, referring to the dastardly attack made on the French Premier, writes:—Though such occurrences are common in Europe, extraordinary importance attaches to the outrage as the victim is the President of the Peace Conference. There is probably something behind it all.

European dynasties are frequently established by such unlawful means. The strange thing about it is that Europe spreads anarchy and puts the blame on Asia! e.g., to investigate the causes of sedition, a Rowlatt Commission was found to be necessary and now to prevent sedition a Rowlatt Act is regarded as essential. It is said that India contains a very large number of seditious germs and if they are not destroyed the Government will be overthrown. But we do not know that how many such youths there are in this unfortunate country who are capable of destroying kingdoms and overthrowing ministries.

It is said that there are some secret societies in India and several high officers have been assassinated. We do not understand how the germs of sedition and anarchism have been destroyed in Europe and how the continent of Asia can compete with even one of the islands of Europe.

25. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 1st March, commenting on the reply given by Sir William Vincent on behalf of the Government regarding the question of the Khalifate raised by the Hon'ble Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur at the Imperial Legislative Council, observes:—The Home Member has failed to realize the importance of the question or to frankly reassure the Muhammadans. The Government had promised to preserve the sanctity of the holy places but the explanation which it now offers after the lapse of three years is really amazing and compels us to express our regret. Lord Curzon's interpretation of late Majesty's promise was simply astounding but now we have to admit that Sir William Vincent is not a whit inferior to his Lordship in his exegesis.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

The Government and Khalifate.

The editor, referring to the reply given by the Honourable Member regarding the question of the restoration of the holy places to the Khalifate, writes:—

This is a question which will naturally be uppermost in the minds of at least seven crores of Indian Muhammadans and they earnestly hope that it may soon be settled. Although Sir William Vincent's reply is sympathetic and friendly but it cannot satisfy the desire of Muhammadans nor meet the needs of the case. Cannot His Majesty's Government go a step further? Surely the realm of sympathy is a vast one.

II.—Home Administration.

(*b*) *Courts.*

26. Referring to the decision in the case filed in England by Tilak against Sir Valentine Chirol, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 28th February, remarks:—The opponent is a personage like Chirol, who has the sympathies of the Bombay Government. Big retired officials such as Lord Sandhurst and Sir Richard Lamb are his witnesses. Further, the name Tilak itself is hateful to Government. Under these circumstances, whatever be the side on which truth and justice rest, almost everyone must have guessed beforehand, how far the decision would be in favour of Tilak. Such a decision of the goddess of justice as the above in a pure atmosphere like that of England is not undesirable (?) When we look into the biography of patriots like Tilak, we find that the greater portion of their intellect, energy, wealth and life has been used up in the struggle against the bureaucracy in India. Sometimes as a patriot and sometimes in individual capacity, sometimes for disproving extraordinary accusations such as sedition, at other times for clearing terrible charges of moral degradation such as the production of false documents—in these various ways was Tilak's priceless energy spent. If this is not due to the present crooked times then it must be due to the great ill-luck of India.

Swadeshabhimani, Mangalore, 28th Feb. 1919.

The Chirol case.

(*d*) *Education.*

27. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th February, reproduces in Tamil 'Bulletin' No. 2 on this subject issued by Mr. G.S. Arundale, which contains an observation to the following effect:—It is said that many of the leaders hitherto regarded by us as supremely trustworthy have been bribed by the Government and have consequently changed their attitude at present and that certain others have adopted their present attitude with the hope of getting some high appointments.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

National education week.

Referring to the speech of Mr. Yusuf Ali in the Bedford College on elementary education, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st March, says under this heading:— . . . Considering the changes introduced by Mr. Fisher in England, it is the duty of the Government to introduce national education in India.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

National education.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 13th Feb. 1919.

Education in the Madras Presidency.

28. Referring to the administration report of the Educational Department for the year 1917–18, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 13th February, observes:—Though statistics appear to be satisfactory, still when the population of the presidency and the amount of expenditure incurred are considered, the result does not appear to be commensurate with the labour involved. If financial aid is being rendered properly, there is no reason why the number of private schools should decrease by 9·3 per cent, while the number of public schools has shown an increase of 3·7 per cent. This gives room for one to suppose that the Educational Department is retarding the increase in the number of private institutions, with the object of showing that all the credit in the progress of education is due to them. It is a great mistake on the part of the Department to give room for such an impression. The people wish to have education under their control, while the department besides baffling their efforts in this direction, is intent upon its own improvement, regardless of the progress of education. What exactly is the nature of education which the people should get and how it should be imparted, can better be decided by the people and their representatives. So it behoves the department to bestir itself to create feeling in the public to become zealous in improving their education by establishing various kinds of schools as they like and by maintaining them, and is not proper for the department to waste public funds. If it errs in this matter, it is necessary that the Government should ask for proper explanations and rectify it. If the Government who are of opinion that the Indians are not fit to discharge their own responsibilities, wish to take on themselves these responsibilities for ever, stifling, through the bureaucrats, the little amount of spirit in the people, it is beyond the possibility of not only the British but also of any Government on earth to make the people fit to take up their own responsibilities.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar and vernacular newspapers.

29. Adverting to one of the resolutions to be moved by the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar at the next meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, to the effect that this Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that the vernacular newspapers should be permitted to report the proceedings of the Legislative Council, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th February, observes:—It is a well-known fact that the reporters of vernacular newspapers are not being allowed to attend the meetings of the Legislative Council so as to enable them to publish the proceedings of the Council then and there. In reply to a communication on this subject after the *Desabhaktan* was started, the Government informed us that there was no accommodation available for the correspondent of this paper in the Council Chamber and this reply took us by surprise. On learning since that two or three reporters are allowed into the Chamber for Anglo-Indian papers such as the *Mail* and the *Times*, we again wrote to the Government about the partial treatment, with the result that no reply has been received up to date. It is said that the reporter of the *Swadesamitran* alone is admitted. Perhaps the Government think that granting permission to this reporter will satisfy all the vernacular papers. While generally one reporter should be permitted for each paper, it is sheer partiality to allow two or three reporters for every Anglo-Indian paper and completely withhold permission to the reporters of the vernacular papers. The Legislative Council exists for the benefit of the public and the people are very eager to read the proceedings of its meetings. Most of the readers of vernacular papers are ignorant of English. It is, therefore, necessary that the reporters of these papers should be admitted to Council meetings, so that the proceedings of these meetings may be published in them then and there. We submit that it is not proper to show partiality in such trivial matters. If there is no accommodation available for the correspondents of these papers, why should not the Government provide additional accommodation for them? Where is the need to admit more than one reporter for papers such as the *Mail*, the *Hindu*, and the *Times*? We hope that Lord Pentland will note the spirit of this resolution and make suitable arrangements for the reporters of vernacular papers being treated in the same way as those of the English papers.

30. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st March, writes:—The President of the Transval Indian Association has sent a cable to this country to the effect that attempts are made in South Africa to obstruct and destroy Indian commerce. . . A bold attitude like that which was taken up by Lord Hardinge, should now be adopted and two prominent men should be sent from this country to hold an inquiry. Otherwise, Mr. Gandhi says that South Africa cannot but be disturbed once more by the passive resistance movement. . . Once more, the South African problem confronts us. Unless India soon gets the status of self-governing colonies, it will be readily understood that she cannot command respect, whatever be the attempts made.

South Africa, and Indians.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919

31. While expressing regret at the decision of the Government to remove the Medical School at Calicut to Coimbatore, the *Manorama*, of the 21st February, points out that the Government will be doing immense good to the people if they give pecuniary aid to some women of Malabar to undergo training in midwifery for which, it says, Calicut will be an excellent centre as there is a women's hospital at that place. It also points out that at present many delivery cases prove fatal as they are conducted by ignorant women of the dhobi caste, and invites the attention of the Government to the matter.

The Medical School at Calicut.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 21st Feb. 1919.

Reverting to the subject of the transfer of the Medical School from Calicut to Coimbatore, the *Manorama*, of the 25th February, suggests that, as the report on Medical Schools for 1917–18 shows that the majority of the students of the Medical School belong to Malabar and the adjoining district of South Kanara and therefore the transfer of the school from Calicut is regrettable, and as Calicut is every way a more convenient centre for students, the Government of Madras may be pleased to reconsider the proposed transfer.

The Medical School at Calicut.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 25th Feb. 1919.

32. A correspondent writing in the *Manorama*, of the 25th February, affirms that the statements made by a correspondent in the *Manorama* of 11th February and abstracted on page 224 of Report No. 7, regarding the inefficiency of aided elementary schools, produces an altogether false impression about these schools.

Aided elementary schools.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 25th Feb. 1919.

(*e*) *Local and Municipal.*

33. Adverting to the reference made by the Government of Madras to the Calicut Municipal Council regarding the introduction of the Prevention of Adulteration Act in the municipality, the *Manorama*, of the 25th February, considers that in view of the gross adulteration of milk, sour milk and ghee now practised there and the consequent danger to public health, the introduction of the Act is absolutely necessary.

The Calicut municipality and the Prevention of Adulteration Act.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 25th Feb. 1919.

34. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 24th February, in a leader on this subject writes:—It is not unknown to the public how seriously India has been affected by the ravages of this deadly disease and how rapidly it has reduced the population. The Government besides adopting every possible measure for the prevention of the disease has spent and is spending large sums of money under this head.

At present dissatisfaction is being caused among the Muhammadan community by the recent method of taking blood smears from the dead bodies of the Muhammadan men and women with the object of ascertaining whether death is due to plague and by the delay in internment occasioned by obtaining a death certificate.

Plague and its prevention.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 25th February, has the following letter from a correspondent, Moulvi Haji Muhammad Habibullah Sahib, son of the Chief Kazi Shums-ul-ulama Haji Moulvi Obeidullah Sahib, in which he enumerates the points opposed to religion.

Certain of the Plague Regulations that have been introduced by the Corporation authorities for the prevention of this disease are such that Islam from a

Plague and its prevention.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

sanitary point of view agrees fully with them, while others are so objectionable that Muhammadans neither accept nor tolerate them inasmuch as they are opposed to the sacred law and antagonistic to religion.

(1) It is contrary to Islam to take blood smears from a dead body whether male or female or to mutilate it in any way.

(2) It is not permissible in Islam that a woman should be unveiled and seen by a person who is not a relative and therefore a privileged person.

(3) Religion commands that a body should be buried expedetiously. In other words it is opposed to the religious sentiments to delay internment simply for the purpose of obtaining a certificate.

(*h*) *Railways.*

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Railways in India.

35. Commenting on the administration report of the Indian railways for 1917–18, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th February observes that the railway authorities have, as far a possible, discharged their duties with an eye on the needs of the people, and remarking that no attention was, however, paid last year to the difficulties of the third-class passengers about which there is a loud complaint throughout the length and breadth of India, hopes that the railway authorities will hereafter at least take steps to secure the comfort of these passengers.

(*j*) *Salt and Abkāri.*

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

Government and salt licensees.

36. The *Dravidan*, of the 1st March, reproduces in Tamil an article by a correspondent to the *Madras Times* detailing the relation existing at present between the Government and salt manufacturers.

(*k*) *General.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

Co-operative Credit Societies.

37. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th February, reproduces in Tamil an abstract of the address recently delivered by Sir Daniel Hamilton in the Bengal Co-operative Conference, and, adverting to a statement made by him that Indian politicians demand control over the purse which, however is empty and to a touching reference in the address to the position of India in the British Empire, observes:—Want of money is the cause of India's poverty in every respect and if this money is made easily available for the agriculturists at low rates of interest, the country will be saved. Sir Daniel has clearly said that it behoves the Government to do this and also points out the large revenues derived by them by means of import and export duties, the cash reserved by them in exchange for the paper currency and the profit in minting silver. If all these funds, instead of being kept in England, are retained and utilized in India, there will be a large sum available for being advanced to agriculturists at easy rates of interest. The Indians have had an eye on these items for a long time but the Government, in spite of all representations, are keeping a major portion of these amounts in England itself and lending sums out of this only to millionaries like Messrs. Samuel & Co. in London on easy terms. Sir Daniel further states that a scheme should be framed for the formation of co-operative credit societies within a fixed period throughout the country.

Though the benefits resulting from these societies are borne out by experience, still a sufficient number of such societies have not yet been formed. When this movement was started, work progressed somewhat rapidly at the outset. Subsequently, somehow or other, the Government came to the conclusion that it was more important to improve the efficiency of the work of the existing societies than to start new ones. As a result of this, the growth in the number of societies has been retarded. Sir Daniel is opposed to this view. Realising that the movement will not progress at all if it should depend on non-officials, Sir Daniel urges that in every large province 200 officials should be appointed every year for the purpose. For the last seven or eight years, the Government have been hesitating in this matter with some suspicion about the development of the co-operative credit societies. The prosperity of the country will increase only if the societies grow in number and sufficient funds are made available for their transactions. Otherwise, the country will continue to be in the same state as at

present like the water in a stagnant pool. Which of the two do the Government prefer?

38. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, certain extracts in which the following occur:—It is but right that the people of any country should safeguard their liberty. "I will never allow the liberty of the people of a country being guarded by the people of another country"—*Henry Gratton*. . . "It is liberty that is the proper remedy for discontent and sedition."—*Asquith*. "A Government exists not for the benefit of the authorities, but for the welfare of the subjects."—*Cicero* . .

The cry of *swaraj*.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

39. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th February, and the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th idem publish in Tamil a summary of a lecture delivered on this subject by Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal on the 24th idem on the Triplicane beach.

Industrial reconstruction in India.

SWADESAMITRAN, & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919, HINDU NESAN, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

40. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th February, publishes, in Tamil, an abstract of an address delivered by Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal on the 23rd idem at Tondiarpet on this subject, in the course of which he is said to have observed as follows with reference to the Brahman-non-Brahman controversy in South India:—Every one in the country should secure voting franchise and have the right of electing popular representatives. The administration of the country should be conducted in accordance with the wishes of these representatives. Non Brahmans should strive to secure this condition, and there is no good in contesting for Government appointments. Let us suppose that a member of a community gets a high office. Of what benefit is it to that community? If, on account of such petty matters, differences should crop up among us, the authorities will act like the monkey who acted as a mediator in the story of the cats. Where is the guarantee that they will not wrest back the next day the post which they give today?

Social reforms.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

41. Referring to the Viceroy's speech in the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 20th February, observes:—The Viceroy has said that India could not have attained this condition but for the exertion of the European merchants and Indian Civil Service officials. This is the most veritable of truths. Every one would have found out whether the present condition of India is one to evoke praise or commisseration. The condition of Indian trade is too well known. The observations made by the Viceroy with reference to the interests of European merchants provoke laughter in us. He speaks as if, in consequence of the reforms to be introduced, the Indians are going to get certain unexpected privileges and think of sending back all European officials and merchants bag and baggage immediately there after and the Government of India are going to prevent such a contingency. What are the benefits to be derived by the Indians from the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals? As the adage goes, that the new flood carried away even the old one, it appears that even the little liberty now enjoyed by the people's representatives will be wrested away from them. . . Similarly, if Indians are appointed ministers and the British officials under them are not required to act according to their words, will the administration run smooth? There will be always a hitch between the officials and the ministers. It is only the officials and the European merchants that were till now carrying on the administration of India. It is not known what disadvantages these merchants will suffer from. While there is no reason for their influence to diminish, it is not apparent why the bureaucrats should give them such an assurance. At the time the Minto-Morley reforms were introduced, agreeably to the requirement that the non-official element should preponderate in the Legislative Councils, the bureaucrats reserved for themselves the right of nominating certain Indians who would act according to their wishes. Now, one has to infer that the Indian Civil Service officers are allowed the right of appeal to the Government of India to see that their object is fulfilled, in rendering the appointment of ministers ineffective.

The Viceroy's speech.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 20th Feb. 1919.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 25th February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article on this subject which contains the following observations:—The Viceroy attempts to please the Indian Civil Servants and the European merchants that found fault with him; but in spite of this we do not believe these two parties will have any faith in his words. In the beginning he endeavoured to please the Congress party and now he tries to draw to his side the Anglo-Indians as he did the so-called moderates. But he is still indifferent towards us, in spite of our loyalty and our assistance in the war. If he, who is praising the services rendered by India in the war, had but considered deeply whether it was the Brahman Home Rulers or the non-Brahmans that rendered such services, he would have become convinced as to whose interests it was indispensable for him to protect. He only wants to please the Brahmans who stood in the way of collecting funds for the war, but does not think of those who shed their blood in the war profusely. Now to fulfil his own object, he extended the term of the members of the Legislative Council. Perhaps he feared that, in case this was not done, non-Brahman members would be returned to the Council at the next election and they would demand our rights. We have realized that this Viceroy will not do anything for us. As the views of the Viceroy, Mr. Montagu and the Reform Committees are all against our interests, let us work with zeal in the matter of sending our deputation to England promptly.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

. Referring to the same speech, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th February, remarks:—The Viceroy's views are in favour of the Anglo-Indian party. It appears that, out of sympathy with that party, all endeavours will be made to restrict and curtail the reforms as much as possible. Democratic rule is what we ask for; but we fear that we will be given that only in name. All are aware of the revolt of the Indian Civil Service officials in India. We have to infer that with a view to humour them, the Government will act without caring for the good of the people. It appears that, under the Reform Scheme, the civilians would continue to exercise their powers in the same irresponsible way as at present and that the Indian ministers to be newly appointed will be mere figure-heads. Is the post of the minister who is not empowered to control his subordinates worth the name? Perhaps the selection for these posts will be made from among those who, being incapable of acting independently, will go according to the ways of the official class. Again, under the Reform Scheme, all countries will, without any restriction, be freely allowed to compete in the Indian market. Though such defects are found in the reform proposals, we expected that certain differences which at present exist between the Indian and the European merchants in the matter of trade will disappear. Our hope that an impartial treatment would be given to European and Indian merchants was blighted by the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 20th Feb. 1919.

42. Remarking that the bureaucrats in India, as elsewhere, are caring only for their own interests, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 20th February, observes:—The Indian bureaucracy is in several respects at variance with the public. This espouses the cause of the English merchants. It is only on account of trade that the British first came to India. If there were no scope for trade in India they would not care much for her. As the bureaucrats are greatly interested in safeguarding their own interests as well as those of the merchants of their class, they wish to protect the mercantile interests of the Englishmen even as a miser would endeavour to guard his hoard They feel that the European system of education given to the Indians has ended suicidally to their interests. What can be done? They cannot now go back on their own words that the Anglo-Indians have all along been working only for the good of India. It is not possible for the Anglo-Indian commercial community to understand aright the real nature of the Indians having failed to do so even after moving with them closely for the last 150 years. It is only due to the natural bent of the Indians, and not to the efficiency of the Englishmen, that the people continued to be peaceful and to act with responsibility even at the time of the war when they were in the midst of agitations. The Anglo-Indian community fail to realize whether the world will not laugh at their action in beating their trumpet at times of success but shirking their responsibility and finding

The present situation.

fault with the Indians for want of wisdom at times of reverses. While speaking about the mercantile interests of the Englishmen in India, the Viceroy says that the English merchants have invested large capital in India. Was there no wealth in India when these merchants first came here? Was there no civilization, no industry? What makes the Viceroy hold such a view?

The present famine.

The *Manorama*, of 25th February, observes that the statement made by Sir Claude Hill at the Imperial Legislative Council on the Food problem in India carries with it deep disappointment to all the people of India. The burden of the statement is that the Government have done everything possible in the matter, yet the present famine continues unabated. If the Government have exhausted all their resources, in their attempt to tackle the food problem and can do nothing more, it is no wonder that the people should stand bewildered, not knowing to whom else they can look for succour, and suggests that the Government should make a very careful inquiry whether the present famine may not be due to the holding back of stocks by wholesale dealers holding import licences and whether the granting of facilities and licences to petty dealers may not relieve the situation, because while wholesale dealers are bent on profiteering petty dealers cannot afford to hold back stocks but will sell them readily.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 25th Feb. 1919.

The *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 26th February, in its leading article on 'Famine' refers to the same statement of Sir Claude Hill and expresses confidence in the Government that they will never neglect or delay necessary action. Referring in particular to Malabar, the paper wishes that the authorities and the leaders will forget, for the time being, the theory that Malabar is a land flowing with milk and honey, and co-operate to prevent the impending famine.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 26th Feb. 1919.

Cottage industries.

43. Remarking that, in spite of the several advantages that can be derived from these industries, neither the Government nor the patriots have come forward to devote proper attention to their improvement and that co-operation, agriculture and cottage industries being kindred subjects, great benefit will result if the heads of these departments should work in consultation with each other, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th February, observes:—The development of these industries is essential in the interests of our country. It is regrettable that the Industries Commission have not gone deep into the question of improving these industries. They have failed to investigate how far the principles of co-operation can be applied to them. The Government should resolve to work with earnestness in this matter. They should find out which village industries can be promoted by means of co-operation. They should depute competent persons for starting industrial societies in various places. All these require liberal help at the hands of the Government. From their attitude as far as we know, the Government are not likely to evince much interest in this matter. Ways should be devised for the promotion of industries by means of co-operative efforts. The hardships of villagers will come to an end if industrial societies are started in every village with a central society to maintain them. This view should be followed by the Government and our patriots.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

Mr. Tilak's case.

44. Referring to the loss of Mr. Tilak's case against Sir Valentine Chirol, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th February, observes:—The defendant in this case is a European, strong and influential, and has won the good-will and support of many in political matters. Is it not hard to oppose such a person in his own country and win? The jury consisting entirely of Englishmen, it can be inferred that they will all be favourable to the defendant. Further, a prejudice has already been created against him in England by a misrepresentation of his patriotic deeds. Many of us anticipated that he would lose his case for these reasons and our anticipations have been realised.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

The Tilak case.

Regarding Mr. Tilak's case against Sir Valentine Chirol, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th February, remarks:—. . . Addressing the Jury, Sir Edward Carson said that a verdict might be given in favour of Mr. Tilak, but that they should, in that case, consider the effect on the Government of India and the White officials in India.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the Jury has given a verdict against Mr. Tilak in such circumstances. When the Jurors' minds have been prepossessed by political opinions and racial prejudices, it is not possible to get justice.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 1st Mar. 1919

Mr. Tilak's suit.

Referring to the judgment in the Tilak-Chirol case, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 1st March, observes:—. . . Our readers must be aware of how, since this suit was filed, Sir Valentine Chirol had been busy in this country gathering with the help of the authorities copies of diaries prepared by the Criminal Investigation Department officers, and how at one time Mr. Tilak who was on his way to England was asked by the Government to return to India, lest his presence should create unrest among the British public then. Subsequently, a passport was granted to him, because it would be partial not to grant it to him after Doctor Nayar was given one, or for some other reason. . . Be it as it may, a verdict has been given to the effect that the abuses of Sir Chirol are not against law. It may be imagined how matters would have been, if Mr. Tilak had written like this about any Englishman. . .

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

The food situation.

45. In an article contributed by a correspondent to the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th February, wherein he dwells at length on the inordinate rise in the price of foodstuffs, the following observations find place among others:— The recent appointment by the Government of the Director of Civil Supplies in Madras has been the cause for the rise in the prices of articles and this increase in prices could have been averted, if the procedure adopted by the Director in Bombay for the transport of articles in that Presidency had been followed here also. The rent of dwelling houses is going on increasing on account of the rise in the price of articles, such as timber, chunam and tiles. All this has to be attributed only to the indifference on the part of the Government. They should make arrangements for articles, being sold at such prices as will enable one with an income of Rs. 15 per month to eke out a living with a wife without incurring debts. When the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar recently pointed out at a meeting of the Madras Legislative Council that the question of high prices should be considered, the President neither permitted it nor cared to hear it. So long as the Government are obstinate in their view that all that is done by their servants is right while all that is done by others is wrong, of what avail will be the fund of information furnished by the representative members in the Legislative Council?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

Food situation.

Referring to the present high price of rice, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th February, observes:—Though export of rice has been prohibited from the Kistna district and the price regulated, still the price of rice is increasing day by day, and the intermediate merchants are even now making a profit of Rs. 3 per bag. In spite of the rule that only a profit of not more than 8 annas should be charged, some merchants in Negapatam have sold at a profit of Rs. 1½ to 2 per bag. When the merchants in the mufassal districts allow the wholesale importing dealer a profit of one and a half rupees, it is needless to say how high the price will rise when it reaches the poor consumer. Under the orders of the Director of Civil Supplies a bag of two maunds of rice sells in Negapatam for Rs. 11-10-3 and the same bag when transported to Erode or Coimbatore, a profit of one and a half rupees is charged on it exclusive of cart hire and railway freight. Accordingly, rice should be sold at 3½ measures per rupee, but in practice it is difficult to get even three measures. The local officers and the committee of inquiry are indifferent in this matter. Hereafter at least, they should direct their attention to this and fix the price of specific varieties of rice. As, in some local committees, the importing licensees are themselves members, it becomes impossible for them to do their duties properly. Poor illiterate people are unable even to find out whether the prices they pay are proper for the articles they get in return. So, if the Government should fix the rates for which Rangoon rice and broken rice should be sold in each district, poor people will not be deceived. Every one begins to despond as to what should be done if the conditions continue like this for some time more. Judging from

the present situation, there is room to think that people are prepared even to commit looting being unable to bear the pangs of hunger.

The food situation.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 27th February, observes:—The retail prices of rice show that no material benefit has resulted by the regulation of the price of Burma rice and by the reduction of shipping freights. From the words of Sir Claud Hill in a recent meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, it is clear that grains are exported from India to other countries to a small extent. It is the opinion of the people that export of grains should be completely stopped while the Indians are suffering. If as a result of the efforts of the Government, the difficulties of the rice consumer only enhance day by day, there is no doubt that the amount spent on the officers appointed for the purpose is only a waste.

SWADESAMITRAN Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

Adverting, in its leader, to the various steps taken by the Government of India to relieve the hardship caused by the scarcity of foodstuffs, the *Dravidan*, of the 1st March, hopes that the Government of India would give Provincial Governments independent powers to enable them to take necessary steps for relieving the distress in their respective provinces, as it is only these that realize very well the true condition and the needs of the people there.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

In an article contributed by a correspondent to the *Swadesamitran*, of the 1st March, on the present price of rice and on the scarcity of kerosene oil, the following observations find place among others:—While the authorities in other provinces are taking steps to avert this distress in many ways, it is specially unfortunate that the Government of Madras alone should remain idle. We have to apprehend serious consequences, if they still continue to be indifferent without adopting prompt measures in the matter. . . It is our ill-luck that the Government should abstain from showing any sympathy with the people, though such a stress has occurred.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

Food situation.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 27th February, contains a leader reproducing almost the same views as those expressed by the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th idem, on this subject.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919. & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

The food situation.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st March, publishes a long article, from the pen of a correspondent, on this subject in which he points out that the rule that a licence for importing rice will be granted only to those who purchase certain definite quantities makes it impossible for small dealers to import direct and supply the people at cheap prices and, referring to the fact that many big merchants, for example in Tanjore, are reported to be withholding large stocks of rice, suggests that, if this is true, the Government should fix a price for this rice and, buying off the whole quantity, supply the district and also open depots in several places for selling this rice to the poor at cheap rates. He complains that the Director of Civil Supplies does not consult the people in the districts in regulating the prices and attributes the increase in the price of rice to the action of the bookers, which he thinks will be checked, if the Government would adopt his suggestion of opening depots in different places for the sale of rice.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

The situation.

Referring under this heading to the proposal that India should pay an additional contribution of 45 millions sterling towards the war expenses, the *Andhravani*, of the 22nd November 1918, observes:— . . . The Gujrat Sabha and the Sindh Provincial Congress Committee have protested against this proposal. In these days of severe famine and pestilence when the people everywhere are undergoing great suffering, and there is a general failure of crops, it will not be an easy thing for India to pay 675 crores of rupees. Since the war has come to a close, it will not be necessary to spend so much money for war purposes as was done before. We request the Government to withdraw the proposal in view of all these facts and afford hope for the people.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 22nd Nov. 1918.

The problem of foodstuffs.

In its leader under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 24th February, observes:—. . . There will be no hope, unless the Government take decisive action

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

in the matter. When we write like this we should not be misunderstood to say that the Government have not done anything till now. They are doing their best for the solution of this problem. Only they do not seem to apply the remedy to the correct spot. . . Unless the Government deal with this problem more minutely, the people will be put to great hardship. . . The speech of the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill, the Revenue Member, on this subject at the Imperial Legislative Council is not so encouraging. . . The Government think that their order to the effect that raw rice should sell at Rs. 11–4–0 a bag and boiled rice, at Rs. 11–12–0 from 1st March is being properly obeyed. There is one secret about this. The merchants in districts, who are dying from hard famine, are going to rice factories and purchasing rice, paying secretly a rupee or two more than the price fixed by the Controller. . . We beg to point out that the Government will do well to encourage those private philanthropic gentlemen who are willing to open depots and sell rice at the prices fixed by the Controller by enabling them to get rice wherever they can purchase it at a cheap price.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

The prices of foodstuffs.

Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 26th February, observes:— . . The Government should note that the fact of such an abnormal rise in the prices of all necessaries of life, as was characteristic only of the severest type of famine reveals a situation which is more serious than any other matter, and it is their duty to give up the consideration of all other questions such as that of legislation and to try at once to remove the discontent which has spread among the people on account of the present high prices of foodstuffs, which are many times more than those prevailing in the worst famine days. . . Let alone political rights. We submit that it is their most sacred duty to see that the people of this country get two full meals a day, and thus to release them from their present miserable condition.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Lala Lajput Rai.

46. Referring to the reply of the Secretary of State for India to Commander Wedgewood, that permission will not at present be accorded to Mr. Lala Lajput Rai to proceed to England from America and that this question will be reconsidered after the peace proposals are signed, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th February, observes:—What does this signify? Is Mr. Lala an accused? If so, he could be well made to take his trial in America alone; or, if he goes over to England he can be tried there. What danger can be fall England if he is to come there? Why such a fear for a big State which was victorious over the Germans?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

A public meeting at Tuticorin.

47. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th February, publishes a summary of the proceedings of a public meeting held at Tuticorin on the 23rd idem protesting against even the temporary enactment of the Rowlatt Bills, the attitude of the Indian Civil Service officials with reference to the reforms and the high price of rice in spite of supplies from Burma.

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Present political situation.

48. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 26th February, publish in Tamil, an abstract of the proceedings of public meeting held in the Triplicane beach on the 25th idem, at the close of which an address was delivered on this subject by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

Good intentions and bad training.

49. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th February, reproduces in Tamil the sentiments of the leader of *New India* of the 26th idem under this heading, commenting at length on the statement of Lord Willingdon, to the effect that India's progress will be more rapid if the Servants of India Society could get the Indian public to drop unnecessary suspicions and to realize that the bureaucrats are striving for the good of the people.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Extension of tramways.

50. Referring to the discussion by the Madras Corporation about the extension of tramway lines to Teynampet, Saidapet and other places, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th February, observes that congestion in the city will in a way be relieved by the proposed extension and low-paid men who, for want of proper accommodation, now occupy insanitary and congested quarters in Chintadripet, Park Town, etc.

may remove to those places and live comfortably, and hopes that the work will be taken up in view to the convenience of the people.

Duty on sugar.

51. Referring to the suggestion of some persons to enhance the import duty on Java sugar, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 27th February, writes:—This step should not be taken in haste. Increase of duty on sugar may perhaps be beneficial to the Indian sugar trade. As the price of sugar in India is already high, it will not be right to further enhance the duty simply with the idea that this increase of duty will ever be pleasing to the Indians. The advantage to be derived by the manufacturers and consumers of sugar by such enhancement should be calmly investigated.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

Territorials in India.

52. Referring to the urgent call to England of the 'Territorials' who have been in India for the last four years and to the attempts of the British Government to send fresh troops in their place, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 27th February, observes:—It appears that this will entail inconvenience and delay. Should troops be still sent for from England for the defence of India? Why not Indians be appointed? Has not this war clearly proved that the Indians can be well trusted? If, in spite of this, troops are still to be had only from England, it will not be compatible with the self-respect of the Indians, nor will it be in consonance with the view that the Indians will be granted a responsible form of government.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

The Provincial heads.

53. Reproducing an extract from a letter written by a correspondent from Bankipur to the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* about the head of the province, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 27th February, observes:—Though Provincial heads are full of broad views and sympathies, no material benefit would result to the people, so long as many of the members of the Executive Council and the bureaucrats that surround them hold narrow views and lack sympathy. Our Lord Pentland belongs to the Liberal party, and while in England he is reported to have held very broad views and a liberal heart. But the moment he came to Madras and began to associate with the bureaucrats, his views as a liberal had completely changed.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 27th Feb. 19.9.

The bureaucrats in India.

54. Remarking that, though history says that the British always preach liberty, equality and fraternity to the people of any country that they may occupy and rule, India has not yet properly tasted the sweets of liberty in spite of her having been under their rule for 150 years, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st March, attributes this to the fact that India has not been governed by the bureaucrats in consonance with British justice and glory and has been subjected to several hardships under their administration, adding at the same time that, by this, it should not be taken to find fault with the British for whose righteousness and justice, it says, it has the highest respect. It cites the fact of the resolution passed in the House of Commons in 1853 that Government appointments in India should be conferred on all people, irrespective of class differences, and the promise in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 that the Indians would be treated as British subjects not having been given effect to wholly, and the stoppage of the Home Rule deputations on their way to England as instances to prove that it is the opposition of the bureaucrats and Anglo-Indians here that has prevented the Home Government from carrying out its wishes and, observing that the Indian Civil Service movement is another instance to show that the bureaucrats attach a greater importance to their own position and salary than to the progress of India, says that England and India will be greatly benefited only after the promises of the British Government are fulfilled truly and justly in practice.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd March, generalises that all the countries under the sway of bureaucrats have to lose their liberty and suffer and, pointing out that the appearance of Bolshevism in Russia and the attempt of the Young Turks to create a disturbance in Turkey are due only to the rule of bureaucrats, observes:—The system of administration by the bureaucrats can now be said to have almost become extinct in Europe, but in India alone the time has not yet come for its disappearance, and it is not known when it will come. The bureaucrats here are doing everything in their own way, arrogant with the feeling that there is no one superior to them. We expected that the close of the war would

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

synchronise with the disappearance of the bureaucratic system of administration here, but, to the disadvantage of India, the Viceroy has patted the bureaucrats on their back and perpetuated their administration. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher has stated that India cannot attain political progress until the bureaucrats conduct the Government subject to the Legislative Council. So we should strive day and night for getting rid of the bureaucratic system of administration.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

Western civilization!

55. In a short note under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd March, asks whether western gentlemen who condemn the Indian system of marriage are aware of the fact that in this twentieth century a society has been started in England, which professes to spread the lustre of civilization throughout the world, for protecting unmarried mothers and the children born of them.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

The action of the Government against the *Desabhaktan*.

56. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st March, comments as follows upon the order of Government forfeiting the security deposited by the British India Press, where this paper is printed:—Though there was a rumour for the last one month and a half that the security of the *Desabhaktan* would be forfeited, we took it to be a false one. But it has now turned out to be true. It is for the readers to go through the four articles noted in the order as well as the English *translations* thereof by the Government very carefully and understand the truth. They should note that the fourth article is teeming throughout with expressions of loyalty. Our bureaucrats are doing many things against right principles and justice without investigating matters fully. This may not be discernible to man but is seen by God. We do not think Lord Pentland is aware of the object of the *Desabhaktan*. It is only that there should be a constitutional agitation to acquire Home Rule subject to the British Government. We have always been speaking in praise of the British Government. But we will now and always oppose the wicked bureaucratic system of administration. We will not be afraid in the least to criticise it. If Lord Pentland is to understand the object of the *Desabhaktan*, he should read it every day. When the matter in it is translated into English, its ideas and objects are altered and the purpose of the articles is not brought out clearly in the English translation. The authorities never go through an article in full before they find fault with it. They rely only upon portions of it. An article can be understood only if the whole of it is studied. Then again, one judging about a work has to proceed with an impartial mind. If he starts with a prejudice, even the good ideas in it will appear bad to him. This is the fault of his mind and not of the work. The Government may say that some of the articles referred to by them tend to create a class hatred against the Anglo-Indians. Perhaps other papers inciting class hatred are not sent for the perusal of Lord Pentland. Does his Executive Council know why the *Desabhaktan* finds fault with the Anglo-Indians? We have no hatred towards the Anglo-Indians as a class. But we do hate the actions of some of them. Volumes can be written about the incidents in which Anglo-Indians insulted and afflicted the Indians. If we criticise the actions of the Anglo-Indians, it provokes the bureaucrats. Some papers in Madras are always reviling the Brahmans and Indians as a class. Does not the Press Act apply to them? Perhaps they are privileged under the Madras Government! Of the many benefits conferred by Lord Pentland on this Presidency, the three that it will never forget are the internment of Mrs. Besant, the imprisonment of Varadarajulu and the forfeiture of the *Desabhaktan*. The last act will leave an indelible impression on Lord Pentland's mind. It is really surprising that he should have ventured to crush this paper, which, cherishing a feeling of loyalty, desired for liberty. Alas, what can he do? His seat is like that. Need we dilate upon the benevolent act of his councillors, Sir Alexander Cardew and Diwan Bahadur Rajagopala Achariyar? What else can we say but that it is the result of the penance of this Presidency that at the time when the war of liberty is begun these three deities are on the Madras Executive Council. We are very sorry that Mr. Gillman is not alive now. On the eve of his departure, Lord Pentland has granted a medal of merit to the *Desabhaktan*. The Madras bureaucrats have classed the *Desabhaktan* as a nationalist paper. So he has passed in the test of the bureaucrats

and this will only gladden the *Desabhaktan* and his friends. O Goddess Bharata! Will you see again the pranks of the *Desabhaktan*, a child of a year and three months? Alas! Your condition has come to this! But do not shed tears. Your sons are not dried trees. They are heroes and saints. They will maintain the *Desabhaktan*. O Lord Pentland! We express our gratitude to you. Have you finished all your work? You have forfeited the security without even a warning. As this amount goes to the Government, we are really glad about it. The editor of the *Desabhaktan* is ready to swear in any form that his paper never published anything against the British Government.

The paper then makes an appeal for funds.

It remarks elsewhere that it was under the impression that certificates of merit would be conferred on papers like the *Desabhaktan* only after the Rowlatt Bills have been passed into law and that the haste with which Lord Pentland gave this certificate (to the *Desabhaktan*) was perhaps due to his decision to confer it before his approaching departure and adds:—He tasted the sweets of the power conferred on him by the Defence of India Act, a war measure, when he interned Mrs. Besant. So will he not be desirous of tasting the sweets of the application of the Rowlatt law, a measure intended for peaceful times? He declared the security of the *Desabhaktan* forfeited perhaps only to satisfy this desire!

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

Referring with regret to the action of the Government against the *Desabhaktan*, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 1st March, observes:—The Press Act empowers the Government to bring within its unlimited scope any article which is not to their taste though it may not be culpable under the ordinary law, and order the forfeiture of the security. It has, therefore, become impossible for the editors always to write without transgressing this Act. The dangerous sword is ever hovering over the head unless the articles are written in such a way as not to wound the feelings of the authorities. The *Desabhaktan* has been criticising the actions of the Government and the officials in the manner it deemed lest, with its conscience and service to the country as standard, availing itself of the liberty which newspapers have or ought to have. Probably its work has displeased the Government on that account. How is it possible for the editor of any paper to continue his work when once he incurs the displeasure of the Government? The Press Act serves as a suitable tool to crush the editors. It is certain that the action of the Government in having made the *Desabhaktan* and its editor victims to the severity of this Act, will cause grief to the public which cannot be alleviated. As, in the present condition of the country, the Tamil world can ill afford to lose the services of that paper or its editor, it behoves the public to render the required assistance for the continuance of that paper. A perusal of the articles pointed out as objectionable shows that it is curious on the part of the Government to have formed that opinion of them. We are at a loss to know what special features there are in these articles which are likely to create hatred against the Government. If these articles are considered to be objectionable, then it will become impossible to find fault with the Government in any way. Is that the object of the Government? If so, the newspapers may well be deprived of the privilege of criticism now enjoyed by them.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

Adverting to this subject, the *Lokopakari*, of the 3rd March, says:—To a man with jaundiced eyes, everything will appear yellow. Similarly everything will appear a crime to those who look with a prejudiced mind. This applies to newspapers and to authorities. . . Numerous papers should appear in our country at this juncture when a new spirit of liberty is spreading throughout the world, for the purpose of preaching the mutual duties of the Government and the people. Without understanding this fact, the *Desabhaktan* has got into trouble. It is necessary that patriots should render assistance to safeguard the *Desabhaktan* while this paper should also note whether anything can avail before the authority of the Government.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd March, publishes the opinions of the *Swadesamitran*, *New India*, the *Hindu* and the *Nationlist* about this order of Government.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The *Deeabhaktan*, of the 3rd March, refers to this subject and writes:—The bureaucrats have rendered a great help to the *Desabhaktan*, which we will never

forget. This can be said to have increased its influence. We have, on several occasions, noted that patriotism increases through the repressive measures of the bureaucrats. As it is the *Desabhaktan* used to be read by our friends zealously and there is no doubt that that zeal will hereafter increase a hundredfold. Our friends know how the eyes of India were opened by the actions of Lord Curzon and a great agitation resulted from the internment of Mrs. Besant. Man may try to suppress man. But God will not swerve from impartiality and do injustice. It is, indeed, the result of our penance that Lord Pentland, who is like Lord Curzon, has become the Governor of Madras. By his actions, the nationalist party is growing strong in this Presidency. . . It is impossible for any one to control the *Desabhaktan*. Its zeal will fear neither mountains nor rivers. It will continue unabated. How can we adequately express our gratitude to the bureaucrats, who were the cause of this? . . . The four articles noted in the order of the Government cannot stand in a court of law. So we propose to take the case before a court. This requires sufficient pecuniary assistance. Every friend should contribute his mite and put the action of the bureaucrats to shame. This is the time for exhibiting the strength of the patriotism of the Tamil land and making the bureaucrats tremble.

The same paper has a leaderette in which it says:—Lord Pentland, with this evil advisers, has immersed the vessel of *Desabhaktan*. We wish Lord Pentland knows that, whatever might be done, the *Desabhaktan* will reach the shore again and perform its duty well, with great zeal and enthusiasm. It will not be afraid of anything. It came out to establish righteousness and has a divine tinge about it. No man can crush it. It stands by the justice of God and a few obstacles that crop up in its way will prove eventually to be beneficial to it. What can be done by Lord Pentland, who has vowed to govern the Indians, keeping them under subjection? . . . . Brethren! Was it found possible to do away with *Prahlada*? As long as the *Desabhaktan* follows truth and justice, Lord Pentland and his associates cannot do anything to it. It will be serving Mother Bharata for ever. The feeling that they have power and influence in their hands at present has made the bureaucrats begin to suppress the persons and newspapers serving Mother Bharata. . . But the bureaucrats should note that the Indians will not flinch to bear the hardships imposed on them and that they have a soul-force. The more the cruelties committed by the bureaucrats, the greater will be the discontent and unrest among the Indians. In Ireland the British bureaucrats suppressed Irish papers and Irish leaders by cruel repressive laws and adopted many evil ways to prevent the development of political agitation there. But was it of any use? The Irishmen have now established a republic and threaten the British Government that there should be nothing British in Ireland. . . The Irish papers cry out that the present disturbed condition of Ireland is due to the cruel acts of the British bureaucrats. The bureaucrats, who are governing India as they like, are committing many cruel acts blindly. As we condemn their mischievous deeds, they pounce upon us. We would tell them that their pouncing will be in vain. The *Desabhaktan* prays for the longevity of the British rule in India. Without realising this and understanding the real significance of the articles in the *Desabhaktan*, without forethought and mercy, without any experience of British statesmanship and without any idea of British principles and justice, Lord Pentland has aimed an arrow at this paper. Patriots! Arise, arise to support the *Desabhaktan*!

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The action of the Government against the *Desabhaktan*.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 3rd March, observes that the editor of the *Desabhaktan* is very ardent in appealing to the people to demand a change in the administration favourable to themselves and hopes that his action, which had no motive behind it, will be excused, though it may prove to be a mistake.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th March, reproduces the above.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The policy of repression.

57. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd March, observes:—It is very necessary that the Government of India should note at present the events which occurred in Ireland and be careful.

It will not at all do to introduce repressive laws now, as was done in the time of Lords Minto and Morley to spoil the reforms. It is usual with autocratic governments to seek to suppress, by means of illegal repressive laws, those who carry on political agitation on constitutional lines. The bureaucrats have introduced the Rowlatt Bills as a reward for the Indians having demonstrated their loyalty during the period of the war and stood resolute without creating a disturbance, though they were induced to do so and they knew they could succeed. Such repressive laws not only curtail the liberty of the subjects but also dim the lustre of loyalty. So it is necessary that the bureaucrats should be careful in this matter.

58. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd March, publishes the following sayings of eminent men among others :—' O Indians ! Be up and doing. No one can block you. A spirit of liberty has appeared in India. Remember that every community has advanced only by its own efforts.—A. O. Hume.

Stray sayings.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

' Patriots should take a vow in respect of the progress of their country. It is the action of the bureaucrats that necessitates such a vow.—Ambikacharan Muzumdar.

' . . . You must have the strong confidence that you have been born to do mighty things for the progress of the country. Do not be afraid of the barking of dogs or the thunder of the clouds. But get up and work with attention.—Swami Vivekananda.

' It is unrest that is the cause of all advancement. It is this that stimulates the progress of our community. By means of this, we can reform the future—Surendranath Bannerjea.

59. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th February, reproduces in Tamil from the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* certain comments on the action of the Principal of St. Paul's College, Calcutta, who is said to have thrown into the dustbin the idol of *Saraswati* kept by the students in the premises of the College hostel in the course of which the following observations find place :—Missionaries like this Principal probably expect here a religious war like the one that was waged in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But the action of these missionaries makes it necessary for the Indians to strengthen their right to follow a general principle in particular buildings and compounds. These missionaries are preaching in public streets and publishing handbills containing matter disparaging to the Hindus and yet the latter are not checking the former. Now the missionaries are making the Hindus repent for their tolerance. The new religious propagandist method adopted by the missionaries is a very dangerous one.

The Christian missionaries in India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

60. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th February, publishes an article, from the pen of a correspondent, in which he concludes, from the recent discussion in Parliament about improving the economic condition of the British Empire, that the aim of the British statesmen seems to be to increase the future earning capacity of every Britisher by preventing foreigners trading freely within British territories and making the British partners in every trade and industry carried on by each country and, remarking that, as the Colonies and other self-governing countries have been excluded from this scheme, the economic future of India is rather gloomy, especially in the face of the Viceroy's words of encouragement to the British merchants in his recent speech, says that India cannot derive any benefit from the reforms unless she is granted fiscal autonomy also.

The economic future of India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

61. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th February, continues the article under this heading from its issue of the 19th idem (article No. 55 of Report No. 9 of 1919), in which the writer says :—Next to the House of Commons, it is the big merchants and owners of big factories in England that wield the largest influence in Indian affairs. These will not be in favour of granting Home Rule to India, on account of the fear that it will affect their goods being sold in this country. It is in their interests that the administration of India should be conducted from England, so that they can represent their grievances to the authorities there and

Englishmen and *swaraj* for India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

introduce legal measures, which may even be prejudicial to the Indians. So there is nothing surprising in their attitude regarding Home Rule for India. But the Labour leaders in England will be ready to help in the matter of India acquiring Home Rule, for they know that India, which has lost all industrial training, has to depend on foreigners for putting them in the way and that, if India grows richer and continues on friendly terms with England, it will only lead to the Indians going in for English articles on a much larger scale. To make their help useful, the Home Rule agitation should be carried on here incessantly, generally the people of England pay no attention to Indian affairs. To add to this there are some Anglo-Indians there, who have retired from high appointments in India and are enjoying handsome pensions, who always condemn the proposal of granting Home Rule to India. Their opposition is due to the fear that they will lose their easy living. To remove the ill-feeling of these men, efforts made while they are in service in India will be more effective than any made in England. If they are impressed well, while here, of the strong desire of the Indians for Home Rule, it will be impossible for them to oppose it after their return to England. Further it should not be forgotten that there are some honest men even among them.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

This article is continued even in the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th February, the concluding portion of which runs as follows:—Home Rule is now the panacea for all evils in India and if she does not acquire it, the very race of Indians will perish. They are becoming victims to a horrible type of poverty. There is no useful education in the country. Epidemics are present always. The few remedies adopted by the English rule have not been of any use. It looks as if the Indian race is speeding fast towards its complete destruction. It can gradually revive only if it obtains Home Rule before then.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

62. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th February, publishes in Tamil a communication by six Mussalman gentlemen appealing to the Muhammadans, with the permission of the large number of Mussalmans in Nagur, to support this Bill and see it passed, on the ground that it does not violate the laws of Muhammadan religion, and that, for putting an end to the troubles arising in connexion with the registration of marriages and divorces, a bill of the kind is necessary in the interests of the Moslem community.

The Mussalman Marriages and Divorces Registration Bill.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

63. Adverting to the announcement made by Sir James Meston that a new loan of 15 crores of rupees called the victory loan will be raised in India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th March, says:—The sum of 15 crores of rupees is not a big thing for India which gave far bigger sums as loan on two previous occasions. But, considering the high prices prevailing at present and the hardships caused to the people thereby, we have to deem this now to be a big sum. Still we hope that the wealthy in our country will themselves pay this small amount, without any trouble to the middle and poorer classes.

The victory loan.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

64. In a short note under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th March, remarks that, as India is subject to England in political matters, some people wrongly think that she will be a slavish country in other respects too and adds:—As India has no political rights, her requests are not heeded and no regard is paid to her discontent or refutation. As the foreigners deem the Indians to be slaves in political matters, they have no regard for them even in religious and social matters. This is a great mistake. The lofty position of England economically and in religious matters is due to the help of India. If India does not give her raw products like cotton, what will be the condition of the industries of England? There is no religion in the world which is not found in the British Empire and most of them originated only in India. Considering these things, England should be said to be inferior to India.

Which is a slavish country?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

65. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th March, has a leader under this heading in which it observes that it is soul-force that should be developed in India now, if the Home Rule agitation started here should thrive well, and, pointing to the fact that the majority of the

Soul-force.

signatories to the *Satyagraha* pledge of Mr. Gandhi are women, remarks that means should therefore be devised for creating a soul-force among women and says:—In the girls' schools now conducted with the support of the Government, the instruction given aims mostly at making them care more for their bodily comforts, and so our women are no better than dolls adorned with clothes and jewels. If, on the other hand, they are given national education and taught the history of our ancestors, and our philosophical and moral works, they will begin to develop a soul-force at a nick and relieve the misery of mother Bharata. The boys and girls born of such women will also have soul-force. Then the British will grant complete Home Rule to India as promised. What can the cruel laws of the bureaucracy do before soul-force? O excellent patriots! It is our opinion that the Home Rule agitation will not gain strength without the help of women.

66. Quoting an extract from a book of the late Sir Charles Dilke to the effect that, when the military strength of Europe increases, it will destroy the old country and curtail even the strength of the Empire and that Great Britain may in a few years be dragged into a war, which may lead to her losing Canada and India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th February, says:—Though the prophecy of Sir Charles has been fulfilled as far as the war is concerned, England has not, as foretold by him, lost any portion of her territory and it is due to her being strongly fortified by the loyalty of her subjects. But the fulfilment of the first portion of the prophecy has its own lessons to teach. Countries which are the allies of England to-day may become her enemies to-morrow. Though it is true that the league of nations will bind all countries to certain prescribed conditions, who can say what will be the condition of the world twenty or thirty years hence? Who expected that rules framed and followed before now would be cast to the winds in this war? The most important work before England now is to reconstitute her Empire. She will be free from frequent trouble, only if the Empire is so reconstituted as to stand on a solid foundation. Now how should she behave towards India? The latter claims a right to acquire her liberty as much as she deems it to be her duty to help England at a time of danger. Should not England, which entered into the war only for establishing liberty, deem it to be her duty to grant liberty to India, which completely relies on her. Though India has been occupying an eminent position in every line from ancient days, her Government is now in the hands of a few bureaucrats, who are said to represent the Government by the King and the people in England. But, beyond giving some seats to Indians in the Executive and Legislative Councils, these are not inclined to give effect to the profession of England that her aim is to grant a responsible government to India. Our Indian Civil Service friends have begun to raise a hue and cry, even when the reform proposals are still at the gates of Parliament and our Viceroy too has come out to satisfy them, which shows that it may take many centuries for India to see the lowest step of responsible government. England is now occupying two conflicting positions. She is proclaiming within her territories that she is protecting the rights and liberty of her subjects, while in India her representatives are following a system of administration which is not responsible to the people. When England is advertising that the liberties of small States should be safeguarded, while, within her Empire, India is immersed in thraldom, all true British subjects have to bend their heads in shame. Every one knows that England came forward to protect the liberty of Belgium. But how is the liberty of Belgium superior to that of India? Have the Belgians a greater stake in the British Empire than the Indians? Do the Belgians share the good and evil that may happen to the British Empire? Why should then England, which deemed it to be her duty to help Belgium having no political connexion whatever with her, be disinclined to grant the rights of India? It is only by granting them that England can strengthen her Empire. This is not the time to say that the Indians are not fit for a responsible government. The cry of liberty sounded throughout the country is itself an indication of the popular attitude. The people have understood that they cannot be content unless they acquire their rights So the first duty of England should be to quench this thirst for liberty. It cannot do for England to rely upon the military strength of other countries. She should

The duty of England.

DESABHAKATH, Madras, 5th Feb. 1919.

strive to improve the strength and union of her own kingdom. She can strengthen India only by granting the birthrights of Indians and, by strengthening India, she will be strengthening herself. Will the British Statesmen realize this truth at least hereafter?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

A strange question.

67. Referring to the question in the Parliament about the lectures which Mrs. Besant proposes to deliver in Ireland, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th February, remarks:— . . . Mrs. Besant is agitating only constitutionally. She does not approve of unconstitutional agitation. In these circumstances, it is not possible to imagine what harm there will be for Ireland from Mrs. Besant's lectures. It is natural that lectures should be dreaded in dependent countries.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

The League of Nations.

68. Regarding the opposition in America to the draft rules of the League of Nations, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th February, says:—. . . It will be seen from the cables received to-day that Mr. Reed, a democrat, has opposed the constitution of the League on the ground that it is opposed to that of the United States of America. Unless the status of dependent countries is determined and arrangements are made to encourage friendliness and co-operation among all the nations of the world, the new League cannot stop war and help in the restoration of peace.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The League of Nations.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th March, writes under this heading:—We are at a loss to know why, when certain countries which try to separate themselves from the Empire are admitted into the League of Nations, India which wants self-government within the Empire is not allowed an opportunity to place her view before the Peace Conference through her popular representatives. A resolution to the effect that India should be given a place in the League of Nations has been adopted at a meeting at Madras and the resolution was communicated to the President of the Peace Conference. It will only be fair to give to India the privileges given to the Colonies.

ANDHRAPVTRIKA, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

Famine prices and the *Kistnapatrika*.

69. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th February, writes:—. . . There was none to sympathise with the ryot when he was reduced to a helpless condition by the failure of crops and by the rise in prices of foreign articles. But the Government as well as those leaders who are not acquainted with the condition of ryots are now trying to reduce the price of paddy, which has naturally gone up. It is easy to attack the voiceless ryot. . . The ryots will no longer tolerate reduction in the price of paddy without a corresponding reduction in the prices of foreign articles. If the fire which is now latent in their hearts bursts out, it will not be possible to check it. . . The prices of foreign articles should be properly regulated. The Government should purchase the paddy required for each district and should order its sale in a reasonable way. If not, the price of paddy may be fixed at Rs. 65 a candy, when the prices of foreign articles are also reduced, and the licence for exporting paddy should be given to the representatives of ryots, since its grant to particalar ryots will cause dissatisfaction to others. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

Mr. B. C. Pal's lectures: Industrial reconstruction.

70. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th February, publishes in Telugu Mr. Pal's lecture on 'Industrial reconstruction' which contains the following observations among others:— . . . In the opinion of the Europeans, humanity which is worthy to live in the modern world means only white manity. . . . The white men will have to understand that all humanity is one. This is what they should learn from us. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Mr. B. C. Pal's lecture: the present political situation.

Under this heading the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th February, publishes in Telugu among others, the speech of Mr. Pal on the 'Present Political Situation', delivered at the meeting held on the beach on the 25th ultimo, which contains among other observations the following:—. . . What does Government interference (in industries) mean? By this, our economic dependence will become permanent. What are we to do? If we fail to secure our political

liberty, our progeny will have to suffer untold troubles. Criticising the position of the Government with regard to local self-government, the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri very touchingly observed: "In such a case, I shall be obliged to pray to God not to give me any children." If we, the heirs of a mighty people should come to such a condition, a wholesale destruction of men in the country would be welcome. . . He exhorted the audience to demand a place in the League of Nations along with other nations and to agitate strongly for responsible government, being prepared to undergo any troubles that may happen to them on this account.

Mr. B. C. Pal's lectures in Madras.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, weekly of the 26th February, publishes in Telugu the speeches which were delivered by Mr. B. C. Pal in Madras.

B. C. Pal in Madras.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 25th Feb. 1919.

In an article expressing his admiration for B. C. Pal as a staunch patriot second only to Tilak in his fearless opposition to Government and readiness even to lay down his life, like *Dadhichi*, in the service of the people, a writer in the *Sapad Abhyudaya*, of the 25th February, gives a summary of Pal's speech in Madras on the 18th February.

The world-political situation.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

71. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of 26th February, observes:—. . . When Doctor Wilson and the European statesmen have recognized national freedom in accordance with self-determination as the basis for the establishment of peace and prosperity in the world, the people of India have begun to cherish hopes of self-government in their hearts. They were confident that the western statesmen would carry out their declarations. But that hope is now turning into disappointment. How best the scope of the announcement of the 20th August 1917 may be narrowed seems to be the problem which is now engaging the prominent attention of the friends of the bureaucracy both in India and in England. Instead of being construed in a liberal spirit, that announcement is being interpreted strict to the letter. The officials have taken into their heads to make some reforms or others as they please, and give them the name of responsible Government. . . There is a strong rumour that the views expressed by the Provincial Governments and the Government of India on the subject of reforms breathe a narrow spirit. . . When the sub-committee examines the provisions of the Bill, said the Secretary of State, the opinions of Indians will be ascertained. A suitable reply has not been elicited in the Imperial Legislative Council to the question regarding the timely arrangements made in the matter of the Congress deputation proceeding to England. . . The net results of it all are indifference in Britain, Government repression and internal differences among leaders—factors which are not surely calculated to achieve the desired object. . . When a grave crisis threatened the British Empire and the European society, the western statesmen proclaimed high principles such as freedom, self-sacrifice and righteousness. But once the danger is passed the high principles also have disappeared. . . The League of Nations is turning out to be a League of White Nations. The principle that the white races should rule over the black ones in the interests of the latter has been established. Who is to decide whether the white races are governing the blacks for their own benefit or for the benefit of the black races? It is the League of White Nations. This decision resembles the administration of justice in India by Government officials in whom are vested both judicial aud executive functions. When the main principle is unjust, there is no wonder if the result also goes against justice . . . Mr. Reed, a democrat, has strongly criticised the rules of the League of Nations, which tend to increase rather than decrease the highhanded rule of western Powers in Asia and Africa. Is it not indeed a strange result that the League of Nations which is being established with the object of spreading democracy in the world should give its support to autocracy? By virtue of the concentrated power which the League of Nations embodies, it seems to bless the domination of western Powers in eastern countries with a long lease of life. But it is not possible to know the dispensation of Providence. . . In Canada and Australia, there is a strong concensus of

opinion demanding separate representation for those countries in the League of Nations. The discontent prevailing in India needs no special description. An intolerable living seems to add to the effects of an absolute Government. The prices of food-stuffs have risen abnormally high. Ordinary people find it difficult to live. The fate that has befallen the Turkish Empire is rousing the indignation of Muhammadans. Though the Empire has been crowned with success in the wars unrest instead of peace is spreading in the internal affairs. The responsibility of saving the Empire in its present crisis rests on the British statesmen. The time has come when they should be inspired by liberal views in the interests of the Empire. The well-being of the whole world will be ensured, if the anthorities in India recognize the fact, that the British Empire will not have the required strength, wealth and credit so long as India is bound by fetters of absolute power.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

British labourers; a crisis.

72. Referring to the Labour strikes in England, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th February, writes under this heading: . . In this connexion, the people of India should note one fact. The unrest now spreading among the British labourers is unprecedented and dangerous beyond all doubt to the peace of the country. Though England is in such a crisis, the British Government does not waver in the least, it has not thought it fit to punish the labourers by passing repressive measures like Rowlatt Bills. On the other hand, it is trying to pacify them by granting their wishes as far as possible. . . But what are the boons which India is going to get at the present auspicious time when peace is prevailing? The people are taken aback to learn that the Rowlatt Bills are those boons. If there had been in this country even hundredth part of the unrest now prevailing in England, we cannot imagine what repressive measures would have been passed. The difference between England and India is now becoming clear.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

A crisis.

Referring to the judgment in the Tilak-Chirol case and to the present political situation, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st March, writes in its leader under this heading:—. . . When the object was to convict Mr. Tilak somehow, what value translations can have may be understood. Moreover, Sir Edward Carson appealed to the Jury to consider what a disastrous effect a verdict given in Mr. Tilak's favour would have on the Government of India and on the prestige of the white officials. It is but natural that such appeals should rouse their racial prejudices. . . When there is so much discontent in different parts of the Empire and when a repressive policy has not been resorted to anywhere, the *Times* does not give any reason why such a misfortune should befall India alone. . . It may be said without doubt that the introduction of these repressive Bills has evoked an unp recedented agitation in the country from one end to the other. But the *Times* consoles itself with the thought that all this agitation is artificial. . . The report of the Select Committee on the Rowlatt Bills has been placed to-day before the Imperial Legislative Council. The enemies of popular aspirations are rallying their forces once more. The advocates of the Rowlatt Bills find fresh support in the result of the Tilak-case. Surely the country is in a crisis. . . When the very birth-rights of the people are menaced, no reforms, whatever they may be, can bring happiness to the people. It is therefore the duty of men of all parties to realize this truth and to unite together and save the mother-country from such a disaster. . . It is understood that Mr. Gandhi and his followers are prepared to resort to passive resistance, if the Rowlatt Bills are passed into law. It will be better for the Government to think even now of withdrawing the Bills and thus give no room for unnecessary agitation in the country.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

The famine trouble.

73. With reference to the rise in the prices of necessaries of life, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st March, writes under this heading:—The famine trouble is increasing in the country day by day. If the present unhappy condition is not inquired into, we cannot say what disturbance it may produce in the country. . . Living is becoming intolerable for the ordinary people. It behoves the authorities to understand that serious discontent prevails among the masses in this respect. There is absolutely no good of the Government consoling themselves with the idea

that it is all due to political agitation. There is also no use of trying to afford temporary relief with the object of improving the bad economic condition. The representatives of the people should be consulted and their assistance, obtained. It is the duty of the Government to take suitable action in the matter, before the popular disaffection becomes still stronger. We request the Government to heed at least the following vivid description of the present condition by the *Madras Mail*, and take prompt action: ". . . The poor who purchase kerosene-oil in small quantities are put to much trouble on account of scarcity of oil. Considering the prices of food-stuffs, the situation is becoming more and more intolerable. The people are beginning to think that the authorities will never take proper steps to regulate the prices."

It need not be specially pointed out that it is the duty of the authorities to check the despair that is spreading among the people.

74. Referring to the reports which are said to have been submitted by the Reform Committees to the Government of India, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st March remarks:— . . . Whatever be the nature of reports submitted by the Reform Committees, the people can have no confidence in the secret inquiry held by them without recording the evidence given by the popular leaders.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

The Reform Committees.

With reference to the Reform Committees, the *Andhravani*, of the 22nd November, remarks:— . . . The Reform Committees will work even with greater secrecy than the inquiry held by Mr. Montagu who was subjected to unnecessary restrictions which made him no better than gosha lady. The inquiry of the Rowlatt Commission which submitted a report making unmerited allegations against Indians was also held *in camera*. We do not know why such matters which affect the future well-being of India should be treated with so much secrecy.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 22nd Nov. 1918.

The Reform Committees.

The constitution of the Committees is still more disappointing. . . They are composed of those moderates who have taken no part in the political agitation, who have seceded from the Congress and who want to curry the favour of the authorities, and what is worse still, of such Anglo-Indians bureaucrats as Mr. Gillman and Mr. Hailey who are of opinion that no reforms are at all necessary. No Nationalist Congressman except the Raja of Muhammadabad is on them to express the popular opinion. We are therefore afraid that the Committees may not, after all, be of much use.

In this connexion, the following lines written by Sir William Digby twenty years ago come to our memory: "The inception of reform ideas comes from one set of brains. The realisation of that inception is entrusted to others who do not believe in its realisation, do not consider anything requires to be reformed. Consequence: Failure of the remedy, which in hands understood and worked by minds who believed in it would prove successful."

75. With reference to the forfeiture of the security deposited by the *Desabhaktan*, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st March, observes:— . . . It is not possible to know against which paper and at what time the Press Act may be used. . . We have seen the translations of the articles complained of. Their sum and substance is that the present system of administration should be changed and that self-government should be established. The civil rights associations should work now promptly. We appeal to them to work for the repeal of the repressive laws which are a menace to our birth-rights, and for the establishment of peace in the country.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*.

76. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st March, publishes letters from correspondents belonging to various places, all complaining of the scarcity of kerosene-oil.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

The kerosene-oil famine.

In its leader under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 3rd March, observes:—The kerosene-oil famine beats out the foodstuffs famine. . . We are not able to ascertain the reason for this famine; nor do the Government publish it. . . The B class licence depots are not open to the public from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. like

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The kerosene-oil famine.

all other shops. The retail merchants are giving a lot of trouble. The price of one bottle of oil has gone up from 2 to 4 annas. . . The people will be put to much inconvenience, unless a dozen or two dozen shops at least are opened for the whole city and sell oil at all times. It is not just that the Government should be silent over the matter. Unless they see that depots are freely opened by big companies all over the city, keep them under Police guard and sell kerosene oil at reasonable prices, we are afraid that the people who are starving from famine may have to die in dark houses. . . We submit to the Government that the middle classes seriously fear that the masses driven to despair by foodstuffs famine, kerosene-oil famine and other famines may commit any excesses.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 25th Feb. 1919.

Scarcity of kerosene oil.

A note in the *Manorama*, of 25th February, states that most pitiable accounts are being received from various places regarding the price of kerosene oil and its scarcity. The difficulty experienced even in Calicut is very great. Such a calamity was not anticipated. If immediate relief is not forthcoming, the people will be reduced to great misery. The Government is responsible for public welfare. It is inadvisable to allow the present state of affairs to continue for many days. . . How is it that the authorities do not wake up and do something in the matter?

THE MALAYALAM PAPERS.

Scarcity of kerosene oil.

All *Travancore* and *Cochin Papers* as well as British *Malabar Papers* invite the immediate attention of the respective Governments to the scarcity of kerosene oil and its abnormal price and urge the necessity for prompt relief.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

Kerosene famine in Madras.

The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 24th February, writes:—It is astounding to find that the depot-keepers, in spite of the Government fixing the rates for kerosene oil, are worrying the people and selling it much above the prescribed price. It is still more amazing to find that the retail-sellers purchase the oil from the depots and sell it at a still higher rate. We hope that the Collector of Madras, the Commissioner of Police and the President of Corporation will take steps to allay public anxiety and arrange for the supply of kerosene oil by opening a few more depots at the expense of the Corporation.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 22nd Feb. 1919.

Kerosene-oil calamity.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 22nd February, writes:—It is a general complaint that oil merchants are a great nuisance to people. Firstly, they open their shops late and close them early. Yesterday our reporter, who saw this with his own eyes, states that oil was being sold in two places in carts in Jambazaar Road at the rate of 15 annas a gallon. Although several hundreds of men, women and children were waiting for it, several had to go away disappointed. The oil merchant was very rough with his customers as if he also was a Government officer.

We observed that mostly Muhammadan women were going empty and no one seemed to care.

We invite the attention of the Collector of Madras, the Commissioner of Police to this and request them to take steps to remove the evil.

It is incumbent on the Government to adopt proper measures for the sale of this commodity and not to allow the people to hawk oil in carts on the public roads in this manner.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The Delhi Congress.

77. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th March, reproduces in Telugu a passage from the *Bombay Chronicle*, which contains among other things:—The resolutions adopted at the Delhi Congress are the results of the deep deliberations of the Congress and the League. Any suggestion to transgress them will not meet with the approval of the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

The same paper reports Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao to have written to the *Hindu* fully agreeing with the above opinion of the *Daily Chronicle*.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

Expenditure on railways and agriculture.

78. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th March, says:—In Mysore equal sums are expended on railways and agriculture. Money is also spent liberally on industries, electricity, etc. But we are surprised to see the great difference that is made in Sir J. Meston's budget between railways and agriculture.

79. Comparing in its leader under this heading the condition of India with that of the Philippine Islands, the *Andhravani*, of the 22nd February, observes:—. . . There is much difference between the system of administration followed by the Government in India and that followed by the Philippine Government. It is the flawless scheme of action, observed by the rulers in practice, that contributes to the progress of the people. The American Government has solved the political problems of the Philippine Islands with courage and firmness. However pious may be the wishes of the rulers of India, the courage and boldness which are required for the fulfilment of those wishes in practical life are wanting in them. . . The greatest drawback in India seems to be the lack of harmony between the intentions of statesmen and the practical work of the authorities. The rulers of India are unwilling to give up their love of power, whereas the rulers of the Philippines have placed the administrative control in the hands of the people to a large extent. . . There cannot be an end of slavery in the world, until and unless the wrong notion that the eastern countries have been created for the enjoyment of the Western Nations is exploded. Dependent countries are bound to be in an intolerable condition, so long as this theory is in practice. The union of the Eastern and the Western nations is not possible until the arrogance of the ruling races disappears. Doctor Wilson has often said that unless every nation is freed from Commercial slavery, no co-operation and mutual good will are possible in the world. Mr. Neva has made it clear that it is only when the resources of Eastern countries are liberated from the domination of the west, that those people can render complete help in the prosperity of the world. There are two ways in which Sir William Meyer can give effect to the facts which he has understood. He will have to convince his countrymen that the idea of imperialism of the European nations has resulted in the oppression of humanity. He must be willing to put into practice in the Eastern countries the noble ideas expressed by Mr. Neva. . .

The Philippine Islands.

Andhravani, Berhampur, 22nd Feb. 1919.

80. Under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 1st March, reproduces in Telugu the concluding part of Mrs. Besant's speech at Bombay on the Rowlatt Bills, which it commends to every Indian for repeated perusal. The passage contains:—. . . O England! England that hast been to Europe the home of liberty! Do you want to be the sole despot in Asia? Have you forgotten the woes you suffered in the past? . . . You have been saying to every autocratic government: "Govern justly, and no body will turn against you." Have you now dared to walk in the foot-steps of those whom you have criticised? Will not those who were reprimanded by you in the past ridicule you now? Recollect what you have done! If, forgetting your past traditions, you want now to change from the giver of freedom that you have been into a destroyer of freedom, close your past history!

England! Do not forget yourself!

Kistnapatrika, Masulipatam, 1st Mar. 1919.

81. A correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 1st March, writes continuing his review of Sir John Woodroffe's book, "Is India civilized?":—Christianity in the middle ages was characterised by high ideals. But since the discovery of Africa and America, Christanity has gradually degenerated, Europe has directed her attention for the absorption of others' money, ambition has begun to grow in the place of union, wealth has become more important than land, and industrialism, which is the characteristic of "the age of machinery," has progressed. The debasing idea of nationality has become predominant. It is this idea that has at last burst out into the present terrible war. In this evolution brute force has been worshipped and there has been a well-merited retribution. There has been a conflict between the western and eastern cultures, since the conquest of the eastern countries by the western people. Sir John Woodroffe is of opinion that this conflict has begun in India with the introduction of English education. . . The result of the University Commission of 1902 has been to place the full control over the present system of education in the hands of the Government. . . The world knows how grateful Indians are to the British Government for the many benefits which they have received from English education. Now what are the evils of that

Is India civilized?

Kistnapatrika, Masulipatam, 1st Mar. 1919.

education? Vernaculars are dying. Sanskrit, which is renowned as the language of the gods, is on the verge of death. . . There are many other evils besides the neglect of vernaculars.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 1st Mar. 1919.

An appeal to the Government.

82. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 1st March, invites the attention of the Government to an incident which has taken place in the Court of the Sub-Magistrate, Bezwada. The sub-magistrate is reported to have allowed a public copy of a document from the Registrar's office to be filed as an exhibit without proof, though the pleader on the other side was objecting that the document in question could not be considered as a public copy and that it could not be accepted as an exhibit unless proved. The correspondent concludes his letter with the following observations:—. . . The gentleman probably passed his Criminal test long ago. It is highly necessary that the Government should require such men to pass the test again soon after they are entrusted with magisterial duties. As it would otherwise compromise and endanger the position of pleaders and parties, I request the Government to make suitable arrangements.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance.

83. Under this heading the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd March, reproduces in Telugu Mr. M. K. Gandhi's letter on the Rowlatt Bills and the pledge of passive resistance signed by him and others.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 6th Mar. 1919.

Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance.

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 6th March, writes:—Mr. Gandhi has announced that all true patriots from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin should adopt the *mantram* of *Satyāgraha* or passive resistance in case the Rowlatt Bills are brought into force and that he has himself undertaken this sacrifice. Not only these laws but all autocratic methods can, without doubt, be burnt to ashes with the aid of this magical formula.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 22nd Nov. 1918.

The new epoch.

84. Referring to the close of the war and to the prospect of a bright future, the *Andhravani*, of the 22nd November, writes in its leader under this heading:— . . India is depressed to see that the authorities do not trust her in spite of her valuable services in the war. She is perplexed by doubt and anxiety whether those principles of justice and liberty, for the triumph of which she has also fought along with other countries, will be applied to her own Government or not. Though she has been allowed representation in the Peace Conference, she is sorry that one who will boldly express the popular opinion has not been appointed to represent her. . . O British Empire! you are now on your trial. When you were in a critical condition, our Mother India stood by you, shared your trouble and showed her love towards you in a manner that had challenged the admiration of the world. If you, now in your turn, satisfy her requirements and accord her an equal place in the Empire, this page in the history of mankind will be written in letters of gold, and you will earn the gratitude of the three hundred million people of this country. We appeal to you again and again not to forget this fact.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

Foodstuffs.

85. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 4th March, observes:— . . . Many people think that the hard famine here is due to the order issued by the Government of India to the effect that foodstuffs may be exported from one province to another and to the Native States. This is not without some truth in it. . . It is true that the present hardship is due to the order of the Government of India. The people are anxiously asking why the Madras Government should be bold enough to represent the real state in this Presidency to the Government of India and prohibit the export of foodstuffs to other provinces. The representative of the *Madras Times* severely reprimands the Madras Government in this matter. It is not at all proper that the Madras Government should assume an attitude of indifference in this respect. . . We have once suggested that the Government would do well to call for a Conference of District Collectors here to ascertain the real state of each district, to invite some big merchants and ryots to this Conference and consider their views also on the subject. We are of

opinion that our suggestion will be found to be useful, if it is acted up to even now.

86. Referring to the suicide of a school-final student in the Tanjore St. Peter's School, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 4th March, remarks:— . . . We submit that it is not proper that the Educational authorities and the Government should not make some suitable change in the school-final system, which is responsible for such hard incidents.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The suicide of a school-final student.

87. In the course of an appeal to ryots to attend in their largest numbers the seventh Kistna District Ryots' Conference to be held at Tadepalligudem on 13th March 1919, the Secretaries write in the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 4th March:—The series of troubles created from time to time by the system of foreign administration is pursuing and greatly annoying the ryot population which is the backbone of the country and of the Government. The ryots have already lost lakhs of rupees on account of the penal taxes, the A.B. classification, the rejection of applications for water and the payment of bribes to subordinate officers. When the prices of such articles as yarn, iron, cloths and oil generally required by ryots have gone up ten times, instead of reducing them, that the Government should try to regulate the price of paddy which is the main crop produced by the ryot, and to create obstructions to the export of paddy, is as unjust as it is cruel. The unsteady Government settlement, the proposal to enhance the water-rate, the establishment of annoying toll-gates, the impoverishment of the people by opening toddy and liquor shops, the failure to introdure compulsory elementary education among ryots, the introduction of the new Rowlatt Bills which are subversive of the progress of ryots are some of the grievances which are now troubling the ryot population. God only knows the suffering of ryots. If the ryot seriously looks once at the cycle of time, it is feared that a deluge is impending.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The Seventh Kistna District Ryots' Conference, Tadepalligudem.

88. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 21st February, in a leading article under this heading, writes:—Nobody can deny the fact that wherever we may go, whichever district we may visit, there we find signs of a furious famine. As the days pass by, the fury is increasing and the past seems better than the present. Though it is true that the famine is due to the adverse seasonal conditions, it would be wrong to suppose that nobody is to blame for its being so terrible. A proper distribution of the food-grains available would not have rendered the situation so bad. The untimely rains affect only the coast lands and not so much the interior of the country where there are irrigation facilities. Thirty or forty years ago, the people of the interior had always three to four years' supply of food-grains in store against a possible famine, and they were even able to share it, if necessary, with the people of other parts of the country. But the famines of the present day are of a most terrible kind. Who is responsible for this? After the outbreak of the war even in England where a food-supply committee had to be established, the difficulties experienced do not seem to be so great as in India. We must say that they are caused by the unsettled condition of things created by the authorities, and their neglect and lack of zeal. When the whole country is wailing about the famine in the country, why do they not stop the export of food-grains to foreign countries such as England at least now? His Excellency the Viceroy told us of the quantity of leather, cloth, etc., supplied by India during the war. But did he tell us of the quantity of food-grains given by her? Can we not see from the reports which used to be published some time ago that more grain than was necessary was carried away from here and excessive freights were paid in carrying it to Mesopotomia, England, etc.? Admitting that it is necessary to take supplies from here during the war to which, of course, no one will object, why should they take more than what is absolutely necessary? If grain was allowed to be exported from here without guarding the interests of the people, who is responsible for the famine that has come now? In addition to these difficulties, there is now the food committee which, though intended to benefit the people, the latter have found in practice to be doing more harm than good. They feel the heigbt of

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 21st Feb. 1919.

The terrible nature of the famine.

inconvenience when even transport from one district to another is restricted, and consequently goods are transported in secret. The people therefore urge the removal of these restrictions; but the reply given by the Government the other day in the Council on this question is altogether unsatisfactory. If the authorities fail to remove the scarcity, what are the hungry masses to do? There is a classical Sanskrit say that the hungry know no law and equity. It is therefore necessary that the authorities should be more mindful of their duties in time. As regards the situation in South Kanara, the authorities cannot fail to see how grave it is. If so soon after the harvest and in the busiest part of the trade season the prices of necessaries have gone up to twice and in some cases even three times the normal prices, can we not foresee what the prices will be during the rainy season?

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 1st Mar. 1919.

The *Mamlatdar* murder case.

89. Referring to the case in which a *Mamlatdar* was murdered (at Akola) in the Bombay Presidency, the *Sampad Abhuyudaya*, of the 1st March, observes:—If those that are carrying on the administration are high-handed, the people attack them. Untoward consequences follow. We see even rulers attacked and revolutions brought about. Those who use their power justly and keep themselves calm have admittedly no danger of being murdered. But how can we expect calmness in persons who are blinded by power? Those who have good education from their infancy become capable of remaining calm, but the uneducated can seldom have this capacity. Those who are high-handed in their action, the moment they get a little authority to exercise *must* reap the fruit of their deeds.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 28th Feb. 1919.

Farewell address to His Excellency Lord Pentland.

90. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 28th February, writes:—A new controversy has arisen in the Madras Corporation. Mr. Tyāgarāya Chetti and one or two others want to present a farewell address to His Excellency Lord Pentland on behalf of the Corporation. This is not the place to discuss how far Lord Pentland deserves to be honoured by the public of this Presidency. It is not expedient that the Corporation should take up this question; nor is it likely that it will do so. Nevertheless, public opinion in Madras on this point is that since the Corporation has not taken the trouble of presenting farewell addresses to any other retiring Governors till now, why should it take upon itself to do so now? What benefit has Lord Pentland conferred upon the Corporation that it should now be at such pains to express its indebtedness? The Madras dailies state that Lord Pentland has exercised his powers with the utmost rigour in connexion with the Park Fire (sic) the Municipal Bill, etc. Though some of the Commissioners are actuated by the desire to curry favour with His Excellency, we think they would do well not to be meddlesome. For, although Lord Pentland's term as Governor was extended, the people do not seem to have liked the extension. Under these circumstances it would not be expedient to create room for proclaiming from a sense of honesty the defects of his administration on the eve of his departure. Blind worshippers like Mr. Chetti would do well not to forget this.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 28th Feb. 1919.

India in Parliament.

91. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 28th February, writes:—Is Lajpat Rai so extraordinary a personage that the peace of the United Kingdom or of the whole Empire might be suddenly upset by permitting him to return to England? Why should the British Cabinet which so utterly defeated the enemy on the battlefield and won so glorious a victory be in such dread of the advent of Lajpat Rai to England? The fact is that once the authorities give up their sense of discrimination, they can find almost anything conform to their notions of propriety. There is nothing surprising in this. Again, as regards the Arms Act, although Indians will not have the right which the Europeans and Eurasians have of using arms without licence, we must nevertheless thank the Government for the proposal to issue licences more freely than before, on the principle that something is better than nothing. But we wonder how the proposed relaxation of the Arms Act is consistent with the Rowlatt Bills. Perhaps the magic powers of the Rowlatt Bills will counteract the evil effects of the Arms Act; or it may also be that the bureaucracy has hit upon the trick of inducing the people to give up their opposition to

the Rowlatt Bills in their eagerness to see the Arms Act amended. Again, as regards the transport of rice from Burma, experts are of opinion that the cost of transport per ton can be reduced to Rs. 20, while according to Mr. Montagu, after putting pressure on the Shipping Controller, it is Rs. 30 per ton. It is no wonder that the people should urge the abolition of the restrictions on transport when they find that these restrictions render the situation worse instead of improving it. The Government of India state that provincial restrictions on transport have been removed as early as January. In practice, however, the people have been unable to see any change in the control of transport.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 6th Mar. 1919.

92. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 6th March, writes:—Sir James Meston has himself called it a relentless budget. It is truly so. The budget is highly disappointing and is worse than a war budget. An enormous sum has been set apart for military expenditure. For the past four years there has been no adequate provision for education, industries, sanitation, etc. This year's budget too does not make proper provision for these. The Military service and the railways have abundant provision. How is the country to prosper if the revenues should be spent in this manner? How is the country to promote her economic advancement? The provision under military expenditure in the same way as in war time shows how the revenues are being spent in an irresponsible manner owing to the lack of responsible government. The people are suffering on account of war, famine and pestilence. Good statesmanship requires that the budget should show a surplus to guard against bad times. The pesent budget on the other hand shows a deficit of £4½ millions. £42 millions have been allotted for military expenditure though the war has ended. This expenditure would not have been possible if we had responsible Government. The prices have gone up enormously. It behoves the authorities even to raise a loan if necessary to prevent people from dying of starvation and recover the money paid in the shape of relief when better days come. £24 millions have been set apart for railway extension. Though this may be considered beneficial in view of the increased facilities for the transport of food-grains, it is asked in some quarters why so much expenditure should be incurred under this head when the scarcity of food-grains is so great, and more attention should be paid to increased production by extending irrigation facilities. The military expenditure forms more than half the revenue, while the allotment for famine relief is only £17 lakhs. Compared with the salaries paid in the western countries and Japan, the salaries here are very much higher, though India is much poorer than those countries. This lavishness in expenditure is possible because we have no responsible government and the authorities have autocratic powers. In all democratic countries, popular welfare has the first claim on the revenues of the Government. Where Civil and Military services receive better attention and use up a large part of the revenues, there it is found impossible to help the people even to get food and clothing. When we contrast the condition of those poor people who work day and night and die for want of food with that of the officials who find this world a paradise because of their fat salaries without working even one to two hours a day, we realize the stupendous consequences of the absence of responsible government.

The Imperial Budget.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 21st Feb. 1919.

93. Referring to the appointment during the last year of four Assistant Civil Surgeons to deliver popular lectures on Hygiene, in various districts, and the intention of Government to continue the arrangement for another year, the *Manorama*, of the 21st February, admits the utility of such lectures, thinks that they are more urgently needed in the interior parts of each district than at district headquarters, and observes that these lectures will do immense good to the people if the Assistant Surgeons do their work according to a programme prepared in consultation with the heads of districts.

Popular lectures on hygiene.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 21st Feb. 1919.

94. Referring to Sir William Meyer's visit to the Philippine Islands, the *Manorama*, of the 21st February, points out that while these islands were given self-government within twenty years of their coming under the Government of America, India is even now, after 150 years of British protection,

Sir William Meyer's visit to the Philippines.

still fighting for it, takes exception to Sir William Meyer's statement that India cannot expect to get self-government on colonial lines at an early date, and observes that Indians will remember Sir William Meyer's name with gratitude if on his return to England he places before the Members of Parliament his experiences and observations in the Philippines in a way beneficial to Indians.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 28th Feb. 1919.

The outlook of the sugar industry in India.

95. In the course of a long article on the outlook of sugar industry in India, a writer in the *Yogashemam*, of the 28th February, remarks that it will cause pain and shame to both the administrators and the people when confronted with the question why India's need of sugar cannot be met by Indian manufacture when more than the required quantity of sugarcane is produced in the land. The article notes that the increase of import duty on sugar, already introduced by the Government of India, will stimulate Indian manufacture and offers the following suggestions:—

(1) that the Government should help small factories with grants-in-aid ;

(2) that suitable lands should be placed at the disposal of the sugarcane cultivators ;

(3) that factories should be given the benefit of supervision by officers of the Department of Industries ;

(4) that water for irrigation may be made freely available.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 21st Feb. 1919.

The future of the Congress.

96. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 21st February, in a leader on this subject writes:—On the 18th instant Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal delivered a speech at the Ghokale Hall in which he commented on adverse criticisms relating to the Congress in a manner which shows that he possesses the enthusiasm of the extremists.

The *Jaridah* quotes a portion of Mr. Pal's speech and regrets that he has tried to prove the entire Indian population to be as selfish as himself.

Mr. Pal says "As the British Crown is connected with India he is loyal to it".

Had Mr. Pal said that, as the British Crown is a well-wisher of the entire world and of all human beings, we are loyal, it would have been more to the point.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 23rd Feb. 1915

India and the Khalifate.

97. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 23rd February, refutes Mr. Welby's remark that the Mussalman connexion with the Khalifate is a recent invention, and observes that the connexion of Mussalmans of India with the Khalifate goes back to date long previous to the elevation of the Turks to this exalted office. The Abbasido existed in Bagdad and Egypt for eight hundred and five years, when Mussalmans recognized the authority of the Khalifate and minted their coins with the inscription "Amir-ul-Mominin". Most Mussalman potentates in India publicly declared their connexion with the Khalifate. This is a title especially intended for the Khalifa for the time being and for none others.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

The assassination of Habib.

98. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 26th February, referring to the lamentable and sudden assassination of His Majesty the Amir of Kabul, writes:—It is extremely regrettable to learn the sad news of the death of the Amir encompassed by wire-pullings and internal intrigues.

Addressing the Islamic world the editor says. No greater opportunity for taking to heart a great lesson could possibly be afforded.

The editor in giving a biographical sketch of the late Amir observes that he remained a staunch and loyal ally of the British Crown, and on this account His Excellency the Viceroy has directed that all public offices be closed and flags hoisted half mast, on Friday the 28th instant as a mark of respect to his late Majesty's memory.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 29th Feb. 1919.

The murder of the Amir of Kabul.

99. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 25th February, deploring the sad news of the untimely death of His Majesty Amir Habib-ullah Khan writes:—The dreadful murder of the Amir darkens our vision and fills our minds with perplexity. It appears that it will take a long time to destroy the germs of sedition and intrigue that are floating about the world, and that the proposals for restoration of peace and tranquility will not materialize in a hurry.

If regard be had to the late Amir's life, his worldly wisdom, and his piety, His late Majesty was from the political point of view a force, in fact a great force. His loyalty and neutrality were of the utmost benefit to the British in securing peace and tranquility within the confines of India. A thousand pities that that personality has been laid low!

100. The *Sahifa*, of the 27th February, publishes a translation of an article on the assassination of the late Amir that appeared in the *Hyderabad Bulletin* of the 25th February 1919. SAHIFA, Hyderabad, 27th Feb. 1919.

His Majesty the late Amir Habib-ullah Khan.

101. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 2nd March, in a leader on this subject writes :— QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 2nd Mar. 1919.

A complaint against prevailing high prices.

We find that the question regarding high prices is one of the items in the programme which is to be placed before the Legislative Council on the 18th instant. This matter assumes a new aspect everyday, and the symtoms point out that evil consequences will follow if the matter is passed over. Patience and perseverance have reached their extreme limits and if we should even, at this stage, not pay any attention to the question, we should understand that either the public or we are mad. The high prices of grain are strangling the poor and at present there do not appear to exist any means whereby their lot might be ameliorated. Rice is sold at 2 or $1\frac{3}{4}$ of a measure per rupee. Kerosene oil, firewood and other commodities have become so dear as to exceed famine rates.

It is regrettable that the authorities are silent and take no preventive measures. When the authorities cannot comply with these requirements, their sympathy and their friendship are unreal and in fact they are acting unjustly towards the poor.

We invite the attention of the Government so that it may very carefully consider and adopt such measures as may put an end to the hardships caused by the prevailing dearness. There are many ways open to the Government and the matter is so important that it requires extraordinary investigation. It is not sufficient to rely on official and demi-official reports.

III.—LEGISLATION.

102. The *Desabhimani*, of the 22nd February, publishes in English a leader under the heading "The Rowlatt Report and the Government Bills" in which the following finds place among others :—. . . DESABHIMANI, Cuddalore, 22nd Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The country was looking forward to an era of peace and prosperity and mutual good-will between the Government and the people after the enormous sacrifices of men and money made by India for the war, and was expecting that the ideals for which the war was fought in Europe would be applied to India as well. But the two Bills recently introduced in the Council have evoked strong opposition in the whole country and created discontent in the minds of men. Even before we have fully realized what the consequences of the victory over the Germans will be for us, we are made to submit to a piece of legislation which will make life very troublesome and dangerous to all honest and well-meaning citizens. . . A mere perusal of the two Bills is enough to convince any one of the fact that the Bills are quite unnecessary and uncalled for at the present time. . . One wonders how the same British people who in England did not scruple to associate with General Smuts after he had fought with the forces of His Majesty, would ever be inclined to propose a drastic and hasty legislation of the kind in India. When we find that General Smuts is even admitted into the inner Councils of the Empire, we have the spectacle in India of humiliating conditions being imposed on one convicted of sedition. No chance at all of leading an honest and gentlemanly life ever afterwards is given to him. There seems to be no reason for the Government being so hard at the present time. It cannot be said that sedition and crimes against the State have increased in any way during the war. India has, on the whole, been very loyal to the Crown. It is unfortunate that Britain which has so highly evolved liberal instincts as to wink at the declaration of independence by Ireland should seek to impose fresh shackles on peaceful and mild India.

The second Bill seeks to continue the provisions of the Defence of India Act during peaceful times as well. . . The first part of this Bill provides for a

special tribunal being constituted for the trial of offences given in the schedule, whose decision is final, no appeal being allowed to any court whatsoever. It is remarkable that even non-political offences are included in the schedule. . .

Part 2 of this Bill gives wider powers to the Executive. . . We have in this part provisions which take away a man's liberty without the judgment of an ordinary court of law authorizing the same. . .

The powers proposed to be taken by the Government under the Bills are extraordinary and may not conduce to a healthy relationship between the people and the Government. There is no urgency for passing the Bills at the present time, and the Government could have waited for sometime to see if even the semblance of anarchism in the country would not disappear under better conditions to be inaugurated by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. The Government have ample powers under the Defence of India Act until then. The haste displayed by the Government in the face of strong non-official opposition cannot be said to be commendable.

DRAVIDABHIMANI, Salem, 31st Jan. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Dwelling at length on the provisions of these Bills, the *Dravidabhimani*, of the 31st January, observes:—The liberty and the peaceful life of bygone days are not to be had again. The lot of the editors of newspapers has come to be miserable. The life of the politician will be one of perpetual anxiety. When a person is once imprisoned, there is no hope of his going back to his house. Danger is standing at the very threshold with a greeting. Under these Bills, politicians and journalists cannot exercise the liberty of criticising the system of administration freely. Though the liberty of the loyal subjects is not affected, still even persons like the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Gandhi and Lord Sinha, known for their loyalty, were on several occasions viewed with suspicion and shadowed. Had Swami Vivekananda been alive at present, a case of sedition can be brought even against him. It is, therefore, certain that every one will be afraid of the character of these Bills which is such as to make the Indian subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor, lose faith in their liberty.

YATHARTHAVACHANI, Kumbakōnam, 17th Feb. 1919.

The *Yatharthavachani*, of the 17th February, remarks that the existing law is sufficient to put down sedition, and the enactment of any new measures is likely to cause greater hardships and observes:—It is the belief of every one at present that India will get the promised Home Rule from the British Government. If now, these Bills are passed, there is room for doubt that the promised liberty might be withheld. What is the special advantage secured in limiting the duration of the Bills to three years? How can it be possible to put down sedition within these three years unless by prosecution? If seditionists keep quiet for three years and begin their work again, should a new law be enacted then? When the Indian Income-tax Act was first passed, what was its duration? How long has it since been in force? So every one is getting suspicious whether these new Bills also will not, if they become law, be in force for ever. It is not satisfactory that the Government should have brought forward these Bills in haste at a time when the people are anxiously awaiting the Mantagu-Chelmsford reforms, reposing full confidence in the Government, and at a time when the cruel war with Germany has come to an end.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Feb. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th February, reproduces in Tamil an extract from the *Young India* commenting on these Bills, in which the following observations find place among others:—A large number of public meetings have been held all over the country to protest against these Bills. The main feature of these meetings is the interest evinced by the audience in closely hearing the lectures and understanding the situation. When the extraordinary provisions of the Bill were explained, the excitement of the people knew no bounds. The public are well convinced that the present juncture needs very careful and calm deliberation and action. They did not pay any consideration for the words of Mrs. Besant, when she spoke criticising certain leaders and warning against passive resistance. Every one is expecting orders to issue in regard to passive resistance, from the leaders in whom he has confidence. If all this agitation and protest are disregarded, the people will not remain quiet.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th February, reproduces in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting recently held in Dadar in the Bombay Presidency to protest against these Bills in which Mr. B. G. Horniman, as the President of the meeting, is reported to have appealed to the audience to be prepared to adopt the method of passive resistance in respect of not only these Bills but also other laws which the Government may enact, as an effective means of making the Government yield to the wishes of the people.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

The same paper also publishes a communication from a correspondent who advocates incessant constitutional agitation throughout the country against these Bills and observes that, if even this does not accomplish the object of the people, the non-official members of the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils should immediately resign their seats and, touring round the country, and raising funds send a deputation of not less than 100 men to England to inform the people there of the 'atrocities committed by the bureaucrats,' here, which is sure to help India in getting rid of these Bills.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 26th February, reproduces in Tamil an article appearing in the *Indian Social Reformer* protesting against the passing of these Bills.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Referring to the petition said to be submitted to the House of Commons by the Indian public protesting against these Bills, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 26th February, observes:—It is necessary that such petitions should be sent from different parts of India. It is but right that a telegraphic information should be sent to the British Government in advance of the petition. If we are to lead a respectable life, we should protest constitutionally against the passing of the Bills in all possible ways.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Reproducing in Tamil an article from the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, detailing the reasons for the origin of the revolutionary movement in Bengal, and remarking that it will be clear from this article how far the actions of the Government have contributed to rouse the people of India, naturally inclined to lead a peaceful life, into agitation, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 27th February, observes:—First to create excitement among the people, then, if they agitate in consequence, to provoke them further by passing repressive measures as if to put them down and then declare that anarchical movement is spread in the country and enact cruel laws—what policy this! The Rowlatt Bills now brought forward by the Government are in full accordance with this policy. The adage goes that, when afflicted, even a small worm attempts to resist. It is our request that the Government should realize the truth of this.

SWADESAIMTRAN, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st March, welcomes the news that Mr. Gandhi has decided to lead a passive resistance movement against these Bills and remarks that it is the duty of every Indian to transgress the Rowlatt law, which aims at murdering India, and other unjust laws like this.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

Referring to the observation of the *London Times* that it is very necessary that the Rowlatt Bills should be passed into law in order to prevent the increase of unrest and anarchism and that it was a mistake to have announced that the first Bill would be in force only for three years, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd March, remarks:—There is no ground for believing that a law passed only for a temporary period now will not be made permanent at the end of that period. The uncontrollable bureaucrats are sure to make this law a permanent one. Having perpetuated an irresponsible bureaucratic administration in India, the British Government are expressing outside, to satisfy the world, that they are going to introduce a government responsible to the people in this country. Though their internal idea may not be noted by the people of other countries, can the Indians forget it? Let the British Government note that the more the liberty of the Indians is forfeited in India and they are afflicted, the deeper will discontent and unrest take root in the country.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 3rd March, is surprised at those who strongly objected to the Bills during its discussion in the Council having signed the report of the Select Committee and adds:—A division in the country only strengthens the officials and the Rowlatt Bills are sure to become law. Mr. Gandhi advocates resort to passive resistance against the Bills and, if this suggestion is acted upon,

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

it may land the country in a critical pass. We hope the Government will avoid giving room to it by acting in accordance with the opinion of the people.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Reproducing in Tamil an extract from the speech of Mrs. Annie Besant on these Bills at a public meeting in Bombay, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th February, observes:—England is famous for her justice and impartiality. It is at present the experience of many that her liberal views are getting narrow in regard to Indian matters. It is our request that every British subject should ponder over the valuable words of Mrs. Besant. Wise men say that such Bills are not in vogue even in Ireland, a country ever seething with unrest and confusion. We are at a loss to understand why the bureaucrats should attempt to enforce such a cruel law in India alone. It is not known what sin India has committed to deserve such a treatment under the bureaucratic rule. The Government of India should desist from passing these Bills, if they wish that British prestige should remain untarnished for ever.

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 3rd March, reproduce in Tamil the *Satyagraha* pledge of Mr. Gandhi and his adherents and also the letter of Mr. Gandhi to the Press detailing the necessity of resorting to passive resistance at this juncture.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

Referring to the manifesto issued by some moderates, who signed the Special Committee's report, objecting to the course adopted by Mr. Gandhi, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 3rd March, remarks that, as the English expression goes, they have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage.

The same paper also reproduces in Tamil the comments of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* on the Select Committee's report on these Bills, approving the action of Messrs. Malaviya, Khaparde and Patel in having desisted from signing the majority report.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

Remarking that the Madras Government are now testing the patriotism of this Presidency by means of the action they have taken against it, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th March, refers to the strong opposition raised by the late Mr. Gokhale to the Press Act when it was introduced and to his subsequent acceptance of the same with some modifications, and observes:—The Government are well aware that the moderates will only talk, and the latter are no better now. The Government are now determined to push through the Rowlatt Bills in spite of opposition. They expect perhaps to get the Bills passed like the Press Act. They may enact the Bills by dint of their power; but we know the fate that is in store for it. We want the Government to note that there is difference between the time of the Press Act and the present period. Our words may appear venomous to the Government now; but we prophesy that a time will come when they will be considered to be saintly advice. When the Press Act was introduced, the soul-force theory of Mahatma Gandhi had not spread in India. Now it is recognized by many. Indian women are prepared to adopt passive resistance as can be seen from the signatures to the *Satyagraha* pledge of Mahatma Gandhi. If mothers descended from Sita and Pānchāli begin to exert their soul-force, who can curb it? We warn the bureaucrats on account of our feeling that no harm should befall the British Government. It is only the soul-force theory of Mahatma Gandhi that can relieve the misery of India and the Almighty is pleased to ordain the development of this force throughout India. Let all people be prepared to follow Mr. Gandhi.

The same paper expresses its surprise elsewhere at Sir William Vincent having made no mention of the dissenting minutes of Messrs. Malaviya, Patel and Khaparde while placing the report of the Select Committee before the Council and says:—Does this not indicate partiality? If he did not like to publish their views, why should we have requested them to sit on the Select Committee? Is not the conduct of Sir William Vincent an insult to the three gentlemen? Need we state explicitly what the object of the Government of India is in acting like this?

The paper also refers to the reply of Mr. Montagu to a question in the House of Commons about these Bills that the Government of India will see that the main principles of the Bills are not dropped and remarks:—This reply shows that even Mr. Montagu is for the Bills being passed. This is highly regrettable.

It is stated that Mr. Montagu is a person of liberal principles and it was expected that he would not approve of the Bills. But it is now patent that he too has yielded to the Government of India. What can we do for this? Mr. Montagu! Will you not be pleased to pay some attention to the opinion of the Indians on these Bills?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th March, publishes in Telugu and English the comments of the *Amirta Bazaar Patrika*, on the Select Committee's Report on the Rowlatt Bills, which contain among other things the following remark:—It was proper on the part of Messrs. Malavia, Khaparde and Patel to have refused to sign the report of the Select Committee. No patriotic or self-respecting Indian could act otherwise.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Criticizing in its leader the changes made by the Select Committee in the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th March, says:—There is only one test for repressive measures. Do they or do they not violate the principles of justice? Do they or do they not deprive the Courts of Law of their authority? If they do, there can be no doubt that these measures will affect the innocent as well as the guilty. Even Mr. Banerji and others say that they do not approve of the provisions of the Bill. If so, why should they sign the report of the Select Committee? Yesterday's *Mail* says that by signing the report, they have approved of the principles underlying the Bill. It is regrettable that they have given room for such a surmise. Even in matters affecting the primary rights of man, the moderate leaders have not acted firmly but have taken a wrong step. They have weakened the firm opinion of the people's representatives. While Mr. Gandhi and many other leaders have declared their determination to have recourse to passive resistance, Mr. Banerji and others are spreading a movement which is opposed to it. Though the Select Committee has made slight alterations, no changes have been made in the principal clauses of the Bill. . . The non-official members required that a certain clause in the Bill should be made to apply only to anarchical crimes, but their request was not complied with. By this, the promise that this emergent law will be enforced only against anarchical crimes has been broken, and other crimes too will be tried under this law without proper inquiry. . . The request of the non-officials to provide for a right of appeal has been rejected. Readers can easily understand that without this change in the Bill, all other changes are useless. . . Clauses 25 and 26 of the Bill deprives the individual of his liberty and the Courts of Law of their authority, and increases the arbitrary powers of the Executive Government. The Select Committee has not made any considerable alteration in this. . . Though it is stated in the preamble that the law will only apply to anarchical crimes, other crimes also have been included in the schedule. . . If His Excellency the Viceroy learns from Mr. Gandhi the intensity of public feeling in this matter and without caring for prestige, withdraws the Rowlatt Bills, he will earn the eternal gratitude of the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and the memorial of the people.

Referring to the memorial addressed to the House of Commons by Anti-Rowlatt Bills Executive Committee in Madras, which it publishes elsewhere in Telugu, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th February, observes in its leader under this heading:—. . . Whatever be the decision of the Imperial Legislative Council, the people should try by constitutional means to prevent the enactment of the Bills into law. No sacrifice can be regarded as too great for the preservation of our birth-rights. . . Such a great man as Mr. Gandhi is firmly convinced that there can be no room for progress, until and unless the Rowlatt Bills are withdrawn. It may be inferred that he is determined to try to the best of his ability to prevent the enactment of these Bills. If he leads his countrymen in the new agitation, the new Bills are bound to fail. . . It behoves the people to address petitions for the preservation of their birth-rights to the British public which has such glorious liberal traditions. They must make them realize to what unrest the enactment of these repressive laws will lead in the country. If an unprecedented indignation is roused in the country from one end to the other, it cannot be believed that the English people will consent to the enactment of

these Bills. . . Should the British people who always show their anxiety when freedom is suppressed in any part of the world, be indifferent when it is threatened in their own Empire the modern world cannot respect them.

Considering all these facts, the Madras Committee have addressed a memorial to the House of Commons, in which they have expressed the popular opinion in unambiguous terms. If other provinces also follow suit, it cannot but rouse the conscience of the British public. . . It is a fact known to everyone that whatever repressive measures are passed in the country, they will not affect papers like the *Madras Mail*. The increase of repressive measures will proportionately enhance the pleasure of those who are accustomed to be glad at the suffering of others. It is the duty of Indians to agitate constitutionally and to let the British people understand the difficulties which will befall them. Should the British public fail to pay any heed even then, there will be no limit to the unrest which will prevail among the people in this country. The future is dark. We appeal to the Government to view the present situation with foresight, and without driving the people to despair, to earn their everlasting gratitude by withdrawing the Rowlatt Bills.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 22nd Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and the duty of the popular representatives.

Continuing his criticism on the Rowlatt Bills the same correspondent writes to the *Andharavani*, of the 22nd February, under this heading. . . The 6th, 7th and 10th February, should be regarded as important days in the political history of India. These days have determined the future prosperity of the country. It has been clear that the Government have forgotten the services rendered to them by India during the great world-war. It is regrettable that the English Government should do things in the spirit of burning the boat after crossing the stream. It is not possible to look into the future and say what is going to happen. But this much is certain that there will be unrest and agitation among the people. . . Mr. Rowlatt was brought here all the way from England. The Government have spoken of him as an eminent judge. Regarding his judicial talents, do we not know what the '*John Bull*' has written? . . . Does not the manner in which His Excellency the Viceroy defended the Bills amount to a whole-sale condemnation of Indians as anarchists? It cannot be British statesmanship to regard Indians as loyal subjects during the war and to call them anarchists after the war. . . To advocate the enactment of a legislation similar to the Defence of India Act on the ground that anarchy was averted during the war on account of the latter only shows the shortsightedness of the Viceroy. His words are a commentary on the administration of the British Government and makes it evident that the British have been carrying on a bureaucratic rule in India. They show that it is the British Government itself which has promoted anarchy in India. . . Neither Sir William Vincent who has introduced the Bills, nor Sir G. Lowndess, nor Mr. Lovett has given satisfactory reasons for the enactment of these new Bills. . . Sir G. Lowndess has made some irrelevant remarks in this connexion. His analogies are none but fallacies. . . All the popular representatives have done their duty. Mother India! An auspicious day! An auspicious day!! For that was the day when all your sons had combined together to undo the repressive measures which aim at destroying your ancient glory! Though they may fail temporarily in this great struggle for freedom, they are bound to triumph in the end. Success will surely attend that side which follows the *Dharma*. This is an eternal truth.

The question is: Reform or repression? The Government have at last made their answer clear by saying 'repression'. . . At a time when a calm atmosphere should prevail, it is regrettable that the Government should try to defy the wishes of the people. Such a policy will shake their confidence in the government. . . Do we find such unheard of laws in any country in the civilized world? Such laws can have a place only in times of war; and the present is a period during which hostilities have ceased. . . Strictly speaking, it is England which now requires such laws in view of the headstrong action of labourers whose constitutional agitation seems to give place to unconstitutional methods. They are threatening to enshroud London and Glasgow in darkness.

Even in such a critical situation, the British Government show no mind to enact repressive laws like these. . . In these circumstances, what necessity is there for our Government to make these laws in order to stifle the freedom of Mother India? . . . No Indian, not even an Indian child, who has self-respect and patriotism in him will consent to the enactment of such laws, though they are to be in operation, not for three years, but even for three seconds. Every Indian will utter the name of Mahatma Gandhi and take up the vow of passive resistance. Do not Indians know the value of the Government promises? What did the Government say when they passed the Press Act? What did they say when they passed the Defence of India Act? What has become of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858? Why should we go so far? Is not their present action against the spirit of the announcement which the Secretary of State made on the 20th August 1917? . . . The promise of Sir William Vincent to have the Emergency Powers Bill in force only for three years seems to be a device to create dissensions among the popular representatives. . . Mother India appeals to the popular representatives not to take part in the Select Committee. Will they defy their mother's word? Or, will they uphold their self-respect and the ancient glory of the mother? When our birthrights are in danger of being robbed, what matters it whether reforms are granted or not granted? . . . The popular leaders should have nothing to do with the committee, when the Government have flouted their opinion. . . Let them all adopt, therefore, the vow of passive resistance in this connexion, thus setting an example to their countrymen and maintain the fair name and prestige of India!

The Madras City Municipal Bill.

103. The *Dravidan*, of the 25th February, reproduces in Tamil the sentiments appearing in the *Justice*, of the 24th idem, suggesting the withdrawal of the present Bill and the introduction of another congenial to the evolution of local self-government. — DRAVIDAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

The Indian Arms Act.

104. Referring to the restrictions imposed by the Arms Act in India which prevent the Indians from possessing arms without licences, while the Europeans and 'faringhis' in India are freely allowed to possess the same irrespective of their status in life, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th February, observes:—If those who complain that, in ancient days, partiality was shown to the Brahmans in the laws of the State, rules favourable to them having been framed by virtue of their influence, compare this partiality with the laws in force at present, such as the Arms Act, they can clearly see the difference between the two. In his reply to Commander Wedgewood in the House of Commons about this subject, Mr. Montagu has said that a new Arms Act will be enacted enabling all persons with good position and character to obtain licences and carry arms. So the restriction to get a licence will continue even under the new Act; but we feel elated that, in spite of this, facilities will be afforded for all deserving people to carry arms, and that the class distinction recognised in the existing Act and the distrust of the Government in the loyalty of the people will disappear. We cannot understand how the enactment of repressive laws is in consonance with the amendment of the Arms Act in he way suggested. The Government of India alone must know it. — HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

The Madras City Municipal Bill and a special meeting of the Corporation.

105. Referring to the resolution which will be moved at the special meeting of the Madras Corporation to be held on the 4th March requesting the Government to withdraw the Madras City Municipal Bill as it is disappointing, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th February, writes in its leader:—. . . Officials are generally in the habit of saying that self-government cannot be successful without sufficient progress having been made in local self-government. The non-official members have requested the Government to afford an opportunity for the growth of local self-government. But the Government have refused to grant that request. The rejection of even such petty requests will only increase the disappointment prevailing among the people. The Madras City Municipal Bill will certainly be an eye-opener to those who think that it will be possible for the people to have their training in self-government at the hands of the bureaucracy. . . Even Doctor Nayar and his party — ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

are asking in wonder why the Madras Government should work out the Local Self-Government Act with such a narrow spirit.

The resolution to be moved in the Corporation represents the opinion of the people unambiguously. There are two essential conditions the fulfilment of which is necessary for the progress of local self-government. There must be ample funds, and the local bodies in question should have in their own hands the control over the expenditure of these funds. . . Happily, plague has not spread in the city. If it had spread, it is easy to imagine what a crisis the Corporation would have been called upon to face. It is the duty of the Government to afford every possible facility for the Corporation to increase its income, so that it may be in a position to discharge its responsibilities properly. But instead of increasing such facilities, the Municipal Bill would curtail the income of the Corporation by exempting the Port Trust buildings from taxation. . . Since the Bill thus violates the two important principles of local self-government it is only proper that the Corporation should resolve to request the Government to withdraw it. The *Justice* strongly supports this resolution. . . But however much we sympathize with the Nayar party in their attempts to promote the cause of local self-government, we are not so confident of the result, for we know that the authorities would care more for their own prestige than for popular opinion to accept which there is no sort of binding on them. . . We, therefore, wish that Doctor Nayar and his followers would realize the simple truth that the people cannot gain their desires however petty they may be, unless they get self-government and that they would earnestly work for its attainment.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 23rd Feb. 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

106. In criticizing the Criminal Law Amendment Bills, the *Hitakarini*, of the 23rd February, says:—The representatives of the people have emphatically pointed out the impropriety and danger of the provision by which the burden of proof is thrown on the accused. So long as the power of authority dominates the power of the people, public opinion cannot but be a cry in the wilderness. The Government knows how many innocent people have suffered horrible punishments under the Defence of India Act. Until the above-said provision is put into practice, its real nature cannot be understood. . . Though Sir Chandavarkar has emphatically represented that there has now been no necessity for the amendment of the Criminal Law, though the popular leaders have unanimously shown the red flag, and though the whole of India is sending protestation after protestation, the Government have made up their minds to run on the wheel of authority. This is improper. Commotion has already sprung up in the country. The people now surmise that the political reforms will not be in accordance with their wishes and that the Government have resorted to this device to stop agitation, to muzzle their mouths and to fetter their hands, with the idea that in the teeth of such repressive laws, the people will listen to whatever may be said to them. . . If the leaders of the people who opposed the introduction of the Bills should consent to serve as members of the Select Committee, they will betray their ficklemindedness, which will be taken advantage of by the Government in proclaiming the success of their cause. It is to be deemed that the frequent recurrence of such conduct on the part of popular leaders weakens their power. . . If once the Criminal Law Amendment Bills become law, they will find a permanent place in the statute book, even though they may be said to be temporary measures.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

Passive resistance.

107. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th March, publishes in English and Telugu the telegram showing the attitude of the *New Times* with reference to the declaration of passive resistance by Mr. Gandhi in respect of the Rowlatt Bills.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The Budget statement and the Imperial Legislative Council.

108. Referring to the draft Budget statement presented by the Financial Member in the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd March, observes in its leader:—. . . To calculate military expenditure to the same extent after the war as during it does not show any farsightedness on the part of the Financial Member. . . When the

Commission which was appointed to inquire into the economic condition of the enemy countries has also definitely stated that it would be impossible for Germany to wage another war in the near future, it does not look proper that the Financial Member should allot such a large amount for military expenditure. . . The land revenue for 1918–19 has shown a decrease by one million sterling. At such a critical juncture, Sir James Meston proposes to spend only £400,000 on irrigation. From this small amount which has been allotted for a branch most useful for the progress of the country, it will be easy to understand the character of the Budget. Sir James Meston ascribes this to financial weakness. But he proposes to spend 17¾ millions sterling on railways as against 12½ millions last year on the ground that the additional expenditure would improve Indian commerce. Indians have all along been complaining that such a heavy expenditure on railways to the detriment of agriculture will be productive of many evils. Anyhow, Sir James Meston's proposals cannot but be disappointing to the people in the country. It would be highly beneficial for India if the Indian gold standard reserve which is at present in England is transferred to India and the gold coins required for the country are prepared here. The Government's currency system should undergo a thorough change. Our readers will see how necessary it is for India to secure fiscal autonomy along with the privilege of self-government. . . . The condition of the country will surely go from bad to worse unless the power to control her export and import trade and to impose duties on foreign articles is soon granted. . . It must be said that the Budget statement is on the whole open to objection.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, March 1919.

The Sedition Bills.

109. Criticising the provisions of the first new Sedition Bill, the *Desabhimani* observes in its leader:— . . . The first Bill which will be the first boon to be conferred on India by the Government after the war, has for its object the introduction of certain alterations in the existing Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure. Chapter VI of the Penal Code which deals with sedition contains all the possible provisions which a foreign Government which does not enjoy the confidence of the ruled may like to see on its statute book, and it is already severe. It is not possible to find such severe punishments in any self-governing country. Such being the case, it is highly regrettable that attempts should be now made to render those provisions still more rigourous. It is nothing else than the misfortune of the people of India. . . It is proposed to add one more sub-section to section 124. The sub-section 124-A which is already in force is stringent enough, and was objected to by many well-known lawyers, when it was introduced. Under it, any criticism of the Government, in whatever good faith it may be written, is liable to be treated as sedition. If an Indian Civil Service officer happens to be the trying Judge, there can be no limit to the misfortune of the accused. Such severity cannot be met with in the Penal Code of any other country. . . The newly proposed sub-section becomes more drastic than the existing one by the definition of the word 'sedition' which it gives. Much of the present political literature in the country will become seditious matter under this definition. If any person is found to be in possession of any lectures of Lokamanya Tilak or any book containing extracts from those lectures, he will become liable for prosecution under the new sub-section. There is no doubt that such provisions will make the power of the bureaucrats boundless and will increase agitation in the country, besides curtailing the primary rights of the people. They will be subversive of the principles of British justice. . . Section 5 of the Bill makes it an admissible evidence to prove whether the accused has been formerly convicted for sedition or has associated himself with persons so convicted. A more regrettable provision there cannot be. Many of our political leaders such as Lokamanya Tilak, Mr. Bannerjea, and Mr. Pal have been convicted. If this Bill which penalises our association with such men should be passed into law, it is time for us to bid 'good-bye!' to our rights and give up all our hopes.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 30th Nov. 1918.

Self-determination.

110. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 30th November, writes:— . . . British Premier Mr. Lloyd George has sent a message to President Wilson, expressing his hope that England and America can work together in the Peace

Conference for the establishment of peace, freedom and democracy in the world. . . We should presume that the British Premier has used these words wholeheartedly and after due deliberation. If we are right in our presumption, he must try to introduce democracy in India soon. Otherwise, we shall be obliged to say that his message was only intended to please President Wilson with its grandiloquent statements. There seems to be no distinction drawn between the western and the eastern countries in the message of Mr. Lloyd George. . . He has also subscribed to the principle of self-determination. Some may argue whether a promise on the part of the ruling power to concede a democratic government in a decade or two would not be in accordance with that principle. It cannot be. To think so is a great blunder. When the Austrian Government made such a promise to the Czecho-Slavs, President Wilson has objected to it saying that it is only the form of Government desired by the people's representatives, when free from all sorts of restraints that will be in accordance with the principle of self-determination and not any responsible government which the ruling race may confer. . . It is understood that countries such as Mesopotamia, Arabia and Syria will be granted freedom in accordance with the principle of self-determination. In that case, are the people of India who can boast of a glorious civilisation doomed to pine under an absolute Government? Is it for this purpose that India has sacrificed her men and money? All the people should express their firm opinion that the principle of self-determination should be applied to India which has such ancient civilisation. O Indians! Let us not, therefore, lose this opportunity! . . .

Qaumi Report, Madras, 18th Feb. 1919.

The need of self-respect among Muhammadans.

111. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 18th February, referring to the question of separate Muhammadan representation at the Corporation which was rejected by the Government observes:—The Muhammadan community should, as a matter of duty, object to the procedure adopted by the Government by which the aims of the whole community are thwarted through Yaqub Hasan's camouflage.

The Hindus whom we dreaded had not worried us, nor spoken a word against us, but the Government from whom we had expected support of our cause, turned out to be unfavourable to us and broke the promise which it had made through its member before the Select Committee. Mr. Yaqub Hasan gave strong evidence of his independence by declaring before the Council "this is a case of promise breaking."

The community should now prepare itself and express its dissatisfaction and disappointment at the Government's refusal and should yet again knock at the door of the Council Chamber. Possibly the Government, which bears no malice against Muhammadans but persists in its policy owing to misunderstanding, may be convinced of the truth.

In conclusion the editor advises the community to send a deputation to His Excellency the Governor and in case of failure to approach the Government of India.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

The excitements over the Sedition law.

112. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 27th February, has a leader which is briefly to this effect:—When the Rowlatt Committee's report was published we criticised it. From a religious point of view it is a decree issued against the national aspirations and religious susceptibilities of Mussalmans. It contains reports on Mussalmans furnished by the Criminal Investigation Department.

The Committee has taken advantage of extraordinary events to prove the existence of sedition and anarchism in India, and now two laws have been framed based on the report. The attitude of the Government proves that there will be no delay in passing and bringing them into force.

There is no doubt that anarchism exists in certain parts of India in a marked degree, constituting a smouldering fire which we should strenuously endeavour to extinguish before it bursts forth into a flame, but we cannot allow that two laws should be framed on the report to deal with the evils of anarchism. The Honourable the Law Member says that loyal people should not oppose the measure. This is in our opinion an error in logic.

IV.—Native States.

113. Remarking that the appointment of Rao Bahadur T. Vijayaraghava Achariyar as Diwan of Cochin will cause general satisfaction to the people, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th February, observes:—It is in no way appropriate for the Anglo-Indians to wish that a European should be Diwan in a Native State. However it may be we congratulate His Highness the Raja of Cochin for his having secured an able Indian for his Diwan without getting beguiled by the Anglo-Indians.

The Diwan of Cochin.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

Adverting to this appointment, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th February, observes that it is the good fortune of the Cochin State to get, as its Diwan, one with the sterling qualifications of Rao Bahadur T. Vijayaraghava Achariyar.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 26th Feb. 1919.

Reviewing the administration of Cochin by Mr. Bhore, the outgoing Diwan, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 28th February, observes that though his administration did not exhibit any remarkable skill, yet it was on the whole fairly satisfactory. He steered the finances, clear of shoals and quicksands, in troublous times. He deserves praise in that the first experiment of a Christian Diwan for the Cochin State, which is governed by a Hindu Raja, could be carried out without any religious complications. Though his relations to the Nambudiri community could not be said to have been most cordial, some important steps for the diffusion of education among that community were taken during Mr. Bhore's administration.

The Diwan of Cochin.

Yogakshemam, Trichur, 28th Feb. 1919.

Referring to the appointment of Mr. T. Vijayaraghava Achari as the next Diwan of Cochin, it observes that in this case there is the consolation that the various industrial schemes planned by Mr. Bhore are now entrusted to the care of an experienced officer having expert knowledge of matters industrial.

The *Malayala Manorama*, of the 4th March, also observes that Mr. Bhore's administration was, on the whole, successful, and has laid the foundation for several big projects of lasting benefit to the State.

Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 4th Mar. 1919.

Adverting to the appointment of the new Diwan, it congratulates the people of Cochin in that the Madras Government did not find it possible to ignore the grievances of 83 per cent of the subjects of the State and accordingly strongly advised the Raja to appoint an officer from British service and in that the benevolent Raja accepted that advice.

114. Referring to the request of the Travancore people for the grant of greater power to them in the administration of their State, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th February, remarks: . . . It will be proper on the part of the ruler of the State to grant the wishes of his people, before unrest spreads among them. . .

Travancore and political reforms.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 27th Feb. 1919.

115. Referring to the prosperity of Kapurthala and to the policy of the Raja of appointing members of the Ruling house and the people of the State to important posts and of not importing officers from outside except on absolute necessity, the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 26th February, observes that the policy conduces to efficiency and may well be copied by other Native States under British protection.

The administration of Kapurthala.

Kerala Sanchari, Calicut, 26th Feb. 1919.

116. Referring to Sri Moolam Popular Assembly which recently closed a ten days' session at Trivandrum, the *Nazarani Deepika*, of the 28th February, while noting with satisfaction that the proposals made and the way of presenting them showed a marked improvement on previous years, regrets that the replies of the Diwan to such representations were, as usual, unsatisfactory, and thinks that in its present condition this assembly, which the people of Travancore would fain call the Parliament of Travancore, has no higher status than that of an assembly for presenting petitions. It points out in brief that this assembly has not been productive of the desired results, nor can be, until the necessary changes are made in the constitution of the assembly as well as in the method of conducting its business.

The Sri Moolam Popular Assembly.

Nazrani Deepika, Mannanam, 28th Feb. 1919.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum.

Writing on the same subject, the *Samadarsi* compliments the Diwan on the patient and tactful way in which he heard and replied to the representations of the members.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 28th Feb. 1919.

A note in the *Yoga'shemam*, of the 28th February, observes that if all the proposals made by members of the Sri Moolam Popular Assembly were accepted and carried out, Travancore would, in the course of the next year, be transformed into a second heaven. All imaginable counsels of perfection were brought forward but no one pointed out a gold mine to finance the schemes.

ERRATA.

Report No. 8.

Page 300, paragraph 127, line 5, *substitute* 'anxious' *for* 'concerned'.
,, 301 ,, 128 ,, 5, *substitute* 'gave' *for* 'has given'.
,, 301 ,, 128 ,, 10 *insert* 'a' before 'drastic'.
,, 301 ,, 129 ,, 14, *substitute* 'predominence of the' *for* 'predomination of'.

[Issued, 5th March 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 11 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 15th March 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

1. The *Hindu*, of the 11th March, writes:—"The position as set forth by the Chamber, thus reduces itself to this: that European businessmen, having business relations with the Corporation, have, in spite of this fact, in spite of the question of purity of administration involved in it, and in deliberate defiance of express provisions of law, been allowed to be members of the Corporation by the European executive heads of the Corporation and, presumably, by European Members of Council—allowed, be it remembered, in a manner not generally known to even the most prominent, long-standing and active of the Indian Members of the Corporation. This is a very ugly revelation, involving the reputation of European officers holding the highest appointments in the Presidency when matters relating to their community are dealt with by them. Were the assertions of the Chamber true, their significance cannot be mistaken; they would establish beyond all doubt that European officers do not overcome the weakness, perhaps natural, of shrinking from the even-handed administration of express mandates of law when the interests of their community come somewhat into conflict with such provisions."

Hindu, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

Municipal Commissioners and contracts.

(k) *General.*

2. The *Commonweal*, for the week ending 7th March, says:—"The Press Act has lately had another victim in Madras. This time it is a Tamil daily, *Desabhaktan*. . . . In its propaganda *Desabhaktan* has never once given utterance to seditious feelings. Yet this does not matter to the Press Act, which is as elastic as India rubber. In fact the articles which have been pointed out by the Madras Government as objectionable do not appear to us to warrant the action taken by the authorities. We trust it will be challenged in the law courts.

"This blow at the *Desabhaktan* is being strongly resented in all the Tamil districts."

Commonweal, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

The forfeiture of the British India Press security.

3. Writing under this heading the *Indian Patriot*, of the 8th March, observes:—"The Government has already appointed an influential committee to inquire into and report upon the advisability of reorganizing the services with a view to redressing the grievances of all. . . The personnel of the committee is rather discouraging, and the work they have set about to do remains shrouded in mystery. Witnesses are examined *in camera*, investigation is held *in camera* and the whole is a farce. We do not know what real purpose is served by such 'purdah' committees, which are paid out of public funds for little advantage. When it was announced amid a flourish of trumpets that a committee will be appointed to do solid work in the matter of finding ways and means to effectively organize the service, expectations ran high and enthusiasm was unbounded. But later performances have completely defeated the real purpose. Complaints have been made from several quarters with absolutely little effect, and the Government apparently is unmoved by public feeling.

Indian Patriot, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

Medical Services in India.

The *Hindu*, of the 12th March, says:—"The Indian Medical Service is twin-brother to the Indian Civil Service; it enjoys similar rights, privileges, and immunities; its might and influence are as potent and great as those of the heaven-born service, and no power on earth can shake its position in the scheme of things in India. It is a pampered service which has been allowed octopus like to spread its tentacles over a wide area and tighten its grasp on whatever it holds. . . Interested agitation is carried on in England and in India on behalf of the close

Hindu, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

service only to obtain increase of pay, and a policy of surrender to this ignoble cry cannot by any means turn mediocres into efficient men. We are far from sanguine, however, that the packed committee consisting of two members of the Indian Civil Service, nine members belonging to the Army and the Indian Medical Service and one independent medical practitioner introduced by way of sop, will take a just, comprehensive and equitable view of the whole question with special reference to Indian interests and the claims of indigenous talent. Indians have been taught by sad experience not to put much faith in committees and commissions and when they work in secret conclave, take evidence in private and shut out all light from outside, the prospect of a satisfactory scheme being evolved becomes remoter still."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The Tramway strike.

4. The following appears in *New India*, of the 11th March:—"The Tramway strike, the attendant inconveniences to the public and the misery to the hundreds of workmen, is a fresh reminder of the unnatural way in which India is being at present exploited. We do not think the strike would have occurred if the Board of Directors had been in India, or had been Indians. . . . Finally, they are not Indians, and therefore cannot be expected to look at problems from the same standpoint as the countrymen of the suffering labourers. . . . Is it not abnormal, if not monstrous, that a few individuals living thousands of miles away in a distant land, should control such an institution? The arrangement is of course very convenient to the captalists. They are immune from the influence of public opinion, which cannot make itself felt even through the Government. . . . Uncontrolled captalists are a positive danger all over the world. That is the experience of even the most democratic countries; and in India, the captalists are even more secure by reason of their convenient position in a distant country."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The Indian Civil Service and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

5. Writing under the heading "the Revolt of the Indian Civil Service," *New India*, of the 11th March, observes:—"It is significant that the Government pretends not to have noticed it till the non-official members of the Legislative Council actually questioned the Government on the subject. This demonstrates in the most glaring manner how far our executive or the bureaucracy at present is guided by public opinion, as expressed in the widely circulated and responsible Indian journals in the country. Its attention is drawn to these papers only when they keep up a persistent agitation till the Government feel uncomfortable, and then they wreak their vengeance by using the Press Act, forfeit the security and impose a new one so heavy that few presses in India can afford to live at such a price, or forfeit the press on the next occasion if the press can somehow manage to satisfy the executive's new and higher demand. Anyway public opinion is being disregarded by the authorities in the most flagrant manner—the latest and the most notorious instance being the conspiracy of the Indian Civil Service in this Presidency. This is therefore an additional and strong reason why such a bureaucracy does not deserve to be in charge any longer of the destinies of this country. . . But what steps do the Government intend to take at the attempt for conspiracy? Are the Indian Civil Service to go scot-free especially in a matter so vital as this?"

MYSORE PATRIOT, Mysore, 11th Mar. 1919.

India and the Peace Conference.

6. The *Mysore Patriot*, for the week ending 11th March, states:—"The position of India under the scheme of the *League of Nations* is highly anamolous. Article 7 of the Covenant excludes India from being admitted into the *League of Nations* by confining it only to the fully self-governing countries, including the dominions and the colonies. . . India has every right to be represented in the Peace Conference. It has a right to sign the peace treaty and yet it will not be represented in and will not form part of that *League of Nations* which will be an integral part of the same peace treaty. Can this be tolerated? Is not India as much entitled to sit on this *League of Nations* as it is on the Peace Conference?. . . India will raise a storm of agitation and shower a volley of protests, as our contemporary of *the Mahratta* says, if the Peace Conference will not recognize its claims."

III.—Legislation.

Mr. Gandhi and the Rowlatt Bills.

7. The *South Indian Mail*, for the week ending 3rd March, remarks:— "Mr. Gandhi rightly points out that the Rowlatt Bills block all progress. . . The remedy suggested by Mr. Gandhi is to refuse civilly to disobey them, Mr. Gandhi has studied the conditions very closely and has come to the conclusion that civil disobedience to law is the only remedy. This is passive resistance of a vigorous type and unless that drastic remedy is applied the disease in the governing body cannot be got rid of. . . We believe that in his endeavour to rally round his banner all the elements of progress, he will be heartily supported by the people in this country. The step indicates that the constitutional fight between the bureaucracy and the people is to be of a stubborn kind."

South Indian Mail, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The *Wednesdny Review*, for the week ending 5th March, has the following:— "Sanity in politics is almost a lost virtue in India just now and it is, therefore, a little gratifying to know that leaders like Sir Dinshaw Wacha have expressed their disapprobation of Mr. Gandhi's threat to organize a passive resistance movement if the Rowlatt Bills became law. . . It is amusing to see that the Viceroy has been so alarmed by the threat that His Excellency is reported to have invited Mr. Gandhi for an interview. The policy of placating those who hold out threats of sorts to the Government and parleying with them while ignoring responsible leaders who are anxious to co-operate with the Government, not to curry favour at their hands but to uphold law and order in the interests of the country, has been carried to rediculous lengths and it is time the Government gave it up in favour of something more rational and dignified. . . If the Government are anxious to uphold their authority, they must put their foot down upon movements of this kind and not enter into pourparlers with those who threaten to organize them. As we have said, we do not think much of Mr. Gandhi's threat.

Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly, 5th Mar. 1919.

The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 6th March, writes:—"We would have regarded the talk of passive resistance as mere bluff and bluster, but we cannot get over the fact that it is Mohanlal Gandhi who has talked of passive resistance. He is far above the Indian politician of the Congress platform and the market place. There is no jesuitry or sophistry about him and he generally means what he says. And when he goes out there will be many to follow him. We have absolutely no sympathy for passive resistance, but facts are facts to which we cannot close our eyes. The 'Monford' scheme is the issue, and the moment that is mutilitated and the Sydenhamites succeed there will break out in India an agitation, call it artificial if you will, which they will not be able easily to quell."

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 6th Mar. 1919.

In a leader under the heading "Mailed Fist Revealed" the *Nationalist*, for the week ending 9th March, observes:—"Mahatma Gandhi has had an interview with the Viceroy. It was not an interview sought by the Prince of Passive Resisters. It was an interview offered by the Indian Pro-Consul who really felt that the name of the Mahatma was a name to conjure with, only if it could be acquired for one's own cause. Lord Chelmsford has failed in his endeavour. . . . No officer of the crown shall have the right hereafter to say that the people of the country have undertaken extensive opposition without due notice to the Government. Lord Chelmsford, who ought to have known better, is reported to have characterized Mr. Gandhi's appeal to passive resistance as hasty. If there is one leader of India, who is never open to the charge of haste, it is Mahatma Gandhi. He is no fussy politician. He is no *enemy* of the European. He is really the cool, calm, Mount Kailas. . . . Lord Chelmsford seems inclined to believe that the foundations of British Government in India are based on physical force. His Rowlatt Bills and his hardhearted budget taken together with this wonderful indication of his iron fist, make it clear that he is after all an exponent of the conquest theory. We must thank His Excellency for making this clear; and reply, unequivocally with Gandhi that if force should be the basis of the British Government in India then all India should be considered disloyal."

Nationalist, Madras, 9th Mar. 1919.

COMMONWEAL, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

8. The *Commonweal*, for the week ending 7th March, observes:—"The Rowlatt Bills have emerged from their committee stage. But in measures of such a character as these Bills, subversive as they are of all elementary principles of civilized jurisprudence, no changes in the committee can be of much avail. . . When all is said, the essentially objectionable features of the Bill remain, namely, the substitution and predominance of the executive over the judiciary. . . So in no way are the Bills made less unacceptable. They cannot be because the difference, between the Government and the people, in this matter, is really one of principle."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

New India, of the 10th March, observes:—"Persecution for religious opinion has not quite disappeared in England; persecution for political opinion is still active in India, where a foreign Government regards 'absence of affection' as sedition, and criticism of officials to be 'prejudicial to public safety'.

"The result of bad man-made laws during the middle ages in Europe was the suffering of thousands upon thousands for heresy, religious and scientific, and the consequent opposition between 'Liberty' and 'Law'; such opposition threatens the very existence of society where liberty is rightly exercised and law is morally illegitimate, until liberty is established; it is always dangerous, even where necessary, to that reverence for law which is the fundamental difference between a civilized and a barbarous State. To strike at that reverence by substituting the arbitrary will of the executive for the supremacy of the judiciary, and to place unbridled power in the hands of the ruler of the State to restrain the liberty of the subject and to confiscate his property, is one of the worst crimes which a Government can commit. When this is done by a foreign autocrat at the head of an obedient bureaucracy, against the unanimous opinion of the representatives of the nation—such restricted representation as is permitted—it poisons reverence for law, the only safeguard of society against anarchy, at its very source. It consecrates anarchy over a whole nation under the pretence of curbing the anarchy of a few."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

In a second article under the heading "Laws" *New India*, of the 11th March, says:—"In the mind of the Briton Liberty and Law are—or were?—interdependent. If all attempts to change a bad law legally fail, then recourse must be had to breaking it."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

In the third article on this subject, *New India*, of the 12th March, observes:—"In ancient India, all human laws were seen as subordinate to the supreme law, Dharma, and as deriving their sanctity from their agreement with it. . . During the last century and a half, foreign rule—changing the laws, passing laws not understood that created new and unintelligible offences, laws not founded on Dharma but ignoring it, the passing of coercive and unjust laws incompatible with the protection owed by rulers to the people, and the unfair administration of laws as between members of the ruling and of the subject race—has weakened among Indians their old reverence for law. Their natural tendency to resist passively rather than actively and to appeal to God against injustice rather than to man has been increased by their helplessness through disarmament and by the success of local 'passive resistance'. Hence the general welcome extended to Mahatma Gandhi's appeal."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

Rowlattism and passive resistance.

9. *New India*, of the 12th March, has the following:—"We presume, on the excellent authority of the London *Times*, that England has been accustomed to rule herself for thousands of years and that her people have made their own laws; and yet these have not only been resisted, but because her kings would not tolerate a breach of what was considered by a minority as unjust law, one was brought to the block and the other sent into exile. This is a much more rigorous remedy, it will be agreed that the sober Indian method of Satyagraha when their circumstances are infinitely more provocative than the English circumstances of the seventeenth century."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Coolies in Ceylon.

10. A correspondent from Ceylon writing to the *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th March, observes that the planters in Ceylon appear to have influenced the Government of Madras through the Government of Ceylon, to remove the restrictions preventing the coolies from emigrating to that place, and remarks:—If at the time of removing these restrictions, popular leaders had been consulted, we in Ceylon might have attempted to get rid of the restrictions in the laws relating to labour here. When Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai recently came here, he took evidence to the effect that the Superintendent of an estate stripped an Indian girl working as a coolie in that estate of her cloth up to the waist and whipped her severely for the fault of not having cleaned a rubber cup. In addition to many such hardships, the places they live in are very small and their wages vary from only $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 annas a day. In some plantations even children of 10 years are made to work. The Indian coolies should be prevented from emigrating to Ceylon until such hardships are removed.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The German colonies.

11. Adverting to a statement recently made by Sir Frederick Smith in England, that none of these colonies can be restored to the Germans and that Mesopotamia, which is a fertile tract of land, should be retained to make good the expenses of the war, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th March, writes:—Brethren, what should we learn from this? Have you noted that Sir Frederick Smith has not realised that he has in him to a very large extent the very feature for which he found fault with the Germans? Has not Sir Frederick Smith spoken contrary to the principles of the League of Nations.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

India and the Peace Conference.

12. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th March, observes:—After all, it appears there is no representative for the Indians in the Peace Conference. Though Lord Sinha was one who was not elected by the Indians, there was some consolation in that he is an Indian. But having been appointed as the Under Secretary of State for India and raised to the Peerage, it is said that he has become ineligible to hold a seat in the Peace Conference. Mr. Montagu has now appointed himself as the representative of India! This is really curious. But it is more curious to see that our people are merely witnessing such things. Our humble opinion is that for the 25 crores of people in British India there should be 25 representatives in the Conference. But we do not know whether we should laugh or weep, when we see that there is not even a single representative for us. Human beings should not put up with such a condition.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

The League of Nations.

13. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 10th March, observes:—The proposed League of Nations may as well be called the League of White Nations In the world the white races are a few, while the coloured ones are very numerous. It is stated that the few white races are to control and hold sway over the innumerable coloured races and look to their progress. We thought that the European war had come to an end. We never dreamt that a struggle of this kind would come into existence between the whites and the coloured races.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 10th March 1919.

Observing that it is the object of the League of Nations to devise suitable measures for properly acquitting the onerous responsibility of taking under protection the people who cannot stand by themselves and look after their own interests, and that those who, by virtue of their material resources and other worldly status, are competent to discharge this responsibility should, it is said, be monitors of the inexperienced people on behalf of the League, the *Hindu Nesan*,

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 10th March 1919.

of the 10th March, observes:—If so, what has become of the statement of Mr. Lloyd George that the German colonies in Africa will, in point of administration, act according to their own determination? Perhaps, it served only to enable those colonies from severing their connexion with Germany. The regulations of the League require that the monitors should be appointed by the League and those monitors are not only to protect the interests of the people in their charge but have also to rectify their moral codes. As the monitors are only whites, will they not try to effect reforms according to their own views? Will they permit the erection of forts and fortifications? Will the military training given be restricted only for police *bandobast* and for the defence of the country, or will it be extended further? Will they keep those subjects untrained in the use of arms as in India? If so, those subjects should continue to be for ever under the control of those white monitors.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 8th Mar. 1919.

The League of Nations.

Continuing its criticism of the League of Nations, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 8th March, observes in its leader:—. . . There is no harm in each nation manufacturing in its country the articles required by it. But more than a half of this labour is being contributed with an eye upon the money of the people in Asia and Africa. Britain uses only 10 per cent of the articles manufactured in Manchester, the balance being utilised to meet the demands of Asia. When the Asiatics themselves begin to produce the cloths required by them, what is to become of the 90 per cent of labourers in Manchester? . . . The League of Nations now advocates the policy of gaining the money of foreign countries through commerce. It maintains that the wages of labourers should be the same in every country. This is altogether impossible. . .

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 11th Mar. 1919.

The League of Nations.

A writer in the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 11th March, observes:—We had thought President Wilson to be an incarnate being when he propounded the scheme of the League of Nations But these thoughts about him are disappearing fast like the clouds of mist before the morning sun. It is now clear that the Westerners are a selfish people and that the League of Nation is only a league of the stronger powers. Even schoolboys are ridiculing the trend of the Peace Conference where selfishness predominates. "Are they so meek a race as the Indians to give up their greed of women, gold and land"? Ask some people. The smaller nations of Europe are beginning to say that they would have nothing to do with the bigger nations. America entered the war because she thought Germany would prove a menace to herself if she triumphed in Europe. President Wilson professed to establish justice. Germany and her allies, either because she feared this would be so, or perhaps for some other reason, surrendered. The true nature of the Westerners is now becoming evident, and we now see that what President Wilson said is all jugglery. President Wilson, even before the league was formed, saw that his object was gained and returned to America after receiving all honours from the Allies. Revolutions bigger than those that can be seen at present are impending. Discontent is at its highest in every country. Bolshevism is spreading everywhere and the lives of autocrats are being aimed at. Bolshevism is spreading even into Moslem territory. The Amir who was a staunch ally of the British was assassinated and this untimely death has created grave fears. To ward off all these evils it is imperative that the League of Nations should be established, but before this can be done, the Allies should recognise the principle of the gretest happiness of the greatest number. It is believed that unless the Allies realise this, the world can possibly have no peace and happiness.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

The King of Italy.

14. Referring to the reported murder of the King of Italy and the subsequent refutation of the same by Reuter, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th March, remarks that information is being constantly received of such barbarous acts as the murder of kings and the torture of women in Europe and adds:—Though Europe is said to be advanced in civilisation, numerous are the murders and other wicked acts committed there, and the reason for this is only the absence of a spiritual feeling in that continent, which has been long in existence in India, and avoiding such occurrences here. In this matter, Europe has to follow India and learn a lesson at her feet.

15. Reiterating that attempts are being made to oust from Krugerstorf near Johanesburg in South Africa the Indian merchants who have been there for a long time, the *Desabhaktan*. of the 11th March, writes:—Mr. Horniman sent to the Viceroy a telegram which he received from the British Indian Association in Transvaal and the Government of India have merely acknowledged the receipt of it. What does this signify? Perhaps the Government of India will help the ousting of the Indian merchants from South Africa and the colonization of those parts by the whites.

The Indians in South Africa.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

16. Referring to the draft rules of the League of Nations, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th March observes in its leader under this heading:—. . . The draft rules of the League of Nations have been published. They are disappointing to all those who have been hoping that a new era would dawn. The suspicion arises whether the grand ideas of Doctor Wilson have, after all, proved to be pious wishes only. . . The whiteman's burden is sure to continue in the future also and the white nations cannot help acting the trustees and guardians of Africa and Asia. . . The League of Nations turns out to be a League of White Nations.

Pious wishes.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

It is no wonder that there should be disappointment in these circumstances about the reconstruction of the world. It seems doubtful whether even the Americans have any faith in the results of the peace. They are making every effort to increase their navy and to make it second to none. From the cables received of late, it does not seem that either the republicans or the democrats in America have been satisfied with the proceedings of the Peace Conference. . . . Other nations than the white races should be allowed representation on the League of Nations. The Peace Conference does not appear to consider the question of dependent nations. . . The statement of President Wilson that Ireland can have no place in the League of Nations, that the Peace Conference cannot do anything with regard to the Irish ploblem, and that it should be settled by England and Ireland between themselves cannot but be disappointing. When the colonies have been accorded each a separate place in the League of Nations, it is not understood why India and Ireland should be refused the same privilege. The proposals of Doctor Wilson point out that it is necessary to grant the right of self-determination to every nation. Freedom is being granted to many parts under the enemy domination in accordance with those proposals. When the independence of Poland has been recognized by Britain, why should not the Peace Conference urge the necessity of applying the principle of self-determination to countries like India, Egypt and Ireland? Why should there be exceptions to general rules? Since the rules of the League are still draft rules, they require to be further discussed and finally settled at the Peace Conference. Doctor Wilson should ascertain the opinions prevailing in various countries on these draft rules.

17. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th March, writes with reference to the League of Nations:— . . . The League of Nations will surely require force to enforce the observance of its rules. It cannot be asserted that the League will use this force for the attainment of freedom by every nation and for the establishment of the well-being of the world. . . The League decides that Britain should be the mandatory of the Western and Central Asia and that Japan is to be the mandatory of the Eastern. This decision leaves the dependent condition of countries like India, Arabia, Persia and Mesopotamia quite intact. When the League thus follows the principle of might for which Germany has been condemned, there is no wonder in thinking men having their own suspicions about the triumph of justice and about the establishment of everlasting peace. . . The cries of a dependent country like India may not be heeded. But the complaints of Persia which has been a free country deserve consideration. The rules of the League itself will clearly show that the nations which have joined it are all concerned about their own interests and not at all about those of dependent countries, and that they are not prepared to make any sacrifice for the establishment of justice. They are keenly devoted to the increase of their own

The state of the world.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

wealth, power and commerce. . . Is the League following the principles laid down by such eminent men as President Wilson and Mr. Asquith for the preservation of the rights and freedom of every nation in the world? Though these principles are observed to some extent with regard to the white nations, they are not at all being applied to the coloured races. . . The revolution now spreading in the European countries causes terror to the whole world. Whereas the havoc of the war was confined to the actual fighting area, the consequences of this social revolution are being felt in every house and village. Those who pose as the preachers of the world will do well to first set their own nations and countries in order. That those who cannot redeem themselves should try to redeem others is none but a figment of arrogance. . . Countries like Germany, Austria and Russia which were once reputed for efficient constitutions are now scenes of the worst chaos and revolution. . . The present European revolution shows that the very fundamental principles on which society is based there, are entirely defective. That, in these circumstances, the European nations should dare to be the mandatories of the eastern countries clearly proves the arrogance which is so natural to those nations. . . Proper economic adjustment is the key for the peace and well-being of the world. When there is food enough, there will be salvation also. It is money which is the main cause for all jealousies and quarrels in the world. . . It is impossible for the League of Nations, prompted as it is by self-interest, to be of any use in maintaining its own reputation for justice or in establishing justice all over the world.

Sudarsini, Viswasarayapuram, 15th Feb. 1919.

Peace negotiations.

18. In its leader under this heading, the *Sudarsini*, of the 15th February, writes:— . . . It is clear from the cables received so far that the Germans have been delaying the fulfilment of the armistice terms with some motive. The French Press doubts the wisdom of the Allies in disbanding their forces, while millions of soldiers are still kept in uniform in Germany. . . But the British strongly assert that the armistice terms imposed on Germany by the Allies are such that they will disable her for a long time to come, from waging another war. In whose words are we to believe? The present critical position and the recent proceedings of the Peace Conference lead us to doubt whether the French have, after all, greater political sagacity. It is, no doubt, right that every nation should care for its own interests in the Peace Conference, but it does not seem proper that some should make proposals which go against the principles laid down by Doctor Wilson. . . It is regrettable that those who are for having no more wars in future should be the first to increase their naval and military forces. . .

II.—Home Administration.

(*c*) *Jails.*

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

The Jail administration.

19. Referring, with satisfaction, to the announcement made by Lord Chelmsford regarding the proposed appointment of a Commission to inquire into the Jail administration, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 6th March, observes:—There are many reforms yet to be effected in the Jail administration. All the cruel actions committed within the jail premises do not become public. They cannot be brought to light unless a careful investigation is made by a Commission. It is but appropriate to have Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, who has very carefully studied the question, as one of the non-official members comprising the Commission.

(*d*) *Education.*

Samadarsi, Trivandrum, 26th Feb. 1919.

Madras education.

20. In an article under the heading 'Educational matters', a correspondent of the *Samadarsi*, of the 26th February, refers to the Madras report on education for the last year, deplores the fewness of schools and the low percentage of school-going children in this Presidency, and points out by reference to statistics that the Madras Presidency lags far behind Travancore (and other Native States) in educational progress, and that this comparison discloses the advantages or disadvantages of foreign rule. He notes the fall in number of secondary schools and the fall in

strength of industrial and technical schools and draws attention to the fact that for the education of an Indian pupil the Government do not spend even a seventeenth part of what they spend for a European pupil and observes that this is an instance in point of the 'impartiality' of the Government of Madras. He also refers to a similar inequality in the pay of teachers in Indian schools and European schools and to the desirability of the Government doing something to ameliorate the condition of the helpless poor, and says:—The Madras Government have yet to do several things in the matter of education. When Native States, like Baroda, Travancore and Mysore, have made great progress in education and are still earnestly trying to advance, is it not disgraceful that the people of other parts of India should continue ignorant and weak?

(*h*) *Railways.*

Railway administration.

21. Referring to the railway administration report for 1917–18, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th March, observes:— Though the traffic in goods and passengers has decreased during the year, the receipts have increased and almost every item connected with the railway administration has a tendency to increase. Similarly, the difficulties of the third-class passengers have also increased, inasmuch as the railway fare has risen, tickets have to be secured only with very great difficulty and the overcrowding in carriages has also become greater than before. From the statement in the report itself that, though several reforms have been effected during the past few years to remove these hardships, it must be admitted that several other matters requiring improvement have yet to be attended to, it is apparent that the managers are not unaware of the difficulties of the passengers. It is not known when these difficulties will cease to be. Why should not the fare be reduced at this famine-time? There does not seem to be any sign of its reduction even next year. It is stated in the report that the increase in the fares has been made in view to reduce journey by railways. Why not the procedure now adopted of refusing the issue of tickets beyond the number for which accommodation is available, be followed after the reduction of fares? We trust that the authorities will pay attention to the matter and afford relief; 177½ lakhs of pounds have been provided in the budget for the ensuing year for the construction of new lines of railway, and at this stressful situation it is not desirable to lay new lines at such a heavy cost. It is, however, proper that a provision of 65 lakhs has been made for remedying the defects in the old lines. If this expenditure is mainly incurred on the improvement of facilities for internal transport in India, the present difficulties of the people will decrease at least after a year. If, on the other hand, it is incurred on items calculated to provide facilities for quickly transporting the raw products of India to sea-ports with a view to assist the industrialists in foreign countries, there will be no hope for our difficulties to minimise. It behoves the Government to see that the railway administration is carried on more for securing the happiness of the people and the advancement of the industries of the country, than for securing large income. But, considering the fact, that, during the past four years from 1914–15, the railway administration has been so conducted as to result in a steady increase of the net profit after the payment of interest on the capital, one has to conclude that the primary object, namely, that of promoting the interests of the country by means of these railways has been lost sight of, and that the yearly increasing profit has become the chief consideration. We think, therefore, that the Government should determine what exactly should be the object of the railway administration.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

Paddy on railway platforms.

22. Referring to the complaints from merchants of Rajahmundry, Madras and some other places that lakhs of paddy bags have been lying on railway platforms for about 40 days, without being exported, and that they are all becoming spoiled, the *Andhraprakasi a*, of the 5th March, remarks:— . . . The authorities should consider these facts well, and leave no room for repentence afterwards, by running a special train at least till all the paddy bags thus lying on platforms are exported.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

(*k*) *General.*

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Feb. 1919.

A hymn in praise of mother Bharata.

23. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th February, publishes a number of verses, from the pen of a correspondent in praise of mother Bharata, one of which is to the following effect:—What is the use of the hand that does not worship the sacred feet of our mother, who shines as the sun to dispel the darkness of the bureaucracy, which does not favour the idea of conferring sweet home-rule on all people alike.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

The Imperial budget for 1919–20.

24. Remarking that nearly a half of the total anticipated revenues of the Government of India for the next year is set apart for military expenditure, the *Swadesamtran*, of the 3rd March, observes:—It is because the military expenditure during the past several years has been absorbing half the total revenues, sufficient funds are not available for purposes conducive to the advancement of the country. It is justifiable that a large military expenditure should have been incurred during the past three years as the war was raging, but it is most painful that this expenditure should increase even after the successful termination of the war. Evidently Sir James Meston has realised this for he has stated that out of the 412 lakhs of pounds to be incurred in connexion with the army, 87 lakhs have to be spent on account of increased expenditure undertaken in September last, and that after that is completely defrayed, military expenditure will come back to normal conditions. As this excess has to be met in parts every year, it will have to be incurred for two more years; meanwhile, we do not know what changes may take place in the military conditions and what new items of expenditure will have to be met. Past experience shows that military expenditure of the Government of India has only been increasing year after year. This expenditure is incurred not only to protect India's safety but also in view of the welfare of the British Empire. India has, however, to bear the whole charge. Two hundred and forty lakhs of pounds have been set apart for the construction of railways. Though the extension of railway lines is advantageous, still those advantages are shared by the European merchants and owners of factories in a greater proportion than the Indians. By such extension, increased opportunities are afforded for the articles made in the factories in Europe being brought over to the nooks and corners of India for sale. We are not unmindful, however, of the fact that this extension of railways will also be conducive to the improvement of the industries of this country But it is preposterous to speak of railways being conducive to the growth of industries before steps are taken to start the industries. Irrigation works will confer more lasting benefits on the country than railways; but only four lakhs of pounds have been set apart under this head. The increase and the improvement of irrigation facilities will add to the economic resources of India, while the increase of railways would only afford means for foreigners to drain the wealth of India. The necessity for laying out railways at such a financial stress as the present is not apparent. Slight relief will, of course, be afforded to a large number of persons as the result of the taxable minimum being fixed at Rs. 2,000 for income-tax purposes. While the Government of India are taking this step, it is noteworthy that the Government of Madras are amending the Madras City Municipal Act so as to make all residents in the city with an income of Rs. 500 and above liable to profession tax. The people should feel grateful to the Government of India for having accorded permission to provincial governments to utilize their surpluses on the improvement of education, industries, and forests, in view of the altered conditions of the war. Our attempts to ransack the budget figures to find out whether the Government, who decided, in view of the present high prices, not to levy income-tax on persons with a poor income of Rs. 1,000, have reduced the salt tax which oppresses even those with an income of less than Rs. 1,000, have not been successful. Though the Government reduced this tax only a few years ago, raised it soon after the war broke out. Why was it not reduced again after the close of the war? The Government have resolved to borrow 15 crores of rupees even next year. It is no doubt true that money is required to pay up some of the old loans. Cannot these loans be discharged by curtailing military and railway expenditure without going in for fresh loans? Sir James has stated that, in consideration of the expenditure to be incurred in

the interests of this country, expenses on unnecessary items should be minimsed. Indeed, this is a good maxim; but why can it not be brought into practice? Is it necessary to spend 45 lakhs of rupees for the new Delhi? Can that not be postponed? Cannot increased expenditure be incurred on irrigation works yielding revenue, deferring at the same time expenditure on items yielding no revenue? It does not appear, from the Budget estimate, that Sir James has realised the stressful condition of the people.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

Adverting to this budget, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 4th March, observes:—The important lesson we learnt from the European war is the truth that both the Government and the people can practise economy giving up the old practice of spending on unnecessary items. Sir James says that we should be sparing in our expenditure in accordance with this lesson. Is it proper economy to incur heavy expenditure on the army, the railways and the salaries of big officials and curtail the expenditure incurred in view of the welfare of the people and of their material prosperity?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th March, also refers to this subject and, while expressing its satisfaction at the proposal to raise the taxable minimum under the Income-tax Act to Rs. 2,000, remarks that this is not a mighty help to the tax-payers who have been undergoing much suffering for the last four years and says:—It is regrettabe that the budget should have been introduced in the Imperial Council at this juncture when the whole country is busy condemning the Rowlatt Bills. All the same the budget should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. The military expenditure should be reduced at least a little. Our opinion is that, if the budget is approved by the Legislative Council without any alteration, the financial position will become slightly difficult.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 5th March, thinks that the budget estimate has been prepared in a liberal spirit to relieve the distress of the people and expresses its satisfaction at the statement of the Finance member that the taxable minimum for income-tax purposes will be raised to Rs. 2,000.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

The Imperial budget.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th March, observes:—The Government of India are spending the revenues of India blindly as they like. There is none to check or question them. Before the war the Government were pleading want of funds for the improvement of industries and education, and when the war commenced, they said that India's advancement was impeded by it. Now even when the war has ended, they have disregarded such items as industries and education. The reason for India's income not being spent for the advancement of the Indians is the irresponsible system of administration prevailing. How long are the Indians to put up with such a system? In the budget recently presented in the Imperial Legislative Council, it is stated that half the total revenues of India will be set apart for military expenditure. Our friends will certainly tremble to note this. Military expenditure has been increasing year after year, and the Government have estimated that in 1919–20, it will come up to about 48¼ crores of rupees. This expenditure will only go on increasing. Should we state that, if Indian revenues are thus spent, the progress of the Indians will be but a dream?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 8th March 1919, reproduces in Tamil the sentiments of the *Hindu* of the 5th idem under the heading 'Military expenditure'.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

Imperial budget.

Adverting to the statement of Sir Dinshaw Watcha at the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, that this budget has been very skilfully drawn and that it is necessary to spend more money for the military and the railways, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th March, observes:—Perhaps Sir Dinshaw thought that be need not give proper reasons for the latter part of his statement. He glorified himself saying that for the last fifty years he had been condemning military expenditure. We do not belittle his greatness or experience in this matter. However we cannot but note that the reason for his speaking in support of the military expenditure in the budget is a very trivial one. Sir Dinshaw said that the military expenditure might be curtailed next year or the year after the next. We say that his observation is wrong. Sir James Meston has not even hinted that this expenditure may go down in future years. That Sir Dinshaw Wacha should, under these

circumstances, speak in support of the military expenditure of the year is only madness.

Mysore Star, Mysore, 9th Mar. 1919.

The Imperial budget.

The *Mysore Star*, of the 9th March, writes:—It is becoming more and more evident that the military expenditure will be steadily rising year after year despite the plaintive representations of all classes of people that this burden should be lessened. Railway extension has received an allotment of £17,75,000, which is unprecedented. It is grossly unjust that irrigation works which are so indispensable to the economic advancement of the country have received only 4 lakhs sterling. As regards the importance of educational progress the Finance Member has shown only lip sympathy. Neither education nor sanitation has received liberal provision in the budget. It is a welcome piece of news, however, that incomes up to Rs. 2,000 will be free from tax. From the tone of the Finance Member in regard to the currency question, deploring the melting and hoarding up of coins, we may expect that even nickel rupees might be introduced.

Malayali, Quilon, 8th Mar. 1919.

Indian Budget for 1919–20.

A note in the *Malayali*, of the 8th March, says:—It is to be regretted that the Indian Budget for 1919–20 is seen to have caused public disappointment. The huge figures under the heading 'Military expenditure' is causing great alarm among the people.

Another note in the *Malayali*, of the 8th March, approves of the raising of the minimum taxable income under the Income-tax Act to Rs 2,000 per annum.

Manorama, Calicut, 4th Mar. 1919 & Kerala Sanchari, Calicut, 5th Mar. 1919.

The Imperial Budget for 1919–1920.

Referring to the Imperial Budget for 1919–1920, the *Manorama*, of the 4th March, and the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 5th March, point out that while no additional amount has been set apart for education and the allotment for irrigation purposes has been reduced, the amount under the head military expenditure has been doubled, and they think that the raising of the minimum taxable income under the Income-tax Act to Rs. 2,000 is the only relieving feature of the budget in question. The former adds that the Hon'ble Members will not pass the budget as it is.

Yogakshemam, Trichur, 7th Mar. 1919.

Writing on the same subject, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 7th March, points out that while nearly three-fourths of the revenue has been absorbed for military expenditure, it has not been made clear why such a large army should be maintained in spite of the conclusion of the war and that the allotment of such a large sum for military expenditure has caused the Government to be miserly in the matter of education and sanitation. It also takes exception to the allotment of 240 lakhs for the extension of railways.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

The Imperial Legislative Council and the Budget criticism.

Commenting on the Budget statement presented in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th March, observes:—. . . It is true that the extension of railways would be beneficial for European merchants and millionaires. As has been pointed out by the Honb'le Mr. Sarma, it is but just that expenditure on irrigation should have a superior claim over that on railways. . . It is a great drawback that the economic resources of the country should be utilized not for the prosperity of the country but for the benefit of foreign merchants. . . Neither the criticisms of the members nor the defence of the Finance Member reveal any special technical knowledge. The reason for this is to be found in character of the Budget itself.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

India Office.

25. In a lengthy article under this heading the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 1st March, makes the following observations among others:—The Indians demand that the India office should be abolised as, in their opinion, it stands in the way of the Government of India being reformed. The majority of those belonging to this office aim at keeping the Indians as slaves. They think that the Indians have not the capacity and training to conduct the administration of a country and that they are governing India only for the welfare of the Indians. Such a view is greatly prejudicial to the progress of India. The efforts of our people to abolish the India office have, however, proved futile on account of the narrow-mindedness of the Indian Civil Service officers. . . It must be said that, by the appointment

of Indian popular representatives as members of the India Council, the members of the India office will become somewhat liberal-minded in respect of Indian affairs, and that the selection of Anglo-Indians, who were serving in India will only be transporting to the India office their long-cherished administrative principles and prejudices. We trust that much good will result by increasing the number of the Indian members on the Council of the Secretary of State. They will turn out good councillors to the Secretary of State besides getting sufficient training in administrative matters and, on their return to India, they will be of great use in the administration of this country. The India office should be serviceable in improving the Indian administration and bringing forward the Indians, but should not be an instrument for impeding reforms and marring the progress of the Indians.

26. Referring to the necessity for obtaining a licence for the import of rice and other grains from Burma, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 3rd March, observes:—It was expected that keeping the merchants under control by the issue of licences would be highly beneficial but owing to the defect in the system, only evil is said to result. According to the present system, licences are granted to a few and refused to many. Instead of the room available in the ships being allotted fairly among the applicants, some are granted licences for importing 1,000 or 2,000 tons of rice with the result that a good number of persons cannot find space in the ship and the trade gets into the hands of a few. But it may be argued that this is not likely to cause any hardship inasmuch as the Director has issued orders prohibiting the sale at a profit of more than 8 or 10 annas per bag. But where is the guarantee that the Director's order is strictly carried out in practice and that the merchants do not get any additional profits, while acknowledging formally the receipt of a profit of only 8 annas per bag? If the importers are many, there will be competition among them in the matter of sale and the prices will then go down of their own accord. It appears, therefore, justifiable that, in the interests of the public, all applicants for licences should be given a portion of the accommodation available in the ship. Why should the mufassal merchants be made to crowd together in Madras seeking the favour of the importing merchants in the city? Why should not licences be granted to the mufassal merchants to import articles direct? Until licences continue to be issued only to a few, without the retail prices being regulated, there is no hope of any benefit for the consumer.

The food situation.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

Referring to the details of the production of food stuffs furnished at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, by the member in charge of the Agricultural Department, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 3rd March, observes:—The attempts made so far for improving agriculture are not adequate. Besides finding out scientific ways to improve the yielding capacity of lands, ways should be devised to improve the quality of the grains. We trust that our Government will impart agricultural instruction to our people through schools in the manner in which it is being done in the Punjab. The sooner the Government and the people take to improving the old methods of cultivation and reclaiming waste lands, the greater will be the benefit. It is certain that the situation will become much worse very soon. Want of proper attention to the food situation till now has resulted in this state. The measures taken by the Government to relieve the food stress in the different presidencies were mostly ineffective. The efforts made by the Director of Civil Supplies in one province to relieve its hardships in a way acted prejudicially against the other provinces. Perhaps so much difficulty might not have arisen, had there been one central authority to look to the interests of all the provinces. We are at a loss to understand why the Government have not yet prohibited the export of foodstuffs from India, though such a stress has happened. Lootings of the nature of those that occurred during the latter part of the year 1918 can be expected to occur at any time. The Government should come forward to relieve this distress with the utmost expedition. It appears that alleviating the difficulties of the poor in Madras is a comparatively easier task than in other places. Those experienced in rice trade consider it possible to arrange for the sale of rice at four measures for a rupee in retail. Why have not the Government then attempted to relieve the distress of the poor people in the city? In Madras,

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

associations like the Madras Corporation may purchase rice wholesale and sell it to the poor in retail. Such an attempt will, we trust, meet with the support of the Government. A reduction may also be effected in the price of rice and other foodstuffs by increasing the number of co-operative stores here. We hope that the Registrar of Co-operative Societies will consider over the matter and adopt the necessary measures.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 3rd Mar. 1919.

Referring to the scarcity of kerosene oil throughout the Presidency and to the inordinate increase in the price of rice and other foodstuffs and remarking that the situation is giving cause for anxiety, the *Lokopakari*, of the 3rd March, observes:—The people do not know what relief measures the Government have adopted. It is said that the Government are busy with the affairs of foreign countries and are not devoting their attention to the internal affairs. There is some truth in this as well. It is the primary duty of the Government to attend to the requirements of the people suffering for want of food and raiment, and relieve their distress.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The food situation.

Commenting on a telegram said to have been sent by a correspondent from Rajahmundry to the *Hindu* to the effect that 50,000 bags of grains are lying on the railway platforms for want of wagons, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 5th March, writes:—It is invariably complained that the railway authorities do not supply wagons in such a way as to facilitate trade and that this should be rectified. It is intolerable injustice that, in this time of famine, the bags of grains lying at Rajahmundry should remain without being transmitted to Madras or other places. In the matter of food situation in our province, even the papers conducted by Englishmen find fault with the Government, saying that, either for lack of interest or strength, they are keeping quiet without promptly remedying the situation and relieving the distress of the people. When food is scarce in this province, is it right to permit export of grains from here to other provinces? Everyone regrets that, at this juncture, the Government of Madras should remain dormant without evincing any interest in the matter.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madura. 6th Mar. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 6th March, repeats in a leader on this subject some of the observations contained in its issue of the 3rd idem regarding the inconvenience caused to the people by the procedure adopted at present by the Director of Civil Supplies, and adds:—It is rumoured that those who do not get licences for importing rice, secretly enter into some agreement with those who get such licences. Thus it appears that bags of rice have to pass through several hands before they are loaded in the railway wagons, and the price is enhanced at each stage by 8 annas per bag. Unless the authorities who have fixed the price of rice in Burma also specify the rates at which it should be sold in particular places, there will be room for profiteering in the intermediate stages. So, they should calculate the railway freight, etc., and order that in particular places rice should not be sold above certain fixed prices. If, for want of accommodation in the ship, some are denied licences in one month, they should be given preference in the next month. In the matter of granting licences, preference should be given to merchants of Salem, Coimbatore, North Arcot and other districts, where there has been failure of crops, and not to big companies which will stock rice in Madras and supply the same to those who would sell it in those districts. If this is not done, the distress of the poor will be relieved only if the Government import rice and sell it direct to mufassal merchants. The prices will also be reduced if a larger number of ships are engaged in the transport of rice and licences granted to the merchants in the mufassal districts to the extent they require.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

Inviting the attention of the Government to the necessity for making increased efforts in the matter of relieving the distress of the people, the *Dravidan*, of the 6th March, observes:—Till now the provincial authorities were preventing foodstuffs from getting out to other provinces. Hereafter, dry grains will, it is understood, be transported to other provinces also for consumption. It appears that the Government of India have withdrawn the control of the Government of Madras over the transport of dry grains, at the instance of the Bombay Government. This will, doubtless, cause much hardship to the people of this Presidency.

It is also stated that the Mysore Government will similarly be divested of their power to retain their foodstuffs in their own State. Then the stress for foodstuffs in our province will become indescribable. It is not right, that, for the comfort of the Bombay Presidency, our Presidency should starve. The people of the Bombay Presidency are already rich and our people cannot compete with them in the matter of the purchase of foodstuffs. We fully endorse the opinion of the *Madras Times* that our Government should not keep quiet in the matter but should resolutely protest againt the action of the Government of India, and that the latter should keep their order in abeyance until the views of the people of this Presidency are communicated to them through a special meeting of the Madras Legislative Council convened for the purpose.

The paper also reproduces the sentiments of the *Justice* of the 3rd idem under the heading 'Prices' and strongly urges that the Government should find out the real cause of the present stress in regard to scarcity and high prices of foodstuffs and adopt systematic measures of relief.

The food situation.

The *Swadesamitran*, in its supplement of the 8th March 1919, publishes an article on this subject, which contains the following observations among others:—While large sums have been provided in the budget estimate for relief of distress in other provinces, it is unfortunate that in our Presidency the Government have set apart only Rs. 25,000 for the purpose. It is regrettable that the Government should remain without understanding the real situation and realising their responsibility at a time when the country is rent with the cry of famine. If, perhaps, certain municipalities come forward to afford relief and apply to the Government for loans required for the purpose, the Government should not decline to grant the loans asked for. A refusal on the part of the Government to grant such loans will make it practically impossible for several municipalities to work in this direction. Further, the condition of the people in villages also should be attended to. For this, the taluk and district Boards should be made to purchase large quantities of rice and, establishing depots in various places, sell rice to the poor. It is essential that the restriction that rice can be transported only from certain specified mills in the delta tracts should be removed. It is stated that permission has not been accorded for the transport of stocks of rice already collected from mills other than those specified by the authorities. For example, Mr. Mohen Lal Kanniya Lal, a merchant of Madras, who had stocked 2,000 bags of rice purchased from the mills in Gōdāvari, Kistna and Nellore districts was, it seems, refused permission to transport them by rail. It appears he even offered to the Director of Civil Supplies that he would sell rice at 4 measures per rupee in Madras if this permission was granted. But to what effect? The Director is but a member of the bureaucracy! He seems to have declined to grant the permission asked for. If this were a fact, it is a matter for regret.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

The food situation.

Observing that some merchants in Madras have come forward to sell Rangoon rice at more than 4 measures per rupee, if they too are granted licences like Messrs. Best & Co. who have undertaken to sell at 4 measures, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th March, writes:—It is hoped that the authorities will pay attention to this request. We have to think that, as these merchants say, there is much profit to the Anglo-Indian company even in selling at 4 measures per rupee, and that, by having granted them licences the authorities have allowed the company to make a profit. It will not, therefore, be too much for us to state that it is both necessary and just that they should grant licence to the merchants who come forward to sell at more than 4 measures per rupee.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

Reproducing the sentiments contained in *New India* of the 8th idem under the heading "The Monopoly in Rangoon rice", the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 10th March, makes the following remarks among others:—If the Government would show to the Indian merchants also the concession they are showing to Messrs. Best & Co. in the matter of importing Rangoon rice, some of our merchants are ready to take the responsibility to sell this rice at the rate of 4 measures and 1 ollock per rupee. Then as regards boiled rice got from the mills in the delta districts, which now sells at about 3 measures per rupee, if the Government would

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

afford the necessary facilities by removing the present restrictions, the local merchants agree to sell it at not less than 3½ measures per rupee. It is the opinion of the merchants that the present high prices is due to the unnecessary restrictions imposed by the Director of Civil Supplies. They loudly complain that the Government do not treat them properly. Profiteering is now going on freely. Unless the Director entirely changes his ways and methods, the merchants consider that the hardships of the consumer will be increasing. If he cannot change his methods, they are not for his exercising any control in the matter of trade.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The Indian Munitions Board.

27. Observing that it appears from the reply to an interpellation by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel at the recent meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, that out of 365 officers in that Board inclusive of Europeans and Anglo-Indians there are only three Indians, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 4th March 1919, remarks:—Are there not many Indians competent to sit on this Board? There is nothing strange about the Indian merchants complaining that their interests are not well attended to, seeing that the foreigners are there in large numbers. It is this Board that is to take steps to hasten the industrial advancement of our country. This is curious indeed!

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The action of the Government against the *Desabhaktan*.

28. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th March, publishes six verses, from the pen of a correspondent, in which, while reproducing some of the sentiments expressed in the leader of the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st idem, the writer asks whether the action of those who do not understand the times, bestow attention on the cruel famine and heed the words of eminent Indians and who claiming a superiority for their own acts try to keep others under subjection, is in consonance with their love of liberty.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras. 10th Mar. 1919.

The action of the Government against the *Desabhaktan*.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 10th March, writes on this subject as follows:—The *Desabhaktan* is at present in the stage of an infant and needs much external help to reach the further stages of boyhood and youth. Until it reaches the stage of adolescence, it should attempt to walk but cautiously. If it should begin to run while it is in the stage of a baby with tottering steps, it would meet with a fall and subject itself to danger. Vernacular papers are very few in our country and still more few are those that do service to the country. It is essential for the progress of the country, that at present when many papers are required to point out the mutual duties of the Government and the public, the existing papers act cuntiously so as to avoid falling into the clutches of repressive measures. We expect that the *Desabhaktan* will pay some attention to this fact.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

In its leader under this heading the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th March, writes:—The *Desabhaktan* has to-day become a twice-born. Hereafter, it will serve the country with a hundred times greater vigour than before. It will show in action that it is subject to none. It is certain that the Tamil land will rejoice to see the *Desabhaktan*, demonstrating that it cannot be opposed by any. The light of patriotism is flashing upon the tree of liberty. Darkness of bondage has fled away. Whether the laws which afflicted the *Bhaktan* will affect it again is doubtful. There is the soul force of Mahatma Gandhi to do away with these laws. Friends should understand that the *Desabhaktan* is one that grows by means of the soul force of Mahatma Gandhi. . . We have not forgotten to express our gratitude to Lord Pentland who, by forfeiting the first security of the *Desabhaktan*, has caused its name and fame to spread everywhere and made all the patriots in the Tamil land its friends. . . It will shine for ever in the Tamil land. It is possible for none to crush it.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

The action of the Government against the *Desabhaktan*.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th March, has a long leaderette dwelling at length upon the 'excellent' services rendered by it to the people, especially by way of improving their political knowledge and observes:—The friends of the *Desabhaktan* might have known that it would not perish merely by its security

having been forfeited by the Government of Madras and if there are any who are not aware of this they should even now know it beyond doubt. If the *Bhaktan* were one of the so-called newspapers, it would be dispirited by this affliction. Will this paper, that moves about with worthy objects and an undaunted spirit, mind all this? It will not flinch even if danger several times greater than this should befall it.

The same paper reproduces a lengthy article from the *Janamitran* of Ceylon on this subject, which contains the following observations among others :—Though the articles referred to by the Government were published in the months of June, July and November last year, no warning of any kind appears to have been given to the *Desabhaktan* until the order of the forfeiture of security was communicated to it. When anything seems to be offensive, if a warning is at once given in regard to it, it may prevent the commission of such an offence thereafter. If, without doing so, crimes are allowed to accumulate and steps taken to award punishment, can it be called just procedure? But when one closely considers the fact that the articles were collected one by one and grouped together later on, one has reason to think that the administrative machinery comprising the bureaucrats had an ulterior motive of crushing the *Desabhaktan*. Though the *Desabhaktan* has much of loyalty and patriotism, it has not the least devotion for the bureaucrats. It is interested in condemning their unjust actions and giving them good advice. Will the bureaucrats favour such qualities? Will they brook to see a paper that decries their actions? Will they remain without seeking the means and opportunity to crush it? We would but consider it strange that this kind of difficulty had not befallen the *Desabhaktan* ere now, though the influence of the bureaucrats is predominent in administration. If we consider the nature of the articles, there does not appear to be any justification for the present action. When would the true nature of a thing be revealed? How can the true significance be realised, if the spirit of the articles is to be gauged by means of some sentences or words here and there? Further, there is no room to think that even the expressions and sentences selected savour of sedition. They describe only the obstructions caused by the bureaucrats. Could this be sedition? Could it be creating class hatred to speak of the relation between the Anglo-Indians and the bureaucrats? Do not the Anglo-Indians and the bureaucrats publish things which would create disgust and displeasure in the Indians. Probably, the arrow of the Press Act cannot be effective in the case of papers, which are finding fault with the Indians and their aspirations! There is also room for thinking that the attitude of the *Desabhaktan* in having strongly protested against the Rowlatt Bills and shown clearly the hardships likely to result therefrom may be a reason for the present action of Government against it.

The action of the Government against the *Desabhaktan*.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th March, fully endorses the comments of the *Mahratta* on this subject which contain the following observations among others :—The forfeiture has made it perfectly clear that it is the work of the bureaucrats in Madras to repress those papers that condemn their actions. We should take care to see that, so long as the bureaucratic rule continues in India, they are not given any kind of powers under any law.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The action of the Government against the *Desabhaktan*.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 4th, 6th and 10th March, and the *Hindu Nesun*, of the 7th idem, publish, some in full and some in abstract, the proceedings of meetings held in Madras to sympathise with the *Desabhaktan* and protest against the action of the Government, while the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th to 8th and the 11th idem, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th and the 7th idem and the *Dravidan*, of the 5th idem, publish abstracts of similar meetings held at Tuticorin, Vengandur, Arni, Kurtalam, Trichinopoly and Shiyali, at Vengandur and Arni and at Tanjore, respectively.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, and SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 4th, 6th and 10th Mar. 1919; and HINDU NESAN, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

The Philippines and India.

29. Referring to the demand of the Philippines for Home Rule, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th March, observes :—Though it is more than 150 years since India came under the British rule, the Indians are still in a state of slavery and famine and pestilence are afflicting them. But, within twenty years of coming under the rule of

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

America, the Philippinos have had a responsible form of government, have improved in all directions and are now demanding the right of self-determination. Brethren! Think of the nature of the British rule in India. It appears all appointments in the Philippines, except that of the Governor-General, are held only by the Philippines and even this Governor-General has to conduct the administration only in accordancee withthe wishes of the people in the island. But in India all the higher appointments are conferred only on Europeans, on the score of capability. And again the authorities here do not hesitate in the least to revive unjust laws and misuse existing ones. They have made it their business to flout Indian public opinion. What can we do with such an irresponsible system of administration?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th March, invites the attention of those here who are provoked by the demands of the Congress and the Muslim League, to the readiness of the Americans to grant the request of the Philippinos.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The Press Act.

30. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th March, writes a long leader to the following effect:—Only those who patiently endure the hardships that they have to suffer in serving their country are people who render real service to it. Great men like Mr. Tilak and Mr. Lajput Rai are born to serve their country and suffer on that account. Great is the number of such unselfish workers in this world. With an increase in their number, the fitness of this country for democracy becomes patent. Like these people, the newspapers which are conducted with strict regard to conscience and the presses that print these papers are doing their duty conscientiously regardless of all danger, difficulty and aspersions cast against them by the opponents. The word of the Press Act is hanging over their heads ready to come down at the will of the authorities as influenced by the Anglo-Indian Press. The river of fire of the Rowlott Bills will perhaps flow under their feet hereafter. Our *Desabhaktan*, having fallen a victim to the Press Act, is waiting to be rescued through the love of the public, who, we trust, will enable it to render service to the country again. While in England and other western countries newspapers are regarded as the means of expressing popular opinion, the Indian newspapers are always viewed with suspicion by the authorities here. It is only why the Government themselves conducted newspapers in several provinces spending largely from public funds, to give wide publicity to war news. If the Government, who command unlimited powers, should try their strength with the papers which are generally doing their work subject to many risks, what is to be the fate of these papers? . . . If any offence is committed by them, there is the Penal Code under which these can be punished. If they are punished by the courts of law, the people will have nothing to complain of. Without adopting this straightforward course, the authorities apply the Press Act against papers which do not anticipate any danger. They point out an article written on a particular date as offensive. A very extensive net is spread for declaring an article to be offensive. When the accused pleads that the article is not offensive, there is no direct means of getting it out of this illusive net even in a court of law. So a newspaper can be conducted only so long as it is in the good graces of the Executive Government. Why should the Government wield this special power even after the war has come to an end? What can the Indian papers do after all? That the people of this country should, like those of other countries, get power is their only aim. They trust that by divine will, and for her own welfare, India has come to be connected with Britain and it is their hearty desire that this connexion should continue for ever. That the Executive Government should wield authority to suppress papers holding such views is quite an anomaly. The permanency of this Act will only be detrimental to the purposes of fostering the loyalty of the Indians. It is only if their wishes are fulfilled that the Indians who are known for their meekness will be bound by a sense of gratitude and unwaning love towards the British Empire. But many among the bureaucrats who conduct the administration of India prefer the interests of their own party to those of the British Empire and India and want to keep the papers in such a condition that they cannot make any efforts which will affect their influence. Lord Chelmsford has no reason to cherish that party love. If, in his time, he does away with this wretched Press Act, his name will for ever shine in India. Otherwise, the Indian papers will do their duty suffering any kind of hardship.

Observing that the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Madras agreed at first to grant permission to one Mr. Dandapani Pillai to open a press in Madras, under the name of Gandhi Press, and that on the afternoon of the same day when the petitioner appeared before him with a security of Rs. 2,000, the Magistrate said that permission could be granted only after inquiry, and adjourned the case to the 17th March 1919, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th idem, remarks:—According to the Press Act, when a security of Rs. 2,000 is deposited in the first instance, the Magistrate has to grant permission at once. It is not known for what reason he has made the petitioner wait till the 17th instant.

The Press Act.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

31. In a lengthy article dwelling on the progress of the Japanese trade, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 5th March, remarks that, while the Europeans were hitherto monopolizing the trade of other countries, time has come for them to fear that the Japanese have risen to appropriate their trade and throw them into oblivion.

Japanese trade.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

32. Adverting to the statements of the *Englishmen* and the *Statesman* of Calcutta, that the Government should not mind the threats of Mr. Gandhi, that the Viceroy should impress upon him the responsibility of the Government and the condition of the country and teach him a lesson, and that, in the present condition, the Government should pass the repressive Bills into a permanent law, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th March, remarks:—What to say of the wicked tendency of these papers? Perhaps these papers are ignorant of the observation of Mr. Gilbert Murray that the entire military strength of the Government will be of no avail against followers of passive resistance like Mr. Gandhi! Why have not these understood the significance of Mr. Murray's warning that the Government should behave with great care towards Mr. Gandhi? Let these papers realize that sporting with and ridiculing him are like sporting with fire. The Viceroy also will do well to note that Mr. Gandhi will fear only truth and not the threats of the Government.

Passive resistance and the Anglo-Indian papers.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

In the course of an article about a public meeting recently held at Delhi to condemn the Rowlatt Bills, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th March, observes:—There have appeared good signs of passive resistance spreading vigorously in the city of Delhi. Mahatma Gandhi has started to travel place to place. Patriots! Arise to discharge your duty. Know that the vow of passive resistance is the only means of redressing your grievances.

Passive resistance.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

33. Observing that the British Government have given some submarines and other ships to Canada and Australia, and referring to the statement of a member of the Parliament that some ships may be given to other colonies also, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th March, remarks:—How many ships are the British Government going to give India? India is not a colony; so we think that nobody will ask the British Government on behalf of India! What can anybody do when India is suffering between Great Britain and the colonies? Though a fleet may probably be formed in India through the efforts of Lord Jellicoe, neither will the Indians be admitted into it, nor will they be allowed to manage it. It will be nominally called the Indian fleet and will be maintained from Indian revenues. Will the leaders be unmindful of the fact that it is going to turn out like this?

A fleet for India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

34. Adverting to the statement of a correspondent in the *Bombay Chronicle* about the grievances of the telegraphists, chiefly among the members of the Local Service, that a distinction is made in this department between the members of the General Service and those of the Local Service, and that such distinction being based on racial differences is against the spirit of the Proclamation of Queen Victoria, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 7th March, observes:—Should we again urge that the public cannot in the least put up with such racial distinctions? The authorities of the Telegraph Department should attend to this matter at once and adopt such measures as would redress this grievance.

The Telegraph Department.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

India and its laws.

35. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th March, writes:—It is well-known to the world that India is a peaceful country and that the Indians hate rebellion, disturbance, etc. While so, it is indeed surprising that new laws which are not in force anywhere should be coming into existence in India alone. The Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Defence of India Act were enacted in succession, and now the Rowlatt Bills stand prominent. All these Acts were brought into force only in opposition to the opinion of the Indian public. When the Press Act was brought into force, the Government drew some of the moderates to their side. The popular representatives opposed the Bill in several ways, but the Government remained without giving ear to all their representations. The same was the case with the Defence of India Act. And now, we need not dwell on the case of the Rowlatt Bills. If we consider a little about the application of the Press Act, we can very well realise the severity of that Act. The Executive authorities are given free scope to make use of this Act as they like. As many of these are not conversant with the vernaculars properly, they apply this Act to vernacular publications. This Act is drafted so cleverly that it permits the authorities to take action under it as they like. This is being applied against innocent people, loyal persons and patriots equally. We may take, for instance, the case of our *Desabhaktan* which has fallen a prey to it. Perhaps the Press Act trembles at the papers which engender treachery to the country and class-hatred. By means of this Press Act the authorities repress the patriots and those that render service to the country. We need not say how many have been subjected to misery by the Defence of India Act. Though this Act was enacted on account of the war, it was being applied in other directions as well. Those who are now imprisoned under this Act are innocent people and do not know what crime is. This truth will become patent by a perusal of the letter of Darsi Chenchayya. As if these Acts were not enough, Sir Harcourt Butler applied an Act known as the Post Office Act against the newspapers. The Government of India, who have a craving for applying new laws, have now introduced the Rowlatt Bills. The Government anticipate that, by this law, peace will be secured. But, it is certain that on the other hand there will be unrest. Though there are many evils in these Bills, we think there is also some good in them. They convert into patriots even those who do not seek the good of the country. Has the strength of the *Desabhaktan* been affected by the arrow aimed against it by Lord Pentland? Has its real attitude been altered? Has it been enveloped by the illusion of the bureaucrats? No, no. The Press Act may threaten the *Desabhaktan* and may try to repress it. But so long as it has got the support of the brethren and sisters of the Tamil land, it is certain that it will not perish. The influence of the bureaucrats cannot be used against the *Desabhaktan*.

New laws that have come into existence in India! When are you to perish? On account of you, only unrest and disturbance and not peace crop up in the country.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

Influenza.

36. Adverting to the report published by the Government of India furnishing particulars of the losses caused by this disease, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 7th March, observes:—Such a heavy mortality appears to be due mostly to the want of proper medical aid in the rural tracts. The Government not only allow the indigenous medical practitioners to dwindle away without any encouragement, but also fail to appoint in their stead a sufficient number of men trained in the western system of medicine. Hence it was that the poor villagers found themselves helpless at the time of need.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

Religious institutions.

37. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 7th March, observes:—Though the British Government say that they do not interfere in religious matters pertaining to Indians, still in view of the progress of the most of the subjects it is but proper for them to keep our religious institutions in order. In spite of their non-interference policy in the matter of religion, are not the Government maintaining in India a separate department under the name of the Ecclesiastical Department at the cost of the taxes paid by non-Christian subjects? Further, all the *manyams* granted in ancient days for the benefit of the religious institutions in our country are being

administered by the Government. Is this an indication of their non-interference in religious matters? They grant only a portion of the annual income of these *manyams* for the expenses of the institutions concerned and credit the balance to their own revenues. Instead of helping the religious institutions of the Indians, the Government are thus obtaining in a way an income through them. The case of Srirangam temple may be taken as an instance. The way in which the Government took over the properties of this temple is curious indeed. The temple now stands in need of great repairs and its affairs are not properly administered for want of funds. According to a joint memorandum presented by two of the residents of Srirangam, it is 80 years since the *tasdik* allowances given to that temple by the Government have been curtailed, and the total of the amounts thus curtailed comes to 5 lakhs of rupees. All this is temple money and should legitimately be spent for the temple and not utilized by the Government.

38. Referring to the apprehension of St. Nihal Singh expressed by him in his article to the *Commonweal* that India might be seriously affected by the attempt made by every nation since the close of the European war to set right its own industries and increase its trade and prosperity, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 10th March, observes:—Some people are contemplating to enforce the prohibition that India should sell all her raw products only to the British Empire. If so, will the Indian products get a fair price? There are no factories in India to enable us to convert these raw products into manufactured articles here alone. The Peace Conference has since met and is determining the ways in which the affairs of the world have to be managed. According to that determination, the countries that are not yet sufficiently trained will be under the tutelage of those well trained. Before the poor countries under such tutelage get the required training, is there not the possibility of the latter profiteering in those countries? This is like blessing the people to be ever in poverty.

The industrial advancement of India.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 10th March 1919.

39. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th March, publishes in Tamil a letter written in 1910 by Count Tolstoy to Mr. Gandhi, in which the former makes the following observations among others:—Passive resistance is a policy which is the outcome of love, and love which works for harmony among men is the best principle. Though love is also the underlying principle of Christianity, Christians have been for the last 19 centuries using force to secure their material prosperity. The question, therefore, arises whether we should reject religious teachings, or do away with compulsory taxation, police administration, armies, etc. An attempt will have to be made at some stage or other to put an end to either of these conflicting factors, though now it may be accepted that armies should be maintained for purposes of war. This disagreement is realised by all Governments, who, perceiving where danger to them lies, are engaged in solving the problem 'to be or not to be', so that they may be on the alert to guard themselves.

Count Tolstoy and passive resistance.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th March 1919.

40. Referring to the specially stressful condition of the country on account of the high prices and scarcity of articles of food and clothing, the *Lokopakari*, of the 10th March, observes:—While keeping body and soul together has become a matter of difficulty, the people are getting anxious about liberty. The Government are attempting to impose on the people repressive laws to curtail even their existing liberty, as if the Press Act and other repressive measures are not sufficient. That the Government of India should, even after a lapse of 150 years of British administration in India, distrust the Indians will be deemed to be a defect in the administrative policy. The Rowlatt Bills appear only to root out the natural meekness and loyalty of the Indians. It is essential that the authorities should pay heed to the fact that, if those Bills are passed into law in the face of the unanimous opposition by the whole Indian community, the popular leaders are prepared to oppose them by means of passive resistance. The Government should not give room for unnecessary agitation. The European war has opened the eyes of the people of the world and has set up the agitation for self-determination and liberty. As liberty is man's birth-right, an agitation for liberty cannot be

The present situation.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

curbed. It is, therefore, necessary for the authorities in India to act according to the exigencies of the times.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 9th Mar. 1919

The present situation.

Under this heading, a correspondent from Nellore writes to the *Hitakarini* of the 9th March:—. . . What is the use of appointing Aga Khan and Lord Sinha to high offices? What is the present state of the country? Are peace, health and contentment to be seen in any home? These Bills (the Rowlatt Bills) are the reward which the Government are pleased to thrust upon us for the service rendered by our people without foresight. . .

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

The Press Act and the Government securities.

41. Remarking that, when Government securities happen to be deposited as security for starting a new press or for renewing an old one, the Magistrate accepts them only at their market value, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th March, observes:—In the Act it is provided that the security amount should be paid either in cash or as Government securities. Let us take the case of a press which has to deposit a security of Rs. 10,000. The Magistrate says that securities which are now available for Rs. 10,000 should be furnished and not promissory notes of the face value of Rs. 10,000. If it is stated that the Act does not say so, he replies that the Government have ordered to this effect. Securities are issued only by Government. Even though the public purchase them at convenient prices, could not the Government take them for their real value? If the Government themselves depreciate the value of their securities, who else is to value them at their real price? Of what avail is our arguing like this? Is there anything like justice in regard to unjust laws and rules? Is the action of the authorities in matters like these based on law or on their own sweet will?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

The Press Act and the authorities.

Remarking that the Press Act has given unlimited powers to the bureaucrats, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th March, observes:—In fact this Act is applied in accordance with the wishes of the authorities who do not follow the procedure prescribed in the Act If the bureaucrats are bent upon enforcing the Press Act as far as they can, all the papers in India will disappear immediately. That is to say, the little liberty now enjoyed by some of the papers is only due to the good graces of the bureaucrats. Even as the number of repressive laws are being increased on the score of the actions of one or two anarchists, the Government of India have planted the Press Act. As this plant resembles the prickly-pear, it is growing luxuriantly without any water, etc. But as the result of it, the liberty of the Indian Press has fled away. Those who support the Press Act may, however, ask how papers can exist if they have no liberty. The existence of the papers is due not to their liberty but to the approval of the authorities. If one makes a close study of the Press Act, one will realise well that it is impossible to conduct a paper in India. Papers cannot refrain from dealing with politics. While doing so, it becomes necessary for them to bring to light defects as well as merits. It is only exposing defects that does not, at times, please the bureaucrats. Decrying the King or the Government and trying to cause discontent among the people will be considered to be sedition and anarchism. If so, the papers think that finding fault with the authorities who are representatives of the Government is not unlawful. But if the bureaucrats do not like their administrative policy or acts being condemned, they at once think of crushing the paper which so condemns, and resort to the Press Act. The excellent Press Act which is susceptible of a wide interpretation welcomes them with a smile. The section which provides that writing against the Government or the administrative policy established by law in India is unlawful, stands prominently before them. The authorities immediately try to do away with the papers which they do not like, charging them with the offence of writing against the British administration. Even though the Anglo-Indian papers speak disparagingly of the Hindus and the Muslims and write in such a way as to create mutual hatred between them, it is not deemed to be unlawful, as they have the full support of the bureaucrats. The papers that are hated by the authorities are supposed to violate law even if they protest against the actions of the Anglo-Indian merchants. Class hatred, it is said, will be created by writing in this strain! Consequently,

such papers should, it seems, be brought under the operation of the Press Act! As the authorities are accustomed to suspect and afflict true patriots, it is no wonder that the *Desabhaktan* has been attacked by the Government of Madras. However, genuine papers like the *Desabhaktan* and venerable men like Messrs. Tilak and Gandhi will not become disspirited and flinch in their work even if two hundred Acts like the Press Act are enacted and eight thousand Acts like the Defence of India Act are enforced. Ah! When is the time for these cruel Acts to disappear. It is indeed ludicrous that we, though subject to the rule of England which is the abode of liberty, are bound by such uncivilized laws. . . . The *Desabhaktan* is lying with languor on the lap of Goddess Tamil with a wound that is being healed. However, its face is as ever resplendent with cheer and courage. Goddess Bharata is consoling goddess Tamil. The maid of liberty and the God of Justice are guarding the *Desabhaktan* on either side. The grace of sage Tilak and the veracity of Mahatma Gandhi have taken shape and are before it. The love of the Tamilians encircles him. *Vandé Mátaram.*

42. Dividing the articles appearing in the *Desabhaktan*, into those infusing piety, those infusing loyalty and those infusing patriotism, and stating that no other paper has, till now, written like it on loyalty, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th March, observes :— With the object of creating love for the British rule in those who have become disgusted by the acts of the bureaucrats and of some Anglo-Indians, we have stated that the administrative policy of the bureaucrats is likely to change with the times, that British rule is one which will not transgress the path of righteousness, that we should, in several ways, attempt to promote this righteousness and that, for this purpose, we should agitate within constitutional limits. The reason for our frequently protesting against the improper actions of the bureaucrats and the rude acts of some of the Anglo-Indians is that the loyalty of the public should not wane. The *Desabhaktan* used to strongly condemn those who entertain the idea of getting rid of the British rule in India. It is full of articles which decry sedition and anarchism. It has aided Mahatma Gandhi in his efforts to recruit men for the war. There is no limit to the articles it has written exhorting the public to contribute funds for the war. Our friends would not have forgotten the fact that the *Bhaktan* has clearly pointed out that the British rule is not responsible for the cruel deeds of the bureaucrats. . . . The *Desabhaktan* has, as a result of its great patriotism, won a medal in protesting against the cruel actions of the bureaucrats which are contrary to British justice. It is a fact known to our friends that Pentland's Government have got bewildered by its patriotism. We will never forget Lord Pentland who aimed his arrow at the *Desabhaktan* which has thus been fostering piety, loyalty and patriotism. The administrative policy of Lord Pentland in the British rule which is full of righteousness and justice is rotten. It is not known whether this rottenness will be remedied under the Government of Lord Willingdon.

The work of the *Desabhaktan*.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

43. Referring to the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma at the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, that the budget allotment for the improvement of sanitation in India be increased by 50 lakhs of rupees, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th March, observes :—Sir James Meston said that he could not accept the resolution though he appreciated the spirit of it. It is regrettable that Sir James did not accept the resolution though he was aware of the hardships suffered by the people by defective sanitation. The Government of India are willing to spend money in useless ways, but do not consent to spend it in ways serviceable to the people. In these circumstances how can we say that the Government of India are carrying on the administration with due regard to the interests of the people.

The meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

Adverting to the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma that the expenditure under education be increased by 150 lakhs of rupees for making primary education free and compulsory, and to the opposition this resolution met with 'as usual' at the hands of the official members, the same paper remarks :— It has become a principle with the Government of India to plead want of funds when funds are demanded for elementary education and plead scarcity of teachers

when funds are available. It is not fair for a responsible government to do so. Primary education is free and compulsory in all countries of the world. But why has not primary education spread in India though the British have been conducting the administration here for over 150 years? Need we state that it is because of the lack of attention on the part of the Government of India and the irresponsible nature of their administration?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The tramway strike.

44. Referring to this strike the *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th March, writes.—Though it is regrettable that the tramway employees should have struck work at this time, it is still more regrettable that the authorities concerned should have been indifferent to their grievances for three months. That such petty grievances as the curtailment of one hour from the total number of working hours for the day and the increase of the daily wages of the workmen by two annas, should remain without any redress, does not speak well of the nobility of the tramway authorities. The Directors of the Madras Tramway Company, who are Europeans, care only for their own profits and convenience but do not in the least care for the poor workmen. We do not know whether the tramway authorities are aware of the present high prices of foodstuffs. In view of the stress the poor workmen ask for an increase of their daily wages only by a couple of annas. Even at this stressful period the income of the company does not seem to have gone down. We trust that the authorities will take the necessary remedial measures realising that the public are put to great hardships on account of this strike.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

In writing about this strike the *Swadesamitran*, of the 11th March, remarks:—It is a matter for consideration whether, at this stressful period, so many employees will venture to go on strike without any real grievance. We would urge that the authorities should pay proper attention to this matter and try to act with sympathy and nobility.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

The tramway employees' strike.

Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th March, writes about the present strike of the tramway employees:— . . . It is not proper on the part of the tramway managers to fail to carry out their promises. We request them to take immediate steps to satisfy the employees and to give no room for inconvenience to the Madras public.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The tramway workers' strike.

With regard to the Tramway workers' strike, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th March, requests the managers to satisfy the demands of the workmen at once in view of the great inconvenience to which the public are put.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The tramway employees, strike.

With reference to the tramway workers' strike, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 11th March, observes in its leader:— . . . It is regrettable that political agitators like Mr. Subrahmanya Siva and others should not understand what effect their interference in the strike would have on the Tramway authorities. It would afford room for them to say that their workmen have been instigated by political agitators to strike work, and would displease them. . . Outsiders should, therefore, have no hand in it. The workmen know by experience that those who instigate them to head-long action cannot save them. It is an ill-considered step for them to go on strike so suddenly for the redress of their grievances. . . We think it altogether improper especially that they should have chosen such an important festive occasion for their purpose.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The Indian Civil Service officials and Mr. Montagu's compliment.

45. Referring to Mr. Montagu's euology of the services rendered by the Indian Civil Service officials, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th March, observes:—Whatever be the administrative efficiency of the Indian Civil Service officials, it is quite clear that they have shown little sympathy in the matter of training the people in self-government. They have done their best to obstruct the fulfilment of the local self-government movement inaugurated by Lord Ripon. They have evinced an attitude of hostility to the popular movements. Very recently they have sent up a memorial objecting to the grant of even the Montagu reforms to the country. While, in these circumstances, the working out of the Montagu scheme of reforms is left to these men,

there is no room to hope that the scheme will be a success. That the success of the scheme should be made to depend on these officials is its chief defect. That is why the Delhi Congress has asked for full provincial autonomy. The people were greatly astonished at the assurances which His Excellency the Viceroy thought fit to give to the Indian Civil Service officials. Doubts have begun to spread regarding the efficacy of the reforms. A perusal of Mr. Montagu's letter in connexion with the speech of Sir J. D. Rees on the reforms will further strengthen these doubts. . .

The Indian Civil Service.

In the course of an article under the heading 'The Indian Civilian officers', a correspondent in the *Malayali*, of the 5th March, refers to their fat salaries and autocratic powers and points out that the high expectations raised in the minds of Indians by the declaration of the 20th August 1917 have been laid low by the recommendations contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, because none of these recommendations came up to Indian aspirations. Such being the case, it is difficult to understand why the Civilians and other Anglo-Indians should protest against and oppose the scheme. In some places these civilians are known to be secretly conspiring to oppress the people without caring a straw for the Government. Inasmuch as they have to live on the salary which they receive from public funds, he asks who has given them the authority to dictate terms to Government, observes that the Viceroy ought to have checked their vagaries when these were brought to the notice of the Government during the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council in February, and expresses surprize at the surrender of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to the Civil Service. . . . These Civilians are envious of the uplift of Indians and are intoxicated with autocratic authority. The Government should drive out this perverse tendency of Civilian officers. If, on the other hand, things turn out in accordance with the Viceroy's reply in the Imperial Legislative Council to questions on this subject, it is likely that there will be only an unprecedented increase in the autocratic power of the Civilian officers and consequent popular agitation. Indians are not jealous of Europeans. They only claim to have a share in the administration of India. It is a consoling fact, however, that there are both in India and in England many administrators who truly love India and Indians, without caring for the criticisms or threats of the Civilian officers.

Malayali, Quilon, 5th Mar. 1919.

Swadeshi vow and Avantika Bai Gokhale.

46. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th March, reproduces in Telugu the letter of Anantika Bai Gokhale, which was published in English in the issue of the *New India*, dated the 4th March.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The Industrial Commission Report.

47. Referring to the report of the Industrial Commission, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th March, says:—The well-known scientist Sir P. C. Ray expresses his dissatisfaction about the report in an article contributed by him to the modern review for the current month:—"Pandit Malaviya has argued the Indian view with ability. . . If it is desired that enough money should be saved in the country to be devoted to national purposes, it will be useful to employ Indians only in all departments. If the present princely salaries should continue in all departments in future also, the country will be doomed." The increase of the salaries of the Medical Services are going to be increased. If the salaries of high-paid officials are to be still further increased there is no doubt that the administration will become even more costly.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

Foodstuffs.

48. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 6th March, writes:— . . . On the orders of the Collector, the Headquarters Deputy Collector and the Tahsildar of Cocanada, it is said, have gone to Velangi, opened the granaries and got the paddy to Cocanada on carts paying Rs. 6–8–0 a bag. . . When merchants and big ryots are realizing large profits without any effort, is it right to expect them to dispose of the paddy stored by them and to help the reduction of prices? We, therefore, think that the Government will do well now to take possession of all the paddy in the Presidency, to export it wherever necessary and to sell it at a cheap price, thus protecting the poorer classes.

Andhraprakasika, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

Foodstuffs.

In its leader under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 7th March, writes:— . . . The secret sale of rice in mills at a price higher than the one fixed by the Controller by a rupee or two may be asserted with certainty to be due to the restriction that the quantity intended for exportation should be purchased only in mills. This restriction should be removed. Facilities must be afforded to merchants in localities where there is dearth of rice, to purchase it from whomsoever they can get it. . . They say that there is plenty of raw rice in the Kistna and Guntūr districts. We are glad to hear that some merchants are prepared to open depots and sell rice at fair prices like Messrs. Best & Co., if only they are given permission to import it freely from these two districts. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

Agitation among the rice merchants.

49. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th March, writes:— . . . The representative of the *Madras Times* states that Messrs. Best & Co. will, in future, supply the rice required for the whole city of Madras. . . When one European firm is given the monopoly of selling rice, it is sure to raise the prices, though it may lower them for a while in the beginning. The people will have to depend on the mercies of Messrs. Best & Co., as the smaller merchants are denied the right to import rice. The method adopted by the Director of the Civil Supplies will be regretted by many merchants with whom the people also are bound to suffer. . . When the European merchants get exclusive privileges, it will surely be an eyesore to the Indian merchants. . . When the commerce within the country also is taken out of the hands of the people, there will be no limit to the discontent that may spread in the country. The American commerce being in the hands of a limited few, it is productive of endless evils to the people. If similar conditions are to prevail here also, the country will be in trouble . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

"Paying still more to those who are already well-to-do."

50. Under this heading, the *Andrapatrika*, of the 7th March, writes:— . . . Mr. Montagu has proposed to increase the salaries of the Indian Medical Service officers. In addition to this, Mr. Fisher has stated in the House of Commons that the Government have also under their consideration the increase of pensions. . . When provision could not be made in the budget for works of national utility, it is not known what justice there is in spending money in these ways. . . This state of things will not change, unless the people get the control of the purse into their hands.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras. 7th Mar. 1919.

Famine.

51. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th March, writes:— . . . The Controller's circular itself is the cause of high prices. However well this fact may be explained to him he does not seem to have the intelligence to grasp it. Moreover, he is giving trouble to merchants who pay thousands of rupees as income-tax. As the Controller acts as he pleases on the strength of the Defence of India Act, the prices have arisen, and both the ryot and the people suffer. . . When the rice crop has given a good yield, why should the prices rise? . . .

VYKHANASA PATRIKA, Egavarpalayam, 2nd Mar. 1919.

Famine and high prices.

In a note under this heading, the *Vykhanasa Patrika*, of the 2nd March, deplores the rise in pricesand requests the Government to remedy the evil.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

Yesterday's Senate meeting.

52. Commenting on the proceedings of the last Senate meeting, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th March, remarks. . . When the whole world is adopting new methods in education, the inability of the Madras University to move with the time only shows its lack of initiative power.

VYKHANASA PATRIKA, Egavarpalayam, 2nd Mar. 1919.

News.

53. Under this heading, the *Vykhanasa Patrika*, of the 2nd March, observes:— While the temple-priests (members of the Vykhanasa creed) have been from time immemorial enjoying the inams and conducting the service of the idol, the *Dharmarakshana Sabha*, we regret, is trying to take away the living of the temple-priests, and doing them injustice by means of suits praying for schemes of management. . .

54. In its leader under this heading, bearing on a variety of topics, the *Andhrapatrika* (Weekly), of the 5th March, writes:— . . . The time has gone when a single king or a small body of men carry on their rule as they like. The time has gone when the rich oppress the labouring classes and the strong, the weak. . . Signs are not wanting to show that the competition for economic sovereignty in the world would lead to consequences even more disastrous than those of the war. . . The war has dispelled the fallacy that the economic condition of India is satisfactory. . . For the reasons stated above the budget statement of Sir James Meston cannot satisfy the people. . . The troubles of the ordinary people are endless. They have no food to eat, no oil for light and no rag to wear. . . Unless the export of paddy to foreign countries which is going on even now is stopped, there is no chance of the prices falling or paddy being available to all. The authorities will have to take drastic action in the matter, as otherwise there will be room for lootings and disturbances in the country. . . The changes effected by the Select Committee in provisions 21 and 28 of the Rowlatt Bills, which would upset the present just system of trial, are insignificant, and this is the root cause for anxiety. . . It may be said with certainty of the Rowlatt Bills that they are the most powerful enemies of the popular aspirations. The least sign of approval shown to such measures will strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy and weaken the cause of the people's freedom. It is not proper on the part of Messrs. Bannerjea, Sastri and Shafi to sign the Select Committee's report, opposing, as they say, the main principle of the Bills. Mahatma Gandhi has resolved to undo the Bills by following passive resistance. Two hundred persons in and about Bombay and Mrs. Besant have accepted his pledge. . . New ideas are spreading. . . But the future of India is at present beset with darkness on all sides. Absolute power is trying very hard in India and in the world to maintain its own prestige. Though Dharma is sure to triumph in the end, the history of the world teaches with a thousand tongues that a great sacrifice is needed for the establishment of the kingdom of right on the earth. By the grace of God, may that sacrifice take a soft, sweet and mild instead of a cruel, dreadful and monstrous form, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi!

The last week.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

55. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th March, reproduces in Telugu the criticism of the *Hindustan* on the budget statement placed before the Imperial Legislative Council, which contains:— . . . It would keep India in perpetual slavery. .

Criticism on the budget.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

56. The *Andhrapatrika*, (Weekly), of the 5th March, publishes in Telugu Mr. B C. Pal's lecture on the *Present Political Situation* and other speeches delivered at a meeting which was held on the beach on the 25th February.

The Present political situation —Mr. B. C. Pal's speech.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

57. In a note under this heading, the *Sudarsini*, of the 15th February, remarks:— . . . The confusion which prevails among the crowd cannot be here described in words. One should see it with one's own eyes at the kerosene oil shop in the bazzar every evening. . .

The kerosene oil famine.

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 15th Feb. 1919.

A leading article in the *Nazrani Deepika*, of the 11th March, complains about the scarcity and bewildering price of kerosine oil in Travancore about the greed and profiteering of wholesale and retail dealers who systematically discard proclamations prescribing maximum rates at which the oil can be sold and punishments for breach and about the tardiness of authorities in taking the required action to check and punish profiteering and in finding out the real causes of scarcity of supply and the required remedial measures.

Scarcity of kerosine oil.

NAZRANI DEEPIKA, Mannanam, 11th Mar. 1919.

58. Referring to the letter of 'T.E.W.' on the reforms which was published in the *Madras Times*, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th March, observes in its leader under this heading:— . . . . We presume the correspondent is Mr. Welby. . . He states that from the information received by him he has reason to think that the system of diarchy which is the main principle of the Reforms Scheme would be

The present need.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

dispensed with. . . Mr. Welby's surmise tallies with the views of the *Pioneer*. It is understood that the Provincial Governments have opposed the system of diarchy in the Government. The Indo-British Association as well as the Indian Nationalists are at one in condemning this diarchy. The opinion of the people on this question was made sufficiently clear even prior to the Delhi Congress which has only emphasised it in unequivocal language. . . Judging from the views of Mr. Welby and the *Pioneer*, it may be said beyond doubt that the Delhi Congress has displayed much farsightedness. . . As has been pointed out by the *Bombay Chronicle*, the bureaucracy would not be willing to grant provincial autonomy not in six but even in sixty years. . . India is not making any extravagant demands. She simply wants those opportunities which are absolutely necessary for her own happy living in this world. The least reflection on the fair name of the National Congress would be fully taken advantage of by the opponents to the national cause. The *Bombay Chronicle* observes that union alone can save the country from her present troubles. . .

DESABHIMANI, Guntūr, 26th Feb. 1919.

The sixth Kistna District Ryots' Conference.

59. The *Desabhimani*, of the 26th February, publishes in Telugu the resolutions passed by the sixth Kistna District Ryots' Conference which met at Nidadavole.

DINABANDHU, Masulipatam, 15th Feb. 1919.

Gain or loss?

60. Referring to the increase in the Abkāri Revenue to the Government and to the drink problem, the *Dinabandhu*, of the 15th February, writes in its leader under this heading:— . . . We, therefore, request the Government to be kind enough to introduce a law prohibiting drink as has been done in America. If this is not possible, we request them to cut short the number of liquor shops, to remove them from public places and from the neighbourhood of village, and to order their complete closure during the Hindu festivals, and beg to point out that the Government will be doing a great reform, if by passing such stringent rules they look no more to the Abkāri revenue as a source of income to them.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 8th Mar. 1919.

What a contrast!

61. Under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 8th March, writes:—. . . Though the South African Government did not approve of the policy of some nationalists who were for making South Africa, a republic independent of the British Empire, it has not prohibited a deputation from proceeding to Paris to lay their case before the Peace Conference. Similarly, some Irish representatives are proceeding to Paris to place the claims of Ireland to be constituted into a Republic, quite independent of British Imperial control. No party of Indian politicians desires severence of imperial connexion. They have not asked even for the immediate grant of full responsible government, all that they want being an instalment of reforms which constitute a genuine beginning of self-government. It is within the knowledge of every one what impediments were thrown in the way of a deputation of Indians proceeding to England to press this point. Mr. Tilak who is now in England and who wants to go to Paris to confer with some of the members of the Peace Conferece not on any Republican scheme, mind you!—but on the Congress-League Scheme only, is unable to get a passport. We cannot understand the strange propriety of the British Government denying, to such loyal citizens of the British Empire as Indians who do not want anything more than some reforms, that freedom which it is allowing to rebels who desire a Rebublic.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 8th Mar. 1919.

The manliness of Bhimasena.

62. Under this heading the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 8th March, reproduces in Telugu prose an extract from Bharavi's Kiratarjuniam in Sanskrit where Bhimasena exhorts his brother Yudhishtira, leading the life of a hermit in forests having handed over his kingdom to Duryodhana, to get his kingdom by acting in a way which becomes a man. The passage contains:—. . . It is not good that any one should be averse to human endeavour. The renouncing of human activity is not conducive to progress in any direction; please therefore give it up. Those riches which should be the possession of the brave alone cannot keep company with men devoid of enthusiasm. If you look to time as your saviour, will Duryodhana who has tasted the pleasures of kingdom so long, give up the kingdom voluntarily? Can self-respecting persons put up with mean living? For instance, the lion

is satisfied only with the flesh of an elephant which it gets by exercising its prowess.

The truth has come out!

63. Referring to the correspondence relating to the Indian Civil Service Memorandum, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th March, writes in its leader under this heading:—. . . Mr. Montagu has recently praised the Indian Civil Service officers for the services rendered by them and said that their co-operation is necessary for a successful working of the reforms. If the success of the reforms is to depend on the Indian Civil Service officials, all the hopes of the people are only destined to be idle dreams. . . Be it as it may, the admission by Indian Civil Service Association itself has cleared the doubt as to the genuineness of the draft memorandum. . . It will be seen from all this that it is simply an idle dream to expect any help from civilians in the matter of training the people in self-government. That Mr. Montagu should rely upon them shows his short-sightedness.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The draft memorandum sets forth the evils which are likely to befall the Civil Service, if the reforms should prove a success—evils such as the lowering of the prestige of civilian officials, and the chance of their living insignificant lives in this country. It is understood that the Provincial Governments have followed the views of the Indian Civil Service officials. Unless the people get complete provincial autonomy, there will be constant deadlocks as a result of the system of diarchical government which is not conducive to political progress. All those who have the country's interests at heart should, therefore, work for the realisation of the Congress resolution. Otherwise, the relations between the popular leaders anxious to secure greater and greater responsibility on the one side and the Indian Civil Service officials jealously guarding their power and prestige on the other will be very much strained, and the administration may come to a standstill. Should matters come to such a pass, not only will there be a set-back of all progress, but the position of the Indian Ministers will also become intolerable.

Export of foodstuffs and differences between Governments.

64. Adverting to the correspondence passing between the Government of India and the Madras Government regarding the export of foodstuffs, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th March, appeals to both of them to understand the grievances of the people now suffering from famine and devise means to redress them, without minding their disputes.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras. 11th Mar. 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council elections.

65. Stating that contrary to the course adopted by the central and many other Provincial Governments the Madras Legislative Council will have a re-election of its Members in June next as has been observed by the *Madras Mail*, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th March, remarks:—. . . It is clear that the discord between the Imperial and the Provincial Governments is becoming greater.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The Special Kistna District Village Officers' Conference.

66. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th March, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the Special Kistna District Village Officers' Conference which met at Bhimavaram and the resolutions passed thereat.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The Indian political arena.

67. In its leader under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 9th March, writes:—. . . The agitation created by the Rowlatt Bills in the minds of the people has already given place to the faith that the pledge of Mahatma Gandhi would lead to the withdrawal of those Bills. This great vow of peace, this flame of the fire of truth has already spread from province to province. It has moved the king in the palace and the saint in the forest and prompted them to sign the pledge. Truth and righteousness know of no defeat in nature. The passive resistance pledge of Mahatma Gandhi surpasses the roar of a lion from its bush. It is more powerful than a bomb. . . There has been a great awakening in the country since it heard of this. . .

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 9th Mar. 1919.

Lokamanya Tilak's case.

68. Referring to the judgment in the Tilak-Chirol case, the *Hitakarini*, of the 9th March, remarks:—. . . The case has brought to light an important fact, and that is the

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 9th Mar. 1919.

partiality of Westerners to their own race. This is no fault, no sin. It is natural. It only shows that they are in the habit even of sacrificing justice, yielding to racial bias. Mr. Tilak also might have brought the suit just to reveal this secret and not in the hope of getting justice at the hands of foreigners in a strange continent.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 9th Mar. 1919.

A deluge in future.

69. The *Hitakarini*, of the 9th March, reproduces in Telugu an article under this heading written by Dr. M. Nobles, a well-known scientist in Philadelphia. According to him a great deluge will occur in the life-time of the present generation, which would involve the obliteration of certain parts of Europe and Asia, and the formation of new continents in the Pacific and the Western seas.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The second anniversary of *Justice*.

70. Giving the details of the recent celebration of *Justice* anniversary, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 11th March, reports Dr. T. M. Nayar to have said:—The Secretary of State, having been already won over by the Extremist leaders before the non-Brahmana leaders approached him, could not realize the needs on the non-Brahmanas. . .

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 7th Mar. 1919.

Import duties.

71. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 7th March, writes:—The extent to which indigenous industries can be promoted by Government by increasing the import duties can be easily ascertained from the fact that the increase of the duty on sugar from 5 to 10 per cent led to a direct increase of the area under sugar-cane cultivation to the extent of 5 lakhs of acres and also of the quantity of sugar manufactured. It is to be hoped that the Government will likewise revive other indigenous industries by increasing the rate of import duties on other articles.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 7th Mar. 1919.

The dearth of coins.

72. In a lengthy leading article dwelling on the question of currency, the *Swadeshbahimani*, of the 7th March, observes:—Although from the standpoint of economics it is not objectionable to introduce paper money into currency, it is not expedient to issue notes of such low value as 1 rupee. Not only are the poorer classes unable to keep these notes in good condition, but these notes create in their mind a sense of insecurity regarding their money when they find it difficult to cash these small notes, and they, therefore, refuse to accept these notes when they are offered to them. The poor thus begin to suspect that there is great dearth of coins in the country. When such is the situatiou in regard to currency, we hear a rumour that the Government are thinking of creating, or have already created, still smaller notes of the value of 5 annas and 4 pies. This has led to the belief that even copper coins are becoming scarce. This is, indeed, most deplorable. The reason why we dwell on this topic to-day is that a journal of North Kanara brings us news of the great difficulty experienced by the poorer classes owing to the great dearth of small copper coins in Sidhapur taluk in that district. This dearth is, in truth, experienced also in this district (South Kanara) and may be said to exist in the whole of India. Again, paper currency is of no use in foreign trade. Has the Government strictly followed the rules in regard to the currency reserve in issuing notes? For our part, however, we suppose that the Government have not disregarded the statutory provision on the point. But the heaps of currency notes so prominent of late in place of the jingle of coins at the Banks, the Post office and other big offices of firms, railways, etc., are naturally apt to make the ignorant masses believe that there is great dearth of coin in the country. It behoves the Government, therefore, to inquire into the truth of the situation at present in regard to currency and ascertain why there is such great dearth of small coins and in case the poor are found to suffer in consequence, withdraw all money of artificial value from currency and facilitate the free circulation of metallic coins. We would ask the authorities to calmly consider how far it would be expedient to introduce notes of the value of 5 annas 4 pies when the 1-rupee notes themselves are not acceptable to the people. The termination of the war should naturally have led to great rejoicing everywhere. But unfortunately for our country, the epidemics and famine have left the people in a most prostrate condition. The introduction of paper money even for small coins might increase their suffering immeasurably. The adverse effects of such artificial currency

have already been established in political economy. The experiment need not again be tried here at present.

73. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 7th March, writes:—The British Parliament promised to grant us responsible Government. Some of the Anglo-Indians say that they would rebel in case it is granted. The British Government has been frightened by these threats. The members of the *National Congress* say that they would resort to passive resistance in case the promise is not fulfilled. The British Government as well as the Government of India are thus at a loss to know how they should act. The task of administration is, indeed, a most difficult one.

Responsible Government.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 7th Mar. 1919.

74. In an article deploring the steady increase of military expenditure, a correspondent of the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 10th March, writes:—When we look at the invidious distinction between Europeans and Indians in regard to the higher administrative posts and their rates of salary, we find ourselves unable to say that the Government of India is either democratic or responsible like the British Government. The records of the Government of India itself show that it is full of gross partiality. A Government which is impartial which identifies the interests of its subjects with its own, and which does not withhold anything in regard to political matters and takes the people entirely into their confidence is always looked upon and worshipped as Providence and Protector, and such a Government will remain for all time. The British traditions are the cause of the stability of that Government. Nevertheless, the loyalty of the people is greatly affected by the fact that some of the authorities do not follow these traditions in practice. We trust that the British Government will take steps to see that their traditions are strictly maintained.

Military expenditure.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 10th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the budget statement in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 8th March, observes:—Before the war, 35 crores of rupees or the whole of the Land Revenue used to be spent on the army. . . This rose to 65 crores during the war. . . But contrary to the expectations of the public, the Government have thought fit to spend 62 crores now after the war has come to a close. When the army swallows one half of the country's total revenue and when, in addition to this, the Railway expenditure also has been increased such other useful matters as health, education, etc., will, of course, be neglected. When the army maintained by India is used not for her own defence but for the defence of the Empire as well, it is not understood why India alone should be required to contribute the whole cost of it. . . Sir James Meston does not tell us how he proposes to spend the 62 crores, whether he would increase the Indian regiments or the British regiments in the country, whether he contributes any amount to the British navy and what return India would get for it. Such details are held in secret. Why should the Indian Regiments be still retained in Mesopotamia even after the war? How is India going to profit by this expense? Who is to ask these questions? And who is prepared to answer them? This waste of military expenditure is sure to continue unchecked, so long as the people have no control over the exchequer.

Heavy Military expenditure.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 8th Mar. 1919.

75. Referring to an article in the *Madras Mail* regarding profiteering in rice and the prevailing high prices in Madras, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 11th March, writes:—The Government's prestige is gone. Their administrative capacity has decreased. How can those who are unable to regulate prices be entitled to hold sway over others? This state of things is most deplorable. Granting that the local produce is not sufficient, with the supply of rice from Burma, the price can be reduced to 8 seers per rupee. If the situation be reduced to such a pass that it is difficult to obtain even 2 seers per rupee, how can the administrators be considered competent to hold sovereignty? Even an intelligent constable with full powers can help the people to obtain all foodgrains without difficulty. It is deplorable to find that those who pose themselves as omniscient beings are incapable of protecting the people in their present distress. If the people die of starvation, are not

The price of rice.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 11th Mar. 1919.

the administrators to be regarded as worse than dead? If any people die of starvation through the wicked greed of others, why should not the latter be held responsible for those deaths and be sent to the gallows? If the Food Controller is unable to suggest apt arrangements to prevent people from dying of starvation, is he not to blame for it? If his suggestions are not carried out by Government, is not the Government to blame for it? Are not the Food Controller and the Government responsible for the untimely death of those who died of starvation? If they are subjected to a judicial inquiry and the *panchayats* hold them guilty, do they not become liable to capital punishment? Nobody seems to give a thought to these matters. They think that they shall have done their duty if they sign some stale papers and receive fat salaries. They do not even care to inquire what has been done in other countries in similar distress. A merchant of Northern India was prepared to spend 8 to 10 lakhs of rupees in order to prevent famine in his village. He bought foodstuffs to the value of 8 to 10 crores at the market rate and sold them at cheap rates to the poor. The famine had disappeared before he lost 10 lakhs, and none died of starvation. Are there not thousands of such millionaires in our country? Are the chiefs all paupers? Have they no money with them? Are the Government of India paupers? Is it impossible for them to prevent death from starvation? It behoves the Government of India, the Provincial Governments, the millionaires, merchants, brokers, Indian Chiefs and all to consider the situation and not behave like people who would lift a pie from the dung heap with the tip of their tongue.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 5th Mar. 1919.

High prices.

An article in the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 5th March, trusts that the Government will realize that unless immediate action is taken to relieve the situation caused by the enormous rise in the price of the necessaries of life—rice, cloth and kerosene-oil—intense distress will spread throughout the land. "As it is, the secrets of Government are not known to the people and the distress of the people is not realized by the Government." It points out also that the distress in the interior parts of the district, consequent on scarcity of work, low wages and high prices, is several fold more than that in towns.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 4th Mar. 1919.

High price of rice.

In its leading article the *Manorama*, of the 4th March, refers again to the high price of rice in Malabar and to the consequent distress, and regrets that the efforts of the Government to relieve the tension caused thereby have been so far abortive, and that the statement of the Government of India on the subject has been disappointing in the extreme. It points out that while the adjoining Native States of Travancore and Cochin have somewhat successfully tackled this problem, the severity of the famine is felt keenly in British Malabar, and thinks that the Collector should hold a special inquiry into the matter of profiteering by merchants and should take vigorous action so as to teach the merchants a good lesson at this juncture.

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 24th Feb. 1919.

The Walluvanad riot.

76. A note in the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 24th February, admits that it was certainly the shooting down of the rioters that quelled the recent Mappila riot in Walluvanad so quickly, but remarks that since the rioters were only nine in number while the officers of Government, the reserved police force and other people that surrounded the rioters were quite numerous, it should have been easy and it was certainly a duty to catch the rioters alive.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 5th Mar. 1919.

Malabar land tenure.

77. The leading article in the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 5th March, considers that the greatest obstacle to the improvement of agriculture on the West Coast (Malabar) is the unsatisfactoriness of land tenancy, and expresses surprize that, in spite of continued outcry for the improvement of the janmi-tenant relationship, the subject of land tenure has not yet been taken up by Government. If the Government are afraid of the anger of the *janmis* they have to remember also their responsibility for the welfare of the much larger community of tenants, the improvement of the land which depends entirely on the labour of these tenants and the income of the Government which depends on the produce of the land. Uncertainty of tenure is the crying evil of the day. It is this which makes the tenant callous, and the endeavours of the Agricultural Department fruitless.

78. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 5th March, has a leader which is briefly to this effect:—The *Pal Mall Gazette* had a letter from Mr. Ignatius which has been reproduced by the *Madras Times* in the issue of the 28th February, and thus both these journals have been combined in an unholy attack on the sacred personality of the Apostle, upon whom be the blessings of God and peace!

Qaumi Report, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

An unholy attack on the most noble Apostle.

A slight and insult to Islam and the Muhammadans.

Mr. Ignatius, writing against Lenin, compares him with the Apostle and says.

'Lenin with his crazy belief acts with all the savage fanaticism of a twentieth century Muhammad!'

He concludes his articles with these remarks:

'Bolshevism is a Muslim creed which claims happiness of sight and barefaced highhandedness.'

Thus Mr. Ignatius has, in his shamelessness, given expression to words which cannot pass uncondemned. But the conceit and pride with which he has rebelled against the Truth clearly shows that his heart is dead and that being contaminated with the impurity of falsehood he is polluting the spotless robes of reason and justice with the drops of his erroneous vapourings. Why did this villain think of comparing two such opposites as Nikolai Lenin, the new Messiah of Russia, and the Apostle of God? Had Mr Ignatius searched the ancient history of his nation he would have found the names of a few deceitful rogues and anti-Christs among his own people perfectly suitable for comparison with Lenin.

We know that his forefathers have drawn still more degrading picture of us and our Prophet. But that was in the dark ages of the Church and the period of the Popes. Those who declared our Lord Jesus, upon whom be peace! to be accursed, a deceiver and a wicked one, denounced Muhammad the Apostle of God, as a barbarian and a mad man; but in this enlightened age when the shamelessness of the Church is a thing of the past and truth and liberty have been freed from the yoke of autocracy we were under the impression that no one would insult the Light of Truth in this manner.

Not long ago Mr. Lloyd George compared the Kaiser with the Prophet, but subsequently he apologised for having done so.

The editor proceeds to say 'the law of Government is a chain of selfishness.' If anyone should call an Englishman a German, he is punished or if some one compares Lord Sydenham, or perchance even Mr. Welby with Hindenburgh he is sure to find the jail ready to receive him. But those, who compare the Holy Prophet of seven crores of Indian Mussalmans with Nicolai Lenin and Islam with Bolshevism, and print and publish such scurrilous writings, are secure from the operation of the law; because the law is of their own making.

79. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 8th March, on the authority of a reliable news, viz., Khan Bahadur Mr. Muhammad Usman Vapoochi has been made a permanent Collector of Guntūr, writes:—From the bottom of our hearts we thank the Government for their appreciation and recognition of rightful claims and congratulate Mr. Marakayar at this new appointment.

Jaridah-i-Rozgar, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

Encouragement given to an energetic officer.

We fervently hope that the Government will not limit their encouragement to this promotion, but will raise him to some higher position and thereby place us under a deeper debt of gratitude to them.

III.—Legislation.

80. Referring to the resolution passed by the Madras Corporation at its special meeting on the 4th March, protesting against this Bill and requesting the Government to withdraw it and introduce another, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th idem, hopes that the Government will note that the majority of the members of the Corporation are not in favour of this Bill.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

The Madras City Municipal Bill.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

The Madras City Municipal Bill.

Adverting to the resolution passed at the last meeting of the Madras Corporation suggesting the desirability of dropping the present Bill and introducing another which will be conducive to the progress of self-government, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 6th March, observes:—This Bill is now in the hands of the Government just on the verge of being passed into law, while the Corporation declines to accept it. We trust that, if all the non-official members of the Legislative Council unanimously oppose the Bill, it will be dropped without being passed into law.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

The Madras City Municipal Bill.

Commending the speech of Diwan Bahadur P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar in the meeting of the Madras Corporation protesting against this Bill, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th March, observes:—This Bill, published after consideration for the last four years, is quite contrary to the expectations of the public. Since then, a number of modifications have been made in it. Though the Madras Corporation was reformed twice before this, the condition of the Commissioners continues without any change; nor is any change effected in it by the present Bill. Ever since the formation of the Corporation, the charges have been exceeding the receipts and this is due to their having increased the work in connexion with water-supply. The present Bill too does not devise means for removing this financial stress. It becomes greatly difficult for the Corporation to secure funds to meet the charges merely on account of the Local Government controlling the budget of the Corporation. What amount of liberty does the Corporation have, if it has to get the sanction of the Government even for enhancing the wages of sweepers by half a rupee.

In 1918–19 the Corporation has incurred a debt of Rs. 3,54,690. How is it to clear this debt with the sanitary grant of a lakh of rupees given by the Government? If the Corporation continues in this state, the debt will go on increasing. Some think that, if the debts should increase, the Government would come to rescue. Though this has hitherto been the case, the municipalities which get financial help from the Government are bodies that have lost freedom. The Decentralization Committee condemn pecuniary help being granted by the Government. According to their recommendations the Government can allot specified amounts for particular kinds of work of the municipalities. Much benefit will be derived by a specified grant being given every year for education and sanitation. This Bill is contrary even to the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals. In every section and sub-section of this Bill, means have been devised for curtailing the liberty of the Corporation. The Government authorities simply proclaim that the Municipal Commissioners should develop their responsibility without subjecting themselves to their control, but do not in the least consent to give them liberty. Hence, by this new Bill being passed into an Act, the Corporation is not going to progress in any direction.

DRAVIDABHIMANI, Salem, 21st Feb. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

81. In dealing with this subject, the *Dravidabhimani*, of the 21st February, observes:—Loyal people need not at any time have any fear. It is certain that no law will afflict them. However, considering that administration is being conducted only by human beings, people are afraid that even innocent people may be subjected to the restrictions of this new law. The new Bills will come into force very soon, and even if we demand our rights we have to do so in a calm tone and with submissiveness. As God, justice and the righteous rule of the sovereign will help us, we need not fear the new laws so much. As there are many tale-bearers among the Indians themselves, we have to fear them much. We hope that better days will soon dawn upon us, when we will have perfect liberty.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1st Mar. 1919.

Adverting to the report of the Select Committee on these Bills, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 1st March, observes:—It is certain that the Government will not cease to pass these Bills into law, taking advantage of the split among the Indian members and of the fact that some of them are in their favour. We believe that the views now expressed by Mr. Gandhi will not fail to convince even the moderates about the untoward consequences likely to result from the Rowlatt Bills. Mr. Gandhi, besides condemning the Bills, has stated that it is clear from

the fact of the Government having introduced these Bills, that the fault lies only at their door. As he considers that there is no way for salvation unless by resorting to passive resistance, even the moderates cannot help admitting that the situation has become stressful. All persons, whether moderates or nationalists, should join together and decide on the further action to be taken.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 4th Mar. 1919.

Adverting to the dissenting minutes of the Nationalist members on the report of the Select Committee appointed to consider these Bills, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 4th March, writes:—We are of opinion that Sir William Vincent has certainly no power to reject these minutes. Rule 39 of the rules for the conduct of business in the Madras Legislative Council provides that, when a Bill is referred to a Select Committee, all members or a majority of the members thereof should sign the report of the Committee and that any member can record his opinion separately. As the rules for the conduct of business in the Imperial Legislative Council will also be similar to those of the Madras Legislative Council, there is no justification for the statement that those who do not sign the report should not write separate dissenting minutes. When we consider what has hitherto been done in similar cases, Sir William Vincent's action seems to be wrong. The dissenting minutes written by Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Rash Bihari Gosh, when they were on the Select Committee to which the Seditious Meetings Bill was referred, were accepted and placed before the Legislative Council along with the majority report, though they declined to subscribe to this report. Similarly the dissenting minute recorded by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, when he was on the Select Committee for discussing the Indian Press Bill, was accepted and presented to the Council along with the majority report though he did not sign it. That the dissenting minutes now written by the same Mr. Malaviya and Messrs. Khaparde and Patel should have been rejected and kept back from the Council, because of their not having signed the majority report, is, besides being contrary to rules and practices, a system obtaining under an autocratic rule. The moderates have stated that they condemn the aim and the basic principles of the Bills. What then is the meaning of their having signed the majority report? Of course, they have written a separate minute of dissent. But they have not proposed in it any amendment to change the aim or the basic principles of the Bills. If the amendments suggested by them are approved, should it not be construed that they are prepared to accept the Bills? What benefit can result to the country by their signing the majority report and saying that they reserve the right of opposing the aim and the basic principles of the Bills? We think that the statement of Sir William in reply to Mr. Patel that, if a Bill is referred to a Select Committee it must propose modifications only after accepting the aim of the Bill, is wrong. This is evident from rule 40 of the rules for the conduct of business in the Madras Legislative Council. The rule of the Parliament too is to the same effect. While the Committee has the right to drop the Bills, every member of that Committee has that right. When, in the exercise of this right, Mr. Patel proposed in the Committee that the Bills should be dropped, why did not the moderates support him? Why did not the moderates, who very warily state that they have the right to oppose the aim and the basic principles of the Bills and that they have not relinquished that right, make use of it when the opportunity presented itself? It is why we ask whether the birthright can be sold for a mess of pottage?

The Rowlatt Bills.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th March, writes:—Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee writes that all the Indian members are going to oppose these Bills being passed into law. This news will gladden the Indians. If, as Mr. Surendranath says, he and his moderate brethren should oppose the Bills it is certain that they will not become law. If, even in spite of this opposition, the Government pass the Bills, we can agitate in such a way that the world may know that they have come forward to murder India. We request the Government to take this warning.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

Adverting to the fact that the majority of the Select Committee have yielded to the wishes of the moderates to have the first of these Bills republished, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 10th March, observes:—It is not known when this Bill will again be brought before the Legislative Council. Perhaps it may take a few

months. We think that the authorities have consented to have it republished only with the object of allowing a respite for the fury of the country against these Bills to cool down.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

Observing that the majority report which was presented in the Legislative Council was signed by the Hon'ble Messrs. Bannerjee, Sastri and Shaffi subject to reservation of their right to oppose the principles of the first Bill and stating that they wish certain slight modifications in it, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 10th March, observes:—They made the same observation on the report relating to the second of the Bills. What does this mean? By declaring that they reserve the right of opposing the Bill and at the same time suggesting certain modifications therein, will they accept the Bill if these amendments are carried out? Or is it their intention to threaten the Government thereby and make them yield to effect certain alterations? It is such arguments of the moderates that gives a handle to the Anglo-Indian papers like the *Madras Times* to write disparagingly that their arguments can very easily be met. The *Madras Times* has said that the objection of the moderates will become void, if the power of enforcing these Acts is entrusted to an Indian, inasmuch as the objection is mainly due to their fear about the misapplication of these Acts. This paper is probably under the impression that the moderates can be won over, if another high office is to be conferred on the Indians. Perhaps it is not aware of the political agitation going on for the last few years. It is not the desire of the people that Indian officers should be appointed in the place of European officers. It is a fact borne out by experience that the moment the Indians get an official status they too become clad in bureaucratic robes. That the officers, whether Indian or European, should be responsible to the people is all that the people wish for. The Rowlatt Bills have sprung up only to hamper the attempts of the Indians to fulfil this object. If these Bills become law, then political life may altogether become impossible. It is only in view of this that Mr. Gandhi has said that, in case these Bills become law, the policy of passive resistance should be resorted to until they are revoked. That policy is flawless, and it will not harm any one excepting those that adopt it. No one desires to adopt this policy and subject himself to bodily troubles. All other means have been tried but in vain. Mr. Sastriyar himself admits that if these Bills become law, the power of the bureaucracy will grow strong. At such a juncture where is the alternative but to resort to this policy?

In the vow published by Mr. Gandhi, he says that, if the Rowlatt Bills are passed, not only these laws but also some others will be disobeyed. If the vow is only for disobeying the Rowlatt law, then opportunities may not be afforded to many to adopt the policy of passive resistance. It should have been Mr. Gandhi's opinion that it is only by the addition of some other laws such opportunity will present itself to many. But he has said that a special committee will be appointed to determine what exactly these laws should be. From the letters that are being received by us, it is seen that the country is prepared to accept the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi till the other laws are decided by the committee. In these circumstances, only one way is open to the Government and that is to drop the Bills. Will they do so? It is the step to be taken by farseeing people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Referring to the Report of the Select Committee on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th March, observes:—The Select Committee has now published its report on this Bill, and seems to have proceeded with some sense of responsibility.. It is but proper that the section relating to the possession of seditious documents has been altogether expunged. . . Even associating with those convicted for sedition is an offence according to section 510-A. This has been criticised as being productive of many evils. Though it has been altered a little, its original character remains the same. . . It is understood that only this Bill will be published again with the alterations suggested by the Select Committee for public criticism. This is something. When the people do not accept the very principles of these repressive measures, they cannot be expected to be satisfied with small changes. . . The *Madras Times* suggests that the working of these Bills may be entirely entrusted to the Indian Member, since that is the

only course open to the Government to allay discontent. . . There is no good of such dodges. We want the Government to understand that the only way of allaying public discontent is to withdraw altogether these repressive Bills which infringe the birthrights of the people.

The Rowlatt Bills.

A correspondent in the *Manorama*, of the 4th March, observes:—The moans of the mouse will not soften the cat's heart. For every cry for liberty for India, we receive a blow on the head. The Press Act itself has nullified the liberty of India. If now the present two laws are also enacted in India, no one can dare open his mouth. The people will become the slaves of Government officials. Speaking generally, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are only like baits placed in a trap for catching rats. What did the Viceroy say to the Indian Civil Service Association? This will certainly be an eye opener to those who were satisfied with the Reform Scheme. . . Sinha has become a Lord and some others, Members of Councils. Perhaps Doctor Nayar and others may hereafter become Lords. But all this will be of no use to India. India wants only that which will promote the welfare of all India, and this is the one thing that we have not received.

Manorama, Calicut, 4th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and Passive Resistance.

Observing that the prominent leaders of Bengal have wired to Messrs. Gandhi, Malaviya and Kelkar and Mrs. Annie Besant that they too support the policy of passive resistance and remarking that this policy is expected to spread quickly to the other provinces in India as well, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th March, writes:—Some efforts are being made in Madras in this direction. But all are eagerly awaiting the result of the conversation between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy. Let the Government understand that, if the Viceroy passes these cruel Bills into law, there will crop up unexpected agitation and passive resistance throughout the country and India will turn out a second Ireland.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

Giving a funny interpretation of the expression 'passive resistance' and pointing out that it is not in the least suited to the educated persons to adopt the practice commonly in vogue with certain classes of stubborn mendicants who refuse to budge unless their wishes are gratified, the *Dravidan*, of the 6th March, observes:—Is this the policy to be resorted to by the educated? Can any compact stand against the Government? We disapprove of all this. It is said that Mr. Gandhi is advocating a mild resort to passive resistance to demonstrate forcibly the protest of the people against the passing of the Rowlatt Bills. We cannot help construing this to be a mad policy. From a recent discussion in Parliament, it is clear that the Government will not yield even an inch in this matter. It is our opinion that the Rowlatt Bills will be of very great use.

Dravidan, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and Passive Resistance.

The *Dravidan*, of the 7th March, reverts to this subject and reproducing some of the sentiments of the *Justice*, of the 5th idem, under the heading "Active anarchism and passive resistance", remarks:—The Rowlatt Bills have been introduced only for preventing crimes and not for stifling political discussions and agitations on constitutional lines. There is no room, therefore, for opposing these Bills. It is not desirable to cause impediments in the way of the Government under the name of passive resistance, which is not at all suited to the present civilized conditions, and which is not a step in the right direction.

Dravidan, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

Remarking that the bureaucrats are very crafty by nature, but for which they could not have governed India for more than 150 years, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th March, says:—These bureaucrats, whose main principle is to govern India on the policy of 'divide and rule', are doing many wicked acts so as to enable them to keep the Indians under subjection for several years to come, and the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills is one of such Acts. Though these Bills are opposed by Indian leaders and newspapers, the bureaucrats are ready to get them passed by gaining over some Indians to their side. Seeing that the opposition of the Indians is growing stronger day by day, these bureaucrats are prepared to come to terms with the Indian leaders at any cost. Any Indian, who gives room for these Bills being passed by yielding to the bureaucrats, will be committing the sin of having murdered his mother and be condemned both in

Desabhaktan, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

this and the next world. O Indian sisters and brethren! Be up therefore and oppose the Rowlatt Bills by resorting to passive resistance.

Referring to the unsuccessful issue of the conference between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, the same paper remarks that the only thing to be done by the patriots hereafter is to hold meetings in different places promptly to promote the adoption of passive resistance and signing the *Satyagraha* vow inaugurated by the several local committees, transgress the Rowlatt Bills, if they are passed into law.

Quoting an observation of Mr. Gandhi that the Indians are the most patient among all the races in the world and that, as they possess a soul-force, they will not be afraid of the rude force of humanity, this paper writes elsewhere:—Without understanding the real nature of the Indians, the bureaucrats are conducting the administration by means of rude force. How long are the Indians to put up with their irresponsible and unjust administration, which is contrary to British justice and the like of which has not been seen or heard of till now? Is there not a limit for everything? Have the British come to rule, only to destroy the primary rights of the Indians by means of uncivilised laws? Is there no value for the promises given and the Royal Proclamations issued till now? We ask whether the object of the British Government is to govern the Indians by keeping them under subjection as they like. If so, we would say that the aim and trend of the British Government are wrong. We would apprise the Government that the Indians will not put up with the rude administration of the bureaucrats even for a moment longer. The Indians have woke up, and the Government should remember that they would adopt the method of passive resistance and keep on a struggle with the authorities until the repressive laws are cancelled.

Remarking that the object of the bureaucrats in introducing the Rowlatt Bills, while professing to have come here for governing India most sympathetically, is to keep the Indians ever in thraldom and destroy their primary rights completely, the same paper points to a letter said to have been written by Swami Saradananda to Mr. Gandhi, in which the former wishes that the saints and ascetics should now rise from their contemplative worship and says:—When even a great man like the Swami says that the Rowlatt Bills are terrible in their nature, and calls upon the saints and the great to come out of their meditation to oppose them, will his appeal be in vain? Will the saints of Southern India refrain from coming forward to protect Mother Bharata at this juncture?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

Remarking that Mr. Gandhi has come forward to work in the cause of truth, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th March, observes:—Perhaps the Government of India have not yet realised properly that two incarnations (Tilak and Gandhi) have appeared for the establishment of liberty in India. The soul-force of Mr. Gandhi has now spread throughout the country. All are aware of the interview he had with the Viceroy. The Rowlatt Bills are standing like pillars of darkness at the present meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council. Let the Government do anything with these Bills, either pass them or drop them. We need not waste our time any more on it. Let us be mindful of our own duty hereafter. If the Rowlatt Bills become law, what is the course we have to follow? There are three different opinions in regard to this. The first is, without resorting to passive resistance, to wage a constitutional war through newspapers and public meetings. The second is to adopt passive resistance only in respect of the Rowlatt Bills. The third is to resort to passive resistance and do away with the Rowlatt law and other similar measures. The question is which of these is to be accepted and which to be rejected. As regards the first which is the view of the moderates, all are aware that it is an old tale, the reading of which will serve no useful purpose. Is it not because that the late Mr. Gokhale and others followed this method that the cruel adder of the Press Act has bitten the damsel of liberty and poisoned her? It is regrettable that the moderates have not as yet realised how arrogant the bureaucrats are and set at naught the lawful words of the public. As regards the second view, we should thank Mrs. Besant for espousing this view; but we should admit that it is not practicable to adopt passive resistance only in respect of the Rowlatt Bills. If these Bills are to be got rid of, passive resistance should be resorted to in respect of other laws as well. The third view, which is Mr. Gandhi's, is at once in consonance with both justice and experience. We endorse Mr. Gandhi's pledge in this matter. Let all those who have the welfare of the country at heart sign this pledge.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th March, gives in Telugu the proceedings of the meeting held by the Anti-Rowlatt Bills Committee on the 8th March on the beach to protest against the Rowlatt Bills, summaries of the speeches delivered, and the resolutions passed thereat.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

The *Manorama*, of the 7th March, gives an abstract of Mr. Gandhi's letter published in the *Bombay Chronicle* advocating passive resistance in connexion with the Rowlatt Bills and a translation of the vow.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 7th Mar. 1919.

The leading article in the same paper records how the Bills were passed in the teeth of united opposition from all the non-official members, and the futility thus exposed of popular representation in the present Legislative Councils, and observes that, though the modifications made by the Select Committee materially reduce the severity of the original Bills, these Bills are, in the opinion of the leaders of the people, objectionable in their root principle. An abstract is supplied of objections raised by the dissenting members and by those who refused to sign the report of the Select Committee.

The Madras Corporation and the Madras City Municipal Bill.

82. Referring to the special meeting of the Madras Corporation held on the 4th instant, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th March, writes in its leader under this heading :— . . . That Doctor Nair's party has been very enthusiastic in criticising the Madras Municipal Bill is a fact worth noting. . . There are only two ways for the progress of local self-government. The first of them is to entrust full responsibility to the people, and the second is to make provision for sufficient funds with the help of which it will be possible for the people to properly carry out their responsibilities. Both these ways have been ignored in the Bill. . . There is no doubt that the new Bill is opposed to the proposals of Mr. Montagu. . . All the Municipal Commissioners unanimously criticized the Bill in the special meeting held yesterday . . . And there is not the least doubt that the resolution of the Corporation fully represents the popular opinion. It cannot be asserted with any shadow of reason that the resolution is the creation of the political agitator. In these circumstances, will the Government accept the resolution and withdraw the Bill? There is no room for the entertainment of such a hope. If the Government do not accept the resolution, what are the Municipal Commissioners going to do? Like their fellow commissioners, will they resign their seats in the Corporation? . . . Diwan Bahadur P. Thiagaraya Chetti's speech, based as it is on solid experience, goes to establish all the more clearly the truth which the political reformers have all along been crying out, namely, that local self-government can have no chance of progress, unless there is a change in the present system of administration. Doctor Nair, Mr. Chetti and their followers will, therefore, do well to join hands with the leaders of the people and work for the attainment of self-government.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The 12th March.

83. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th March, observes with reference to the Rowlatt Bills the enactment of which will be moved by Sir W. Vincent on the 12th instant :— . . . The laws passed by the Legislative Councils cannot have much value, so long as the present constitution continues. Sir N. Chandravakan advises the popular representatives not to assume any responsibility for the passing of the Bills, so that there may be no room for misunderstanding by others. When this advice is supported by the public opinion, the duty of the elected members is clear. . . They will do well to press their objections to the Bill once more on the 12th in the Council and leave all the responsibility of passing it into law to the Executive Government, without themselves participating in it in the least. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

The vow of passive resistance.

84. Referring in its leader under this heading to the interview between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr M. K. Gandhi at Delhi anent the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th March, observes:— . . . Maharshi Gandhi is a descendant of such heroic characters as Bhishma and Buddha Deva, and a follower of Jainism. He is born of a spiritual caste, and of a race devoted to truth. It is not at all strange

that Maharshi Gandhi should have complete faith in the triumph of truth and justice. There is also nothing strange in Lord Chelmsford, a politician of the modern times, the crown of the bureaucracy, a representative of the enterprising white race, and the living embodiment of the British sway in India which has been established by might . . . defending the power of the sceptre on which is mainly based the absolute rule of the bureaucracy. Spiritual power is not within the ken of the Viceroy. The Westerners cannot realize soul-power. . . Those who are willing to follow passive resistance will be very eagerly waiting to know the programme settled by Mr. Gandhi. . . The bureaucracy will be prompted by their pride of power to guard their own prestige and defend their own followers. Messrs. Khaparde, Patel and Malaviya have ceased attending the Select Committee's meetings. This is also passive resistance. . . Though our leaders like Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Malaviya may resort to passive resistance, it is probable that the Government will pass the Bills into law, if only to carry out their will or to maintain their prestige. When the primary rights of the people are being tightly fettered, what is the good of any scheme of reforms? . . . May the people of India be prepared in this crisis to follow the lead of Maharshi Gandhi and to reach their goal by taking the vow of passive resistance! May the great lesson taught by Bhagavan Sri Krishna to Arjuna on the field of Kurukshetra, in a moment of dejection inspire them with the requisite courage to discharge their duty properly in their present, crisis!

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 1st Mar. 1919.

The duty of our leaders.

85. In its leader under this heading anent the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhravani*, of the 1st March, observes:—. . . The leaders should not take upon them the least responsibility for the passing of these Bills into law. There is no difference of opinion among the people on this point. . . The world must know that neither the people nor their leaders have anything to do with the Rowlatt Bills which are exclusively the work of the bureaucracy. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

Madras leaders and passive resistance.

86. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th March, exhorts the leaders in Madras such as Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar and others to inaugurate in Madras the passive resistance movement which has been started in Bombay to oppose the Rowlatt Bills.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

The budget discussion.

87. Referring to the budget discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th March, remarks:—. . . The whole country has complained that the budget statement of Sir James Meston is very unsatisfactory. Even a child can understand that the expenditure of all the public money on the army and the Railways to the neglect of items of such national importance as education, health and agriculture is not at all beneficial to the country. But Mr. Bannerjee has characterised such a budget as the people's budget. . . It is ridiculous to neglect such useful and urgent needs as health and education, as if the Railways can confer the much desired salvation. . . The loan of 10 millions sterling which the Government want to contract as a war loan will be chiefly required to meet only the expenditure on the Railways, and that expenditure is not certainly necessary for the preservation of life. . . When Sir James Meston pleaded lack of funds as his excuse for not being able to provide 100 lakhs for the improvement of public health, the elected members might have asked within themselves, from what source "could he draw the amount allotted for the Railway expenditure?" . . . By an irony of fate, Sir Thomas Holland had to reply to the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma who asked for an allotment of 50 lakhs for the improvement of Industries. He rejected Mr. Sarma's resolution, saying that the Industrial problem should be dealt with only by the Provincial Governments and that there was no use of taking long jumps in the industrial matters. . . The recommendations of the Industrial Commission are thus bound to remain as pious wishes for a long time. . . A perusal of the whole discussion on the budget will clearly show that all those departments which should be immediately attended to in the best interests of the country have received but scant encouragement.

The sooner the people get the control over their exchequer, the more readily will the benefit to the country at large be undoubtedly felt.

88. With reference to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Desabhimani*, of the 26th February, observes in its leader under this heading :— . . . There are many instances to show that in India, political offenders are in fact treated more harshly than ordinary criminals. The new change will make their lot worse still. The wrath of the Government against political offenders does not stop there. By the other alterations to be made in section 565, such offenders can be transported without any time limit. Even when released, they cannot speak on any political or other subject which is likely to disturb the public peace. All those who have committed sedition in the opinion of the Government will lose all their rights. Every one who, while criticising the actions of Government officials out of sheer patriotism, happens to use unfortunately a strong word, will share this fate. It is proposed to embody all these new changes permanently in the Penal Code. There does not appear a more cruel way than this to put an end to genuine patriotism in the country. These are the provisions of the First Bill. It is left to readers to judge for themselves how drastic they are. If such a Bill should be passed into law, it is difficult to say that any Indian can be safe under it.

The Sedition Bills.

. . . The provisions of the first Bill having been felt to be insufficient, it is proposed to supplement them by the second Bill. This Bill can be put into force at any time the Government please. We think that the power of the Government savours of autocracy even without these Bills. That power will now become intolerable. This Bill will not only make the conditions intolerable, but will also shroud them in incomprehensible secrecy. Such restrictions are not to be met with in any civilised country in this twentieth century. For a parallel we must go back to the 'Starchamber' of the British constitution in the middle ages. These Bills will not only be an insult to India but will also be a matter of shame for the British Government before other freedom-loving Governments We wonder how Mr. Montagu has found his way to give his assent to such legislation. . .

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 26th Feb. 1919.

89. Referring in its leader under this heading to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Desamata*, of the 5th February, received on the 8th March, observes :—. . . That the Government of India should try to pass coercive laws at a time when the whole world is ringing with peace, liberty, and self-determination only shows their narrow outlook in politics, their disregard for those fundamental principles of administration which are necessary for the protection of the individual, and their ignorance of the present psychological condition of the world. . . Such an attempt will have no other result than creating unrest in India which is, at present, enjoying peace. . . While the Peace Conference is endeavouring to help the progress of the world by establishing peace and justice, it is absurd that Great Britain should try to pass such drastic laws in India, discrediting the very essential principles of the conference of which she is a member. . . We are afraid that the passing of the Bills into law in the teeth of public opinion will only make the political situation still more complicated instead of helping the establishment of a calm atmosphere in the country.

The new Bills.

DESAMATA, Rajahmundry, 5th Feb. 1919.

90. Referring to the Hereditary Village Officers Act Amendment Bill, a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 8th March, writes :—. . . It has been laid down that these rights should be enjoyed by us and our succeeding generations. Even though a ruler is deposed, his successor is bound to carry out the agreements entered into by his predecessor. . . It cannot be statesmanship to cause loss to a section of the community by destroying its hereditary rights. . .

The rights of village officers.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 8th Mar. 1919.

91. With reference to the Madras City Municipal Bill, the *Adhraprakasika*, of the 10th March, writes under this heading :— . . . Will the Government, who could not grant the just wishes of the people in the municipal affairs of the Madras City, satisfy larger aspirations? It is very regrettable that the opinions and wishes of the representatives of the people who are paying taxes in spite of all the hardships they

The Local Legislative Council.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

are suffering in these famine days, should carry no weight with the Local Government. In the event of the people refusing to pay taxes, can the Corporation stand on its own legs? . . . If the authorities who doubt the fitness of Indians to receive larger concessions place the management of the municipal affairs of the city in their hands, it will then become clear from the manner in which they manage these affairs whether they are fit or unfit to receive larger concessions. This will be a good test of the fitness of the popular leaders to undertake greater responsibilities. We fully believe that such a trial will establish the fact that a high paid European official is unnecessary.

Swadeshabhimani, Mangalore, 7th Mar. 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

92. In an article deploring the attitude of the Hon'ble Surendra Nath Bannerjee and others who did not join Pandit Malaviyya and others who refused to sign the Select Committee Report, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 7th March, observes:—The leaders of the moderate party have sown the seeds of disunion even outside the council. They have displayed a wonderful type of statesmanship by signifying their disapproval of the harmless passive resistance movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. They say that to resort to passive resistance now is to create difficulties in connexion with the coming reforms. This policy of not attacking a serpent to-day in view of excellent reforms in future can commend itself only to the "children of the Government" and not to others. We believe there can be no one in this twentieth century who would agree to shelter a snake under his pillow in the foolish hope of finding a treasure trove the next day.

ERRATA.

Report No. 7.

Page 234, paragraph 36, line 1, *for* '*Swadesamitran* of 1918' *read* 'Same supplement'.

Report No. 8.

Page 265, paragraph 25, line 9, *omit* 'flowing from the eyes'.
,, 267 ,, 32 ,, 9, *for* 'India large' *read* 'India a large'.

Report No. 9.

Page 323, paragraph 59, line 8, *insert* after the words 'Sir Valentine Chirol' the words 'is true.'

Report No. 10.

Page 357, paragraph 32, line 5, *for* 'produces' *read* 'produce'.
,, 382 ,, 95 ,, 2, *for* '*Yogashenam*' *read* '*Yogakshemam*'.
,, 393 ,, 116 ,, 1, *insert* 'the' between 'to' and 'Soi'.

[Issued, 19th March 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 12 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 22nd March 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

1. *United India and Indian States*, for the week ending 12th March, writes:— United India and Indian States, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

Indians in South Africa.

"Now that the war is over, the world has gone back to its old ways and is much the same what it was always. South Africa, white South Africa, has learned precious little from the greatest war known to history: it has not learnt a single new lesson in humanity or in imperial responsibility. . . So far as South Africa was concerned, its inhuman treatment of the Indian population was too recent, was too shocking, to expect that the war will make any difference in the angle of vision from which the white citizens of South Africa have always viewed the resident Indians there. That angle is the angle of selfish interest, of deep-rooted racial prejudice, of determined jealousy and unconcealed ill-feeling. But we did expect that as the result of the common experiences of the war, that as a result of the new resurgence of imperialistic feeling, that too as a result of the new ideals of Empire and World Peace—the settlement of 1914 will continue to be observed even after the war in its letter and spirit. It now transpires that the white citizens of South Africa are still so mentally undeveloped that to expect so much from them is to pay them a compliment which is far from deserved. Frankly, white South Africa is determined to unearth the buried hatchet of ancient quarrels with India. . . We appeal to the Government of India to make the cause of Indian honour their own. It is time that the place of Indians in the Empire is definitely settled. It will not do to say in a nervous way that the South Africans if pressed overmuch may decide to sever their connexion with the Empire. Already there is a movement with that object in South Africa. To us, loyal citizens of the Empire, it is more essential that the Empire does not consist of unruly and unrighteous elements. It must be a right sort of Empire in which each member will sacredly respect one another's rights."

2. Writing under the heading "Pentland's parting shot," *New India*, of the 13th March, remarks:—"The Madras public is aware of the heroics of Lord Pentland's Government, and now, on the eve of his departure our redoubtable Governor has displayed the prowess of discharging a signal shot. Says Lord Pentland to his Council: 'The Government of India want you for a year more for the purposes of reforms: I want no reforms and I want to foil the wishes of the Government of India; therefore, I don't want you. Out you go!'

New India, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

Lord Pentland and the Madras Legislative Council.

"What will happen if Lord Pentland's unreasonableness succeeds? We will have a new Council elected for three years making early introduction of any reforms in this Presidency impossible. Our retiring Governor is ready to make use of these disgraceful tactics of local bureaucrats. The public of Madras should let His Excellency and all those whom it may concern know what they think of this nefarious move. . . What are the local non-official Indian members going to do? They have a very solemn duty to perform, and we trust they will not hesitate in concerting urgent measures and giving a lead to the Presidency in agitating against this bureaucratic attempt at foiling the reforms. They need not think that they will be acting selfishly by demanding an extension of the term of their office. . . We appeal to the Honourable Members now in the Metropolis to organise themselves and lead an agitation which will save this Presidency the ignominy with which it is threatened."

3. *Justice*, of the 15th March, writes:—"We have industrial unrest everywhere . . . In our opinion the time has come when the Government should intervene and establish Arbitration Boards and liberate industrial and economic disputes from the taint

Justice, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

Industrial unrest in India.

of political bitterness. In saying this we perfectly realize how slow Governments in India are to move and how impervious they are to ideas which may appear heterodox to them. In which case the only alternative that we can see is what some one suggested as a remedy for Russian Bolshevism, to let the fire burn itself out. It is a sad solution of the difficulty. But what is any one to do with Governments which will never come out of their grooves to do anything but continue to flood the country with grandiloquent reports, routine resolutions, and dull Government orders? We can only hope that the tendency to change, which is in evidence everywhere, will have the effect of jerking the Indian Governments outside their groove and making them realize that there are more things in heaven and earth than are recorded in their ponderous blue books."

Nationalist, Madras, 16th Mar. 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council and vernaculars.

4. The *Nationalist*, for the week ending 16th March, has the following:—"Under the regulations and rules framed for the carrying out of the Minto-Morley scheme we are convinced the President of the Madras Legislative Council has no right to rule that English is the language of the council or to rule out a member who desires to speak in Tamil. Such ruling entirely contravenes the very clear purpose of the regulations and rules and sets at defiance real constitutionalism in the face of a precedent in Punjab. We congratulate the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar on the usual bold stand he has made on behalf of the vernaculars of the country and the language of the *people*. To men brought up in false notions of dignity and in the Moha of the English language it is no wonder that Mr. Narasimha Ayyar has appeared eccentric to say the least."

Justice, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

The Medical Reorganization Committee.

5. *Justice*, of the 17th March, says:—"We are told that the Medical Reorganization Committee appointed by the Government of India came to Madras and went away on the evening of the 14th. It is a new development in public investigation in India that committees carry on their investigations with closed doors. It used to be otherwise in the good old days when Home Rule and self-determination were unheard of. We are not in a position to say why this committee to reorganize the medical services in India has been appointed at the present time . . . We have no faith in committees which take evidence in private. We condemned the Southborough Committee on that account. We condemn the Medical Reorganization Committee equally emphatically on that account. The fact that such a committee is going about ought to make public men careful to be on their guard ready to meet any extraordinary recommendations that this secret committee might spring upon an unprepared public. We presume that no final steps will be taken in the re-organization of the medical services without the report of this committee being published and carefully considered in England. We expect to meet the Committee's report somewhere in the vicinity of Whitehall some day, and then we may have a few words to exchange with it. For the present, we simply want our readers to know that there is such a thing moving about the country."

Justice, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council.

6. *Justice*, of the 17th March, observes:—"The terms of all the Legislative Councils in India are to expire next July. But under the extraordinary powers vested in the Viceroy and the provincial heads of administrations, the general election is to be postponed for a year except in the case of Madras. The Viceroy led the way by putting off the elections to his Council for a year. . . The provinces followed the lead of the Imperial Government from force of habit. That Madras did not follow was certainly extraordinary because, under ordinary conditions, Madras is one of the most servile of Indian provinces. But perhaps there is another and a very satisfactory reason for the apparent independence of Madras. . . As there are no Montagu moderates in the Madras Council, there is no necessity to extend its term in order to save them from destruction. A great deal of ingenuity is being expended in discovering reasons for Lord Pentland's action in not extending the term of the Madras Council. To us the reason appears to be quite obvious, and if there are stray Montagu moderates about Madras, it is about time that they made up their minds as to what to do. . . We ourselves believe that the Madras Council will once again be swamped by the Brahman extremists. There

is only one political remedy that will prevent that and that is the establishment of communal electorates. Until such electorates are established the political complexion of the Madras Council will remain practically unchanged whether the election is held this year or next year. We shall await the result of the elections with interest and the Brahman triumph once again will only make us all the more determined to have our claims considered and our rights secured."

7. *United India and Indian States*, for the week ending 19th March, says:— "The Railway and the Army together consume 80 per cent of the total revenue. The remaining 20 per cent must satisfy the needs of the 'unessential' departments, such as Agriculture, Education, Sanitation, Industries, etc. We hope that the Government of India will now cease to wonder why we want changes in the Government of India also and do not like the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme on the point. No Government with a sense of responsibility to the people will venture to frame such a budget."

United India & Indian States, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

The Indian budget.

8. In concluding a leader under the heading "The Task of the League of Nations" the *Hindu*, of the 19th March, observes:— "India has always believed in moral force, as superior to physical force, and that moral force her sons are preparing to exercise by taking the *Satyagraha* pledge. Sooner or later, unless our rulers quickly recognise the necessity of dealing with Indians in this country and in her Colonies and Dominions in a just and equitable manner by conceding their rightful claims to self-realization thereby establishing their loyalty and affection to, and for, the Empire, the condition of things in India will become such that they will attract world-wide attention. And then perhaps, the League of Nations will insist on our rulers reverencing the 'covenant' and maintaining 'those standards' of right and justice which millions of free men, including many thousands of Indians, have faught and bled to establish for all free peoples."

Hindu, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

India and self-determination.

9. Writing under the heading "The Bolshevik wave", *Justice*, of the 20th March, says:—"We have been repeatedly calling the attention of both the Government and public to this great danger staring us in the face. But nobody could make much out of a super-sensitive Government who get nervous at the braggings of the professional agitators in India. If the extremist agitator in Bombay sneezes, the viceregal barometer in Delhi falls to the freezing point and the whole Government of India gets into a shiver. However that may be, what little is attempted to protect India from the inroads of the Bolshevist menace finds but little co-operation from the so-called Indian politicians and leaders, probably because they do not believe that Bolshevism can make any headway in India. Otherwise the opposition to the Rowlatt Bills, which are aimed ostensibly at revolutionary and anarchical crimes, but which are equally effective in checking the spread of Bolshevism, is unaccountable. But reports of the doings of the Russian Bolshevists published in English papers belie this belief. . . The Bolshevik spirit is already abroad and it only requires a little organisation and some funds to give it an impetus. These two things, we are sure, will be amply provided by the Russian Messiah for the Bolsheviks command considerable resources—financial and otherwise. . . But the Indian super-Extremist is blissfully oblivious to such perils. He is, at present, troubled only by the mirage of oppression."

Justice, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

India and the Bolshevist menace.

10. *New India*, of the 21st March, has the following:—"The kerosene oil famine is almost international; and in such matters, the interests of India are always neglected; but since Burma is now a part of the Indian Empire, it must be possible to obtain a larger portion of its output for this country. The situation is almost identical with the case of Rangoon rice. And has not the Government prohibited its export to other countries because of the scarcity prevailing here? Why should not a similar embargo be placed on the oil supplies? The Government of Madras may well bring this aspect of the problem to the notice of the Government of India."

New India, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

The kerosene oil famine.

III.—Legislation.

Indian Patriot, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

The Madras Government and the City Municipal Bill.

11. The *Indian Patriot*, of the 13th March, remarks:—"We have in a series of articles dealt with the provisions of the Bill at length, and we do not consider it necessary to refer to them again. . . On no legislation has public opinion been so strong and vehement, and never has such an imperfect legislation been so assiduously put forward as the right step in the direction of progressive development. The non-officials in the Councils have asked the Government to withdraw the Bill and leave it to the Reformed Councils to remodel it. With this object the Hon'ble Mr. T. Ranga Achari moved an amendment to the effect that the Bill be passed into law two years hence. The debate on the amendment has not produced the desired effect, and the Government to-day as a result of voting has come out triumphant. The determined and unrelenting attitude in refusing to accede to the wishes of the public is unfortunate and deplorable, while all shades of public opinion are vehement in their protest. It is incumbent on the authorities to show deference to the reasoned opinion and considered wish of the educated sons of the soil who desire to take an active interest in civic administration and who are sure to guide its affairs in the best manner possible. Opposition to the measure is keen, but the Government has paid no heed to it."

New India, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

12. In the fourth article on this subject, *New India*, of the 13th March, says:—"Let us now consider the weapons at the disposal of a nation when it sees its civic liberties taken away without its own consent, when the reign of law, administered by the judiciary, is set aside by the executive, and the opinion of the Ruler takes the place of the decision of the King's Judges. . . Now against a despotism the universal opinion of civilized nations acknowledges that a nation has a right to revolt. A despotism has no moral right to exist; it holds power by might not by right. . . Now passive resistance is a form of revolt, but it is one which inflicts suffering on those only who voluntarily offer themselves as victims to despotism, with all their relatives and friends. Revolt means bloodshed and suffering incalculable in extent, with the rousing of hatred and anti-social brutality; passive resistance in its highest form is free from these evils, save from the infliction of suffering on possibly unwilling victims, who love the voluntary sufferers. Nor is it possible to avoid arousing much hatred of the oppressors among the rank and file, even if the leaders are sufficiently saint-like to love the oppressors while resisting them. More especially will it be impossible to avoid the rising of anger against the oppressors, where the latter are foreigners and the sufferers belong to the subject race."

Indian Patriot, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

In a leader under the heading "A Lawless Law", the *Indian Patriot*, of the 19th March, remarks:—"For months past the public mind has been greatly exercised over the question of a legislation which is based on the recommendations of a committee appointed to inquire into anarchical and revolutionary crime in India. Public indignation has found adequate expression. . . With an official majority the Bill as amended has been passed into law at yesterday's meeting, thirty voting for and twenty against. The Hon'ble Mr. Sarma has entered strong protest against the action of the Government and has tendered resignation of his seat in the Council. Could not the Government now at least realise that they are unnecessarily throwing the country into discontent and dissatisfaction? Where reliance is not placed on public will, the result will be far from satisfactory. With one voice has the country shouted against the Bill, but the voice could hardly make itself heard in the Viceroy's Council. Public indignation, if it is not assuaged in a way now, will assert itself, and we do not venture to say what disastrous effects will arise therefrom."

New India, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

In a leader under the heading "the Nation's Difficulties", *New India*, of the 19th March, writes:—"The splendid battle fought in the Imperial Council by our elected representatives has come to an end worthy of the struggle; Messrs. Bannerji, S. Srinivasa Sastri and Pandit Malaviya are reported to have made great speeches of protest, but the mechanical majority, the Government tank, rolled remorselessly over them all. Our Madras man, Mr. Sarma—who did such

brilliant work over the Budget—handed in his written resignation after the passing of the Bill. . . Their resolute struggle has made impossible any movement for passive resistance, for there is nothing left in the Bill which can be broken, except the entering into a revolutionary and anarchical conspiracy with which are connected crimes of violence, and that certainly no good citizen is going to do. . . The Act can be ignored, but it can no longer be disobeyed, and Passive Resistance means disobedience of the special law which the conscience rejects. . . Mahatma Gandhi says, and we agree with him, that *Satyagraha* is not identical with passive resistance. *Satyagraha*, as explained by him and by Shrimati Sarojini Devi, is the inviting of suffering upon oneself as a protest against wrong-doing by the civil authority, the suffering setting free spiritual force, which will shame the wrong-doer into retractation and reparation. That is certainly a very different thing from passive resistance, a political weapon, in which suffering may be incidental, but is not sought for its own sake."

13. In a leader under the heading "a Greater Ireland", the *West Coast Spectator*, of the 15th March, observes :—" We have more than once pointed out that the conditions in India are fast becoming on all fours with those of Ireland, and our fear is that this unfortunate continent also might sooner or later become another land of tragedies. In dealing with the political situation in Ireland, the English Government entered from one mistake into another, and instead of destroying disruptive forces they but succeeded in strengthening the anti-English movement and also the many societies working in active hostility. We have heard it said that the Crimes Act was more responsible for the Irish unrest than any measure. We are going to have a replica of this unfortunate Act, and the question is, if it will remedy these evils or have the reverse effect. . . In this country, unfortunately, weakness passes muster for strength, foolishness for wisdom and narrow vision for broad outlook. And, to make matters worse, we have an Ulster in Extremist Anglo-India which constantly eggs on the Government and incites them to acts of coercion and repression which no Englishman would be a party to willingly. . . However much we might condemn it—and we condemn it whole-heartedly and in unmistakable terms—there is no denying that the passive resistance movement is spreading like wild fire, and it is our honest belief that unless the Government give up their attitude the movement would be fraught with serious consequences."

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 15th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

The following appears in the *Karnataka* of the 19th March :—" If the initiation of the movement is going to produce new Gandhis in unexpected quarters, if new prophets of *Satyagraha* are going to emerge into view as a consequence of the opposition to Rowlatt Bills—that is another matter ; and we shall then be ready to weep in penitence over our present pessimism ; and we shall then rejoice at the augmentation of India's spiritual strength, feeling thankful therefore even to the Rowlatt Bills. In the meantime, may we not be permitted to express a little doubt and to plead for a little introspection on the part of all of us including the would-be *Satyagrahis ?* . . The whole question as to the advisability of resorting to 'passive resistance' at the present moment as a remedy against unjust laws depends for its solution upon the question of the availability of proper men to lead it. And this latter is a question which is more than any one can undertake to answer ; for it concerns not the externals of men, but their inner nature. . . It concerns the inward qualities of man—fearlessness steadfastness, preparedness to suffer physically and mentally,—spiritual strength in one word. On this point, every man must be his own judge and one cannot judge for another. Anyhow, nothing could bring us greater pleasure and pride than to be persuaded that just now we have any number of potential Gandhis in our midst,—that all who have now come forward to sign his pledge of *Satyagraha* are men rich in that rare commodity of soul-force. We wish them success and godspeed. Meantime, if Government take their pledges seriously and withdraw the Bills out of either fear or favour, so much the better for us all."

Karnataka, Bangalore City, 19th Mar. 1919.

Hindu, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

Mr. Gandhi and the Rowlatt Bills.

14. The *Hindu*, of the 18th March, says:—"The arrival of Mr. Gandhi in our midst in connexion with the *Satyagraha* movement ought to rouse the public to a sense of what it owes to its self-respect in the matter of the high-handed invasion of its liberties. There is, it is true, a section of opinion which considers passive resistance unwise, inexpedient and futile. . . The gospel of cowardice may often be wise with the wisdom of expediency, but it can never be popular. Never has there been a juster occasion for scorning the path of expediency and comfortable fatalism than now. Manifestoes may be useful, raw material for political window-dressing but it is not in them to make or mar a movement. Whether *Satyagraha* succeeds or fails it is due to our self-respect as the only form of protest left us."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

15. Referring to the statement of President Wilson that it is the duty of the League of Nations to see that the powers appointed as mandataries attend to the interests, prosperity and progress of the helpless races placed in their charge in preference to their own, and characterising this statement as curious, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 11th March, observes:—Is this progress or retrogression? Before the coloured races in various parts of the world took part in the European war to bring it to a successful close, it was openly declared that the war was waged for a righteous cause to establish the liberty due to each and to put an end to the wily policy of the weak being protected by the mighty, and that, in administration, each country was entitled to have self-determination. At that time President Wilson strongly deprecated the idea of one country guarding the interests of another and even delivered public speeches to that effect. Now the same President Wilson is advocating the very course he was protesting against. He speaks discarding the view that the coloured races are also men and are entitled to the liberty of man. Is it not for the achievement of this very liberty that a civil war was waged by Mr. Lincoln who was President many years before Mr. Wilson? Is it not to secure such human liberty for the African slaves that many Americans sacrificed their lives? It is indeed surprising to every one that President Wilson should now have come forward to deny such liberty to the coloured races, having forgotton all that he had said in praise of this liberty.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

A great advance.

Reverting to this subject, the same paper observes:—It is not all that can have the same convictions as President Wilson in the matter of tutelage and advancement of one country by another according to the views of the League of Nations. To think that one will work without the slightest leaning towards one's own interests, while managing another's property, can be said to be due to the fault of a defective understanding of human nature. Though the ruler may be of that view, is it proper to expect that all his subordinate officers will be similarly selfless? Taking the case of India, it has been the object of the English rulers, from the very beginning, to secure her progress, and all of them have endeavoured to the best of their abilities to give her education and scientific training and improve her industries, but not with much success. Some officers might say that India is now more prosperous than what she was before, and will point out that the benefits conferred on India by her trustees, the Englishmen, are many. All this is true, and the Indians feel highly grateful to the Englishmen for these benefits. Apart from this, the Indians regret their decline in other matters. It is clear from many inscriptions that, in ancient days, there were schools in every village, while the present condition of education is just the reverse of it. In those days, industries were in a highly flourishing condition in India. Now, the very traces of her once extensive trade have disappeared. Even in point of physique there has been a considerable decline and the average life of man has come to be 23·5 years as pointed out by the late Mr. Gokhale. Can this condition of India be attributed to the lack of good faith on the part of the Englishmen who have taken up the trusteeship of this country? No. It is only with the best of intentions that they send officers to India with injunctions to work for her advancement. All of these officers do not foster this liberal view, nor do they allow these defects to be brought to the notice of the authorities above them. It is the opinion of the Indians that in this way India has advanced in one respect and declined in another. If, according to the views of the League of Nations, one country acts as a trustee for another, will the primary object of the league be fulfilled completely?

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 24th Feb. 1919.

The Peace Conference.

16. The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 24th February, observes:—We are glad that India has to send two more representatives to this Conference; but there is no good if the Government themselves should again make the selection. The object of the Peace Conference is to ascertain the public opinion in the different countries of the world. The authorities here should realise well that the Conference is held only to know the difference of opinion between the rulers and the ruled. Representatives should be selected by the Congress and the Moslem League. There is no good in selecting the members of Legislative Councils. We trust that the Government will enable the public to realise their desire in this matter, by according permission to the All-India Congress and Moslem League to select the required representatives.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

The Indians in South Africa.

17. The *Lokopakari*, of the 17th March, also refers to the condition of the Indians in South Africa, and says:—Will the Government of India threaten the Government of South Africa like Lord Hardinge? It will not reflect credit on the British Empire that the Indian subjects of the empire should be subjected to indignity in the countries constituting that empire.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 8th Mar. 1919.

The League of Nations.

18. Referring to the draft rules of the League of Nations, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 8th March, writes:—. . . After a perusal of the draft rules of the League, it seems more appropriate to call it 'a league of white nations.' It leads to the fear and suspicion that all the white nations will keep the black peoples under their power and rule them autocratically and that the latter may fall very low. The only representative of the black peoples in the League is Japan. It is impossible that their one vote can protect the rights of the black people in Asia and Africa. . . . Thus, it is clear that the League is intended only for countries having a constitutional Government and that these will be in charge of countries which have no constitutional Government, to train them in the art of such a Government. Its provisions seem to have been drawn up ostensibly in the name of constitutional Government, but really to plunder dependent (lit. slave) countries and others without a constitutional Government. . . . All these provisions were calculated to establish international peace; but it was not recognized that they would be detrimental to the freedom of dependent (lit. slave) countries. . . . There was much tall talk that, after the close of the war, freedom would be established all over the world and that the principle of self-determination would be applied to every nation. It is impossible to establish peace in the world without granting self-Government to countries which are still in a state of dependence (lit. slavery).

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

The League of Nations.

With reference to the League of Nations, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th March, writes:—Besides America, the Labour Party in England also is, it is understood, dissatisfied with the draft rules of the League. The Chinese Minister, Liang Chi Chao said in Paris that special concessions and zones of influence should be abolished and that equal opportunities should be afforded to all nations.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 15th Mar. 1919.

The League of Nations.

With reference to the League of Nations, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 15th March, writes:—. . . Some time back, President Wilson said that government of one nation by another was absurd and that such a thing would be dangerous to liberty. Has he changed his views, having been convinced that the system which he had criticised before is right? Or has he come under self-deception? We fail to understand the meaning of the following words used by him while praising the draft rules of the League of Nations: ". . . In the countries governed by her, Germany has always tried to promote the interests of western nations at the expense of those of the ruled and has not done anything for the advancement of the latter. This ought not to be allowed any longer." . . . It is regrettable that it should not have struck the delegates to the Peace Conference that the policy of encouraging the dependence of such nations cannot be conducive to the peace and safety of the world.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 20th Mar. 1919.

The League of Nations.

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 20th March, writes:—Differences are cropping up more and more at the Peace Conference. There is no likelihood of the scheme of

the League of Nations being put into execution. The French and the British might prove to be opposed to the views of President Wilson. In that case, President Wilson might turn indifferent in regard to peace. He might return to America content to have the Munro doctrine for his country. This might lead to a European League of Nations, and a League of Nations in opposition thereto. The Allies and the enemy might thus form two different Leagues. These two might begin to fight, and it is difficult to say what the result will be. The Allies have many far-seeing and just-minded among them. A peace based on just terms will be assented to by the whole world. No permanent peace is possible if it is based on partiality. Even students and green-grocers know this to be so. How then can peace be possible if it should be demanded that Germany should be asked to pay an indemnity of twenty-four thousand millions sterling, that the Kaiser should be sent to the gallows that the idemnity should be spread over thirty-five years and that all those who joined Germany should be placed under proper restraint. Even if peace is concluded, will it last? There can be no doubt that the Germans are wicked and beartless. But they are a clever nation capable of reviving themselves though they have been defeated. If the Allies fail to be just, if President Wilson returns discontented, if America becomes indifferent or helps the enemy, if the indifferent (neutrals) should join the enemy, the situation might prove calamitous to the whole world. It is to be hoped therefore that the Allies will consider these matters and ensure the settlement of a lasting peace.

19. Referring to the American opposition to the draft rules of the League of Nations, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th March, remarks under this heading. . . Doctor Wilson's efforts to secure the well-being of the world do not promise to be successful. . . Differences with regard to the League have arisen even in America which has been very enthusiastic about it from the beginning. The resolution moved by Mr. Lodge against the League makes this clear. . . In view of all these facts, it will be seen that the rules of the League of Nations have failed to elicit much enthusiasm. . .

Doctor Wilson.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

20. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th March, writes:—. . . The only way for combatting Bolshevism in Germany is to improve her economic condition and supply her with foodstuffs; otherwise the contagion is likely to spread to the surrounding countries. . . It is but just that Germany should pay a suitable indemnity for the cruel deeds done by her in the various theatres of war. But the immediate collection of it may cripple her for ever, thus leading to the rapid spread of Bolshevism. As has been pointed out by the Pope, the Allies must soon conclude peace with her on such terms as will not disable her permanently. The naval blockade must be removed soon after the conclusion of peace. This is in the interests of Germany as well as of the Allies. . . The readiness of the Allies to supply Germany with food speaks volumes of their noblemindedness. . .

Germany and Bolshevism.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

21. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th March, publishes in Telugu an extract from the letter of an Irish correspondent to the *Independent*, in which the writer, after describing the gravity of the Irish problem and the incompetency of the present Irish Government, expresses the hope that America will help the solution of the ploblem.

The release of Irish Sinn Feiners.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

II.—Home Administration.

(*d*) *Education.*

22. Referring to the Report on India Education for 1917-18, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th March, remarks:—. . . Primary education shows no great improvement. Such being the case, the scant provision made in this year's budget for education is all the more discouraging.

Indian education.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

23. Referring to the review of the progress of education in India from 1912 to 1917 by Mr. Sharp, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th March, says:—. . . It does not seem to have struck Mr. Sharp that Indians are not responsible for the backwardness of primary education in the years under his review. . .

The Indian educational system.

DHARMASADHANI, Cocanada, 1st Mar. 1919.

24. The *Dharmasadhani*, of the 1st March, has the following from the pen of a correspondent:—The present-day education has been a source of many evils to the Aryans. There is a gulf of difference between the system of education in England and that in India. The reason is that the rulers there are of the same race as the ruled. Here the rulers are foreigners. The study of the vernaculars, the history of the country, arts, and architecture have all disappeared. Patriotism has waned and industries have declined. The physique of students has become deteriorated, and they are crippled at the age of thirty.

The present-day education.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

25. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 13th March, reproduces in Tamil some of the comments of the *Hindu* of the 11th idem under this heading about certain assertions made by the Madras Chamber of Commerce in their representation to the Government on the Madras City Municipal Bill, in regard to Municipal Commissioners and municipal contracts under the existing laws.

Municipal Commissioners and contracts.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

26. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 17th March, reproduces in Tamil the comments of *New India* of the 12th idem on the Government Order reviewing the administration of local boards in the year 1917–18, pointing out the need for more real progress in the domain of local self-government, and condemning the tendency of the authorities to withhold the grant of every right to the local bodies until public opinion becomes almost irresistible.

Local boards in this Presidency.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

27. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 13th March, writes:—Yesterday the new Municipal Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council and the right of Mussalmans to national representation was rejected

The end of municipal representation for Mussalmans.

The Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar, a Member of the Executive Council, was kind enough to say that a few seats are left in the gift of the Government. These will be given to Mussalmans and other numerically small communities. Thus have the poor Muhammadans been pacified.

In this case the Government have not listened to the grievances of the Mussalmans, but have retained their right in its own hands as if the Muslims of Madras are still minors, and do not understand what is good or bad for them. Hence the Government are in *loco parentis* and may nominate whom they like to represent the Mussalmans.

(*h*) *Railways.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

28. Stating that it is the unanimous opinion of the people of this country that the administration of railways should be in the hands of the Government, and that Messrs. Lloyd George, Balfour and Churchill have also urged that such administration will be highly beneficial to the country, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th March, observes:—In spite of all this, we learn that the Secretary of State has decided to appoint a committee immediately after the close of the war to inquire into the question of the administration of railways in this country. We do not know whether we are to laugh at this decision or grieve over it. Where is the need for any further inquiry? The views of the people on this point have already been definitely expressed. No further evidence is needed to prove that public opinion is disregarded. It appears that the Secretary of State has agreed to the extension of the contract with the East Indian Railway Company for another five years and that this new contract will expire on the 31st December 1921. Where is the necessity for still retaining the administration of railways by companies when a major portion of the capital invested on the railways in India belongs to the Government, and when such administration has caused great dissatisfaction among the people. The managing directors of these companies are far away in London,

The Indian Railways.

and it is the opinion of the public that these are intent only upon their own profits. Judging from any standpoint, we would decidedly state that this arrangement is quite uncongenial to the interests of our country. If those who administer the affairs of the Government are responsible to the people, will it be possible to carry out any measure against the wishes of the latter?

29. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th March, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, a communication under this heading in which he refers to a tin of sweets despatched by railway parcel from Delhi to Madras having reached its destination with the contents replaced by a roll of paper and, accusing those in the parcel office of systematically stealing the contents of parcels, remarks that if the Railway authorities do not check this evil tendency now alone, it will grow gradually and cause much trouble and annoyance to the public. He suggests that the employees on Railways should be examined every day when they leave, as is done in printing presses.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

Railway rats.

The paper itself refers to this communication and observes:—Ever since the Railways came into existence, innumerable people have been mulcted of their articles by the Railway employees. Though established only for the good of the public, the Railways are causing more harm than good and the reason for this is only the neglect of the authorities. If these keep their employees under strict control, will such thefts occur? If the Railway officials cannot find out the thieves who purloin the contents of parcels, what else are they capable of doing? If those who are responsible for the parcels are punished, will such thefts be repeated? We hope the Railway authorities will turn their attention to this matter at least hereafter.

(*k*) *General.*

30. Adverting to the reply of Doctor Fisher to a question raised in Parliament about the enhancement of pensions granted to Englishmen who now reside in England after retirement from service in India, that the Government of India will soon submit their recommendations in the matter, and remarking that it appears to be their view to raise the pensions in the case of officials of all departments without any exception, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 11th March, observes:—The salaries of the European officers in the Educational, Police and Engineering departments have already been raised. Now in addition to the increase of pension that would be had on account of the enhanced salaries, attempts are being made to raise the rate of pension. Is this just? Should the Indians spend so much of their money for the sake of the Englishmen?

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

Indian service pensions.

31. Adverting to this movement said to have been started with reference to the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 11th March, observes:—It is no wonder that this movement took such a special form in this presidency which has, of late, been a breeding centre for all retrograde measures. What action have the Government taken in regard to this movement? The public anxiously waited to see whether the persent Government would have the boldness with which Lord Morley accepted the resignation tendered by Sir B. Fuller as a threat. But the Viceroy in his speech at the Imperial Legislative Council, without venturing to reprimand the Civil Servants for their mistake, came forward to offer them consolations and assurances to safeguard their interests. The Secretary of the Civil Service Association has forwarded to the Government of Madras along with his reply to a letter of the Government addressed to this association, a copy of the circular issued by it. It is stated in the circular that the permission of Government will be applied for for submitting a joint memorial. In the order of the Government nothing has been said as to whether any such permission has been applied for or granted. This is noteworthy. Further, the Government, who should condemn the interference of Government servants in political matters and their bold attempt to form themselves into an association and send a memorial as being ill-suited and contrary to administrative policy, have simply recorded the papers without any remarks. Perhaps it may be that the order passed further on the

Swadesamitran, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The Civil Service movement.

same subject is treated as confidential. However it may be, the present situation is in no way consoling to us. Neither the Provincial Government nor the Government of India have dared to condemn the new movement and the hostile attitude of the Civil Servants. On the other hand, the Rowlatt Bills are being pushed through the Imperial Legislative Council by force to repress the constitutional agitation of the Indians. What is our duty at this crisis? We should with boldness and perseverance seek only righteousness and truth resorting to soul-force. This is what the present situation justifies. It is this that Mr. Gandhi teaches us.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

Expressing its surprise at the Government of Madras having taken notice of this movement only now, as evidenced by their recent order on the subject, and, remarking that the authorities would take notice of newspapers only when they agitate in such a way as to cause displeasure to them and subject, to the Press Act, such of the papers as act contrary to their views, and that they do not in the least pay regard to public opinion, *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th March, observes:—The Indian Civil Service Officers are paid for their work from public funds. Workmen always get wages. Regardless of this fact, the Indian Civil Service Officers have now come forward to agitate under the impression that their power and influnnce will be curtailed and the liberty of the Indians increased, when the Indian reform scheme comes into force. Being Government servants, it is unlawful for them to agitate in a body. There is nothing strange about the failure of the Indian Civil Service Officers to note this movement to be unlawful. It is but natural that owing to the sudden embarrassment of mind they become unable to distinguish between what is right and what is wrong. What causes great astonishment to us is that even the Viceroy failed to understand this. The Indian Civil Service Officers are already getting large salaries. Their influence is in no way affected. Perhaps they wish to live in palaces like princes and enjoy kingly pleasures. It is well-known that in no other country in the world are public servants paid so amply as in India. In spite of this, it is not at ail proper for the Indian Civil Service Officers to get discontented and agitate. If the Indians are to love the authorities, the latter should conduct themselves in such a way as to secure their love. If, without doing so, the authorities care only for their own interests, the people will get much dissatisfied with them. We believe that the condition of the Madras Presidency will undergo some change after Lord Willingdon takes over charge as the Governor of Madras. As he is one of those holding the view that there should be harmony between the Indian subjects and the authorities, we hope that during his regimé the Indian Civil Service movement will not progress.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

The action of the Government against the *Desabhaktan*.

32. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th March, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, some stray comments on this subject in which the following observations occur:—Wherever we go, we hear only about the forfeiture of the security furnished by the *Desabhaktan*. Many are of opinion that the Government acted with indiscretion in this matter. . . Instead of forfeiting the security amount, could not a warning have been given to the editor of this paper? . . . In England and other countries newspapers condemn and ridicule the ministers and the official proceedings to any extent. But we should ever remember that England and India are not the same. . . So the general inference from such gagging of the newspapers and the people in India is that the Indian should, without murmer, endure all hardships and put up with all the abuse the European may heap on him in the street, in the tram-cars and railway carriages and even with being spitted upon. But how long are the Indians to continue to hold that they are born but to suffer and that it is due to the decrees of fate? The bureaucrats might say that they would not object to the Indians representing their grievances. So we should now make out a list of subjects on which we can speak and on which we cannot. . . It will be highly serviceable if we are furnished with such a list. It is not apparent who decides whether a particular speech or writing is seditious or othewise. It is said that the Rowlatt Bills have been enacted in view to put down seditious movement. But how to decide a particular movement to be seditious?

The action of the Government against the *Desabhaktan*.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th March, reproduces an extract from the *Rangoon Mail* condemning action of the local Government in forfeiting the security deposited by the *Desabhaktan*, in which the following observations find place:—The Press Act is being applied frequently in India, though the Anglo-Indian papers go unchecked, however much they may create class hatred and however strongly they may revile leading men. It is such partial conduct that provokes the Indians.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

The food situation.

33. Adverting to the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar at the last meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, for the formation of a Committee to inquire into the prices of articles indispensable for living, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th March, observes:—This is an important resolution. The prices of articles necessary for life are increasing day by day, and the hardships of the people are indescribable. Sir Alexander Cardew made us understand that the Government were aware of this stressful situation. Their knowing and not knowing the condition, however, make no difference. Whenever questioned, the Government give the stereotyped answer that the food situation is engaging their attention. Should they not definitely state what they are doing and what measures they are adopting? What purpose will be served by the Government giving evasive replies and lame excuses? Will the miseries of the people come to an end by this? Why should the Government be indifferent in this matter? It is indispensable that they should make arrangements for speedily relieving the hardships of the poor.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

The food situation.

Referring to the fact that three of the representative members of the Madras Legislative Council brought forward resolutions in the last meeting of the Council on this subject, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th March, observes:—This is itself sufficient to show how speedily the Government should relieve the distress of the public at present. Though it is more than six months since lootings took place throughout the Madras Presidency as a result of the abnormal increase of prices of foodstuffs, still the severities of famine are getting more and more marked without any symptoms of abatement. The Hon'ble Sir Alexander Cardew stated that the Government were rendering all possible aid in the matter. Though he dwelt at length on the arrangements made by the Government in this connexion, such as the import of 25,000 tons of rice every month from Rangoon into this Presidency and the reduction of the shipping freight, we have to lay stress on the fact that the prices have gone on increasing day by day and have resulted in the existence of famine conditions at present. It is not known why the Government failed to see that the remedial measures adopted by them till now were not of much avail. It is surprising that they did not attempt to find out the proper cause of the rise in the price of rice in spite of the supply of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of tons of rice from Burma. Though a special department has been established to arrange for a proper supply of foodstuffs throughout the Presidency, its work is not at all satisfactory. Though the decrease in the yield is one of the reasons for the high prices of foodstuffs, still there are other important causes. The department constituted to look after the work of import and export of foodstuffs has not produced satisfactory results. Complaint is rife that importing licences are issued only to a favoured few and that this is the cause of the high prices continuing. Further, as the Government state that there is difference of opinion in regard to the question of determining the prices of foodstuffs, it is necessary that the matter should be well considered before a conclusion is arrived at. Moreover, the shipping freight should be further reduced and the question how far railway fares admit of further reduction should also be speedily settled. Arrangements should as well be made for the municipalites and district boards purchasing foodstuffs and selling them to the public without any profit. If not, arrangements should be made to send foodstuffs freely to municipalities and district boards and have them sold at cost price, without any necessity for these bodies to advance money and purchase the foodstuffs. The Government should have already considered these points deeply and rendered proper assistance. Hereafter at least, we hope that all the prominent leaders will be summoned for the ensuing conference and a conclusion arrived at to the satisfaction of all concerned.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

The food situation.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th March, remarks that the most important resolution passed at the meeting held last week here to consider the food situation of the Presidency, is that moved by Mrs. Besant requesting the authorities to remove the restrictions in force regarding the import of foodstuffs, to prohibit completely the export of foodstuffs from India, to afford sufficient shipping and railway facilities for securing the prompt transport of foodstuffs and to reduce, as far as foodstuffs are concerned, the shipping freight and railway charges to the pre-war rates, and adds that, if the Government would accept this resolution and act upon it, the existing difficulties are sure to disappear soon.

The same paper reverts to this subject in its issue of the 18th March, and says:—We do not know how far the Government will act upon the suggestion that all exports of foodstuffs from India should be prohibited. But, it is an indispensable duty on the part of our people to make them do so. The frequent occurrence of famine in our country and the rise in prices are due mainly to the foodstuffs produced here being exported to Europe and other countries. It is not only a mistake but also foolishness on the part of our people to quietly allow the wheat and other foodstuffs grown in our country and the oil-seeds here to be exported to other countries, when they are themselves starving and the oil sells at Rs. 2 in our cities. It is a mistake again on the part of the Government to quietly allow this state of affairs to continue.

Dravidan, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

Referring to a letter, appearing in the *Justice*, from Mr. R. Jambulingam, President, Taluk Board, Vellore, to the Director of Civil Supplies, complaining that a big company in Madras, which had promised on the recommendation of the Director to supply the President with 500 bags of rice every month, had denied such a promise subsequently the *Dravidan*, of the 18th March, says:—It is really shameful that a company should deny its promise of supplying rice to the President of a Taluk Board for the purpose of being sold directly to the poor. If Mr. Gray, the Director, should keep quiet in such matters, his occupying the present position should be said to be of no use to the poor people. If even big companies should adopt such tactics for the purpose of making money, the condition of other merchants may well be imagined. The bureaucrats and the big merchants should therefore try to supply the rice required by the poor without delay, which will relieve the present distress a little. We hope the Government will note this.

Lokopakari, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

Food situation.

Remarking that the opinion of the people is that the existence of the officials who have been appointed to regulate the supply of foodstuffs and control their prices, does not relieve the hardships of the people in the least and that the merchants seriously complain that trade is greatly hampered by these officials, the *Lokopakari*, of the 17th March, says that the opinion of the merchants is not a groundless one and adds:—Have the Government noted the serious complaint resulting from their having given the privilege of importing rice from Rangoon to Messrs. Best & Co., and will they realise the necessity of permitting several leading merchants to get rice from Rangoon, at least after seeing the disappointment caused by the big companies which were entrusted with the responsibility of supplying kerosine oil? They should immediately take steps to secure at least rice easily to the people, as a scarcity of rice will lead to unrest in the country. The inability of the merchants to secure these facilities, though it is four months since the war ended, is giving room for many impressions in their minds and the idea is spreading that all articles are being exported from India, while she is being starved. We hope the Government will, without allowing such ideas to spread, bestow serious thought upon the critical condition of the country.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

Foodstuffs.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th March, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the meeting held in the Gokhale Hall about foodstuffs on the 14th instant, and the summaries of the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed thereat.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

The Tramway strike.

34. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th March, publishes in Tamil the proceedings of a meeting of the Tramway workmen held on the same date in Madras, when Mr. T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar is reported to have addressed the workmen, in the course of

which he made the following observations:—Some English papers say that you have gone on strike at the instigation of others. They will utter only lies. Reading these papers, Lord Pentland will think that the workmen have no grievances. He will know the truth only if he sees things personally. What can the workmen do at a time when the prices of foodstuffs have gone high? I hope that Lord Pentland will interfere and redress the grievances of the workmen. He will then be praised by the people as having done a good act on the eve of his departure from this country.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the same strike, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th March, observes:—The present seems to be a period of strikes. So it is in no way proper to blame the workmen who go on strike. The Anglo-Indian papers cry out that the Indian workmen are irresponsible persons and strike work only at the instigation of others. But what is the cause of the strikes which occur throughout Europe? The prices of foodstuffs are increasing by leaps and bounds. It is possible for the workmen to live without difficulty, only if their salaries increase proportionately with the increase in the prices. The authorities of the Tramway Company are stubbornly refusing the demands of the workmen for increase of salaries and for other help. This Company has already made huge profits. To add to this, they have recently raised the fares. It is really reprehensible that a Company, getting immense profits, should decline to relieve the hardships of the poor workmen.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

Referring to this strike, the *Dravidan*, of the 13th March, observes:—

The Tramway strike.

The demands of the workmen are trifling, and the reply of the Agent of the Tramway Company is not satisfactory. Everybody knows the severity of the present famine, and it is therefore incumbent on the company to help those that get poor wages. Both the parties should promptly do their respective duties and save the public from inconvenience.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the hardship and inconvenience caused to the people by this strike, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 15th March, observes:—Should this condition continue, we will have to be ever in dread of danger breaking out. As this situation is likely to cause inconvenience to the Indians at any time, steps should be taken to set matters right. The control of the tramways is in the hands of a private company who are far beyond the reach of the people of this country, when capitalists and labourers fail out, how can we protect the latter who have become subject to the cruelties of the former? The workmen have decided to go on strike as they have no other alternative. Let the Government deeply consider the question and make arrangements to prevent the recurrence of such hardships at least hereafter.

The tramway strike.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

Remarking that, while workmen are striking work throughout the world on account of high prices of foodstuffs, a strike of Indian workmen evokes a cry from the capitalists and even the Government officials that it is instigated by others, the *Lokopakari*, of the 17th March, observes that, if the authorities of the Tramway Company realise that their profits are due to the labour of workmen, they will begin to attend to the grievances of the latter with sympathy and adds:—But, as these capitalists differ in race from the workmen and as they belong again to the ruling race, they enjoy several facilities, while the workmen have none. When workmen go on strike in England, the Government immediately come forward to seek a remedy. But in India, the Government are indifferent, as if they are favourable to the capitalists. Otherwise either the Corporation or the Government would have come out to undertake the management of the tramways, at least in consideration of the hardships resulting to the public from the stoppage of the tramways for the last one week. Seeing that it is on account of unbearable hardships that the tramway workmen have struck work in these hard days, it is the duty of the Government to interfere. They should not give room for the public to think that they are supporting the Tramway Company. One method by which the public can make the company sympathise with the workmen is boycotting the cars. It is only the want of union among Indians that makes the capitalists, who have come here to earn money, act as they like.

The Tramway strike.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

The Tramway strike.

With reference to the strike of Tramway employees, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th March, remarks:—. . . It is regrettable that the Government should not think it fit to intervene between the employers and the workmen in view of the increasing inconvenience to the public.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

Strikes.

With reference to the Tramway employees' strike, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th March, appeals in its leader to the Government to intervene between the strikers and the Tramway Managers, and save the situation in view of the great inconvenience felt by the public.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

Medical appointments.

35. Adverting to the observation in the report of the Madras Medical College that, owing to the paucity in the number of Indian Medical Service officers, two of the Indian professors had to be taxed, with the responsibility of delivering extra lectures, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 12th March, writes:—Is there any law strictly prohibiting the appointment of those who are not Indian Medical Service officers as professors in the Medical College? Cannot this law be transgressed? Does the mere title of Indian Medical Service increase the knowledge necessary for teaching? Is not this knowledge an indispensable qualification for professorship in a College? If only those who have the knowledge and capability to teach medicine are to be appointed as professors, there is no necessity for appointing Indian Medical Service officers alone to these posts. If Indians can be appointed to these posts, the necessity for burdening two Indian professors with additional work, as stated in the report, would not have arisen. As most of the Anglo-Indian Indian Medical Service officers have gone out of India, all the district hospitals in India have had to be placed in charge of Indians, and no defects or flaws have been noticed in their administration, nor has the efficiency of medical treatment declined in any way. The number of patients who obtained relief in both medicine and surgery from Indian doctors has increased. Are there not among such, capable Indians, persons competent to be professors of the Medical College?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

Medical appointments.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 15th March, reverts to this subject and reproduces in Tamil some of the comments appearing in the *Hindu*, of the 12th idem, under the heading 'Medical services in India'.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

Kerosene scarcity.

36. Referring to the many interpellations in the Legislative Council about the causes of the scarcity of kerosene oil, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th March, says:—The reply of the Government in this matter is not at all satisfactory. Immense are the hardships suffered by the people on account of this scarcity. A few months back, this difficulty was being experienced only in the mufassal; but now it has become difficult to obtain kerosene even in Madras. The reason for this is only the restrictions placed on the traffic of ships. Why cannot the Government of India retain in their own hands the responsibility of transporting kerosene oil? Messrs. Best and Company and Shaw Wallace and Company, who have been managing this business, have not bestowed proper attention on this matter. Considering this, it will be clear that this [?] Company should not have been entrusted with the responsibility of supplying rice also to the poor people.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

The scarcity of kerosene oil.

Remarking that the reply of the Government to the questions asked at the last meeting of the Legislative Council about the kerosene famine in the Presidency is not satisfactory, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 17th March, observes that the Government of India will do well to take in their own hands the control of the traffic of oil steamers and adds:—The difficulty caused in the city may be said to be due to Messrs. Best & Co. and Shaw Wallace & Co., not having made proper arrangements in the matter of supplying kerosene. Though these companies hold the monopoly of the supply, we think the Government can save the people a lot of trouble by taking over from the hands of the companies the work of distributing the oil to different places and managing it themselves.

The kerosene oil famine.

With reference to the kerosene-oil scarcity in the Madras City, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 18th March, writes under this heading:— . . . It is not possible to describe the row which one will see at the retail depots every evening, if one goes there. . . It seems to be better to increase the time fixed for the sale of the oil. There is no room to think that in such a case, the oil supplied to the depot will not be sufficient to meet the public demand. There is a rumour to the effect that the owners of depots are secretly selling some of the oil supplied to them to retail-dealers at a higher price, and are thus unable to sell the oil to the public properly. This rumour is not without some foundation.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

The Ali Brothers and Rowlatt Bills.

37. While appreciating the action of Mr. Ghate, the Solicitor of the Ali Brothers, in having condemned the Rowlatt Bills and pointed out how they would lead to the perpetual imprisonment of his clients, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th March, asks why the Government of India are still silent about the future of these brothers, though the report of the special committee which made an inquiry about them has already been submitted.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

The Press Law in India and elsewhere.

38. In a short paragraph under the heading "Is not India a part of this world?", the *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th March, publishes in Tamil what appears in *New India*, of the 19th idem, as an extract from the *Independent*, showing the liberty enjoyed by the Press in all countries in the world and also India. The *Desabhaktan* contains a prefatory remark that the Press in other countries laugh at the Indian Press Act, and adds its own name to the list of nationalist papers in India, which have had to deposit securities under this Act.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

The India Office Committee.

39. Referring to the personnel of the Committee formed for reforming the India Office, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 13th March, observes:—Neither Mr. Bupendra Nath Basu nor His Highness the Aga Khan, who are members of this Committee, has any experience in matters of finance. It is essential that an Indian with this experience should be on that Committee, inasmuch as the financial matters relating to the Council of the Secretary of State for India form the chief subject of the Committee's investigation.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

The Legislative Council and the vernaculars.

40. Referring to the decision of His Excellency the Governor prohibiting the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar from speaking in his mother tongue in the Legislative Council and appreciating the courage with which he manifested his love of country and love of language, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th March, observes:—We are bound to point out that the action of His Excellency in having prevented the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar from speaking in Tamil is not in consonance with rules and justice. To the best of our knowledge, it is nowhere stated in the Legislative Council rules that the proceedings should be conducted only in English. But it is well-known that both in the Madras Legislative Council and in the Imperial Legislative Council the Government were nominating as members those who had not the least knowledge of English and enacting very important laws for a long time. Perhaps our Governor is not aware of this. Even now there is a provision in the rules that, when Bills are introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council or the Select Committee's reports are presented, the Secretary of the Council should furnish Hindustani translations of these for the use of those members who do not know English. Further, it is also provided in the rules that, when a member not knowing English desires to express his views, he can ask another member to explain the same in English. It is nowhere specified that speeches should be made only in English. Our disability to speak in our own language on our own affairs in a Legislative Council established in our country for our benefit, is one of the several hardships we suffer from want of Home Rule. The distinction between the language of the rulers and that of the country is kept up only in countries that have lost Home Rule and are subject to the rule of others. But at the present time when it is said that Legislative Councils are being regarded as representatives of the people and that they are soon to be made the chief instruments of responsible Home Rule, there appears to

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

be no justification whatever for preventing vernacular speeches being made in such a Council. Though there have been rules from the beginning requiring all officials getting high salaries to become well conversant with the vernaculars and associate closely with the people, these are not observed in practice. The Government expect that more than a hundred representatives will soon be elected for the Legislative Council by thousands of voters in each district. If this is to serve any real benefit, we urge the importance of establishing the right of speaking in the vernaculars in the Legislative Council even now.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th March, also refers to this subject and, remarking that there are many proofs to show that the present Government do not encourage the Tamil language, observes:—So long as the responsibility of administration rests with those that do not know the vernaculars, various kinds of hardships will always be afflicting the vernacular newspapers and those that work for the spread of the vernaculars. If the proceedings of the Legislative and other Councils are conducted in the vernaculars, many benefits will result and the public also will begin to take an interest in administrative matters. It is because the proceedings of Legislative Councils are now conducted only in English and it takes very long to study a foreign language, the public fail to have anything to do with these councils. His Excellency himself admits that there is no rule prohibiting the proceedings of the Legislative Council being conducted in Tamil. Is it proper then to restrict one's right to speak in Tamil? We presume that Mr. Narasimha Ayyar spoke in Tamil only with the object of showing to the world how far the rights of man are safeguarded in the Legislative Council. We have noted that it is one of the many charitable acts of Lord Pentland to have restricted the liberty of Mr. Ayyar without pointing out the rule. Mr. Narasimha Ayyar's standing by his right constitutionally has established the greatness of the Tamils. The public should note that the constitutional procedure adopted by Mr. Ayyar in the Legislative Council is often hampered. Insulting Mr. Ayyar amounts to insulting the Tamil world. We are extremely glad to find that Mr. Ayyar, without heeding the personal insult to him, is fighting undauntedly for the cause of truth and right, on account of the insult offered to his country. The Council should be full of only such members as Mr. Narasimha Ayyar. The other non-official members in the Council should follow his example and some of them should begin to speak in Tamil at the next meeting. Why should not the officials, who come from the west to earn money, learn the language of this place? Why should the many in India learn English on account of the few coming from the west?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

Referring to this subject, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 13th March, observes that in other provinces some members have made speeches in Urdu, and that it will be evident from old records that some of the members of the Legislative Council in the past were not conversant with English, and remarking that there is no rule insisting upon speeches being made in the council only in English, adds:—The matter cannot end here. Legislative Councils are hereafter to conduct themselves as the popular representative assemblies. The time is approaching for them to bear the responsibility of administration. It is the duty of the representatives to acquaint the Council with the correct views of the people, and they have taken on themselves this responsibility. Unless the proceedings of the Legislative Council are conducted in the vernaculars, the people will have to be quite ignorant of them. It is not proper for the authorities to belittle the vernaculars. The rules require that the Anglo-Indian officers should have a knowledge of the vernaculars. To obviate the restriction imposed by the rules, they learn a few incorrect expressions and posing to have passed the examinations in the vernaculars obtain prizes and official status. In fact, they do not learn the vernaculars with any sincere interest. Hereafter, only those who are conversant with the vernaculars, will be eligible to become officers. The right of speaking in the vernaculars in the Legislative Council is very important. There has been no rule till now denying this right. We believe that, in view of the trend of the times, the eagerness of the people, the political awakening and the changes likely to be made in the future, a clear rule will be made authorizing speeches being made in the vernaculars in Legislative Councils.

The *Dravidan*, of the 13th March, reproduces in Tamil the sentiments of the *Justice*, of the 12th idem, decrying the action of the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar and compares his performance to that of a buffoon on the stage.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

The Legislative Council and the vernaculars.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 17th March, also refers to His Excellency the Governor having prevented the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar from speaking in Tamil in the Council and, appreciating the conduct of Mr. Ayyar in standing by his right knowing that he will fail, observes that the vernaculars will be respected only in the time of Home Rule.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

The Local Legislative Council.

Referring to the reply of the Government in the negative to an interpellation in the meeting of this Council regarding the question of extending the term of the present Council, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th March, observes:—Many would have anticipated that Lord Pentland too would extend the term of the Council, as has been done by the Viceroy and other provincial heads. None can fail to note that Lord Pentland has with some special object in view declined to exercise this new power of extending the term of the Council. We have to infer that he has shown his usual lack of sympathy with the non-official members even in this important matter and does not wish to continue the Council for another year with the existing representative members. Further, his hostile attitude towards the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, openly avowed by him, appears to cling to him even when the reforms have to be carried out. It may be argued in his favour that by the extension of the term of the Legislative Council by an order of Government, the public would be deprived of their right of election. Though we do not deny this view, we have mentioned that there might be other reasons for his not realizing adequately the importance of the occasion of the introduction of political reforms. It is seen that the present representative members have felt it keenly that they are being treated by him with lack of sympathy, and propose to give proper expression to their real feeling. Unless the provincial heads evince greater sympathy than at present, we cannot say that the provincial administration to be constituted according to the new reforms, will be conducted amicably and smoothly.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

In commenting on this subject the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 13th March, makes the following observations among others:—The decision of His Excellency on this point is curious. What made him deviate from the course adopted by the Government of India even after knowing their views? It is not known on what authority he has so resolutely refused to comply with the public wish? It is a matter for regret that while the authorities are bound to afford the necessary conveniences to the people, he has thus acted without caring for their conveniences. We do not know if Lord Pentland would say that he has issued an order like this because of his conviction that the right of extending the term of office of the representative members legitimately belongs to the people and not to the Government.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

The local Legislative Council.

In commenting upon the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, the *Lokopakari*, of the 17th March, echoes the view of other papers that the replies of the Government to the interpellations of members were as usual not satisfactory, and attributing the reply to the questions regarding the Indian Civil Service movement and the book 'Crisis in India' written by Mr. K. Srinivasa Rao to the Indian Civil Service officials and the District Judge of Guntur being in favour of the authorities, remarks that, if the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson had understood the condition of the country, he would not have stated in the Council that juvenile smoking has not increased.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

Vernaculars and the Legislative Council.

Referring to the attempt made by the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar to speak in Tamil in the local Legislative Council the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th March, observes in its leader under this heading:— . . . Judges were writing their judgments in vernaculars till some time back. Those judgments yield in no respect to those written in English. That system can be revived. There is no objection whatever to the conducting of the proceedings of

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

local self-government bodies wholly in vernaculars. When the majority of the members of these bodies do not know English, it is meaningless to conduct the proceedings in English. The necessity of using vernaculars in Legislative Councils also is increasingly felt day after day. . . When we are told that some members of the Punjab Legislative Council are in the habit of addressing in Urdu and that there are such members even in the Imperial Legislative Council, we may infer that proceedings are sure to take place in vernaculars in future. It is true that in provinces with many languages the use of vernaculars will lead to some trouble. This trouble should be got over not by using a foreign tongue in preference to vernaculars, but by constituting provinces on language basis. In no other country than India do we see the administration carried on in a foreign language. There cannot be a more unnatural condition. It is not desirable that such a state of affairs should continue even after the introduction of the Reforms Scheme. As if to herald this future condition, the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar began his speech in Tamil during the debate on the Madras City Municipal Bill. . . He refused to speak in any other language. This strange story thus came to an end. . . But its consequences will not stop here. . . There can be no two opinions on the regard shown by Mr. Ayyar to his mother-tongue, on his striking originality and resoluteness. The manner in which he has shown his love of his mother-tongue undaunted by any thought of public praise or blame is more effective than passing a hundred resolutions about the improvement of vernaculars and will be of great help to the national progress. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 15th Mar. 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council.

Referring to the attempt of Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar to speak in Tamil during the debate on the Madras Municipal Bill in the Local Legislative Council, the *Andhravani*, of the 15th March, remarks:—. . . It has not been specifically laid down what language should be used in Legislative Councils. From this, it may be asserted that those who drew up their constitution were not opposed to the conduct of the proceedings there in vernaculars. . . The authorities cannot afford to ignore the importance of the vernaculars of the country. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council.

Referring to the proceedings of the last session of the local Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th March, observes in its leader:—. . . The Legislative Council does not propose to grant the wishes of the people during the governorship of Lord Pentland. It has not hesitated in the least to oppose the popular aspirations. . . While the Reforms scheme is loudly proclaiming that the present system of election do not guarantee proper representation, the Government of Lord Pentland have decided to have elections under the old system. As this decision is of a piece with their other acts, there need be no wonder about it. . . . The reply of the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achari to the proposal of the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju for the establishment of a Sanitary Board for the improvement of village sanitation is strange. . . The helplessness of the people is becoming more and more obvious. . . To think that taluk boards are not fit to elect their own presidents at a time when the scheme of self-government is about to be introduced does not show confidence in the ability of the people. Though the proceedings of the Council are not calculated to help the cause of the people, the attempt of Mr. Narasimha Ayyar to speak in Tamil is encouraging to the new ideals. There can be no progress in self-government, unless the administration is carried on in vernaculars. . .

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

Meeting of the Legislative Council.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 12th March, writes:—The session of the Council began yesterday. It is most astounding that the term of the Council has not been extended. We do not understand why the procedure adopted by the Government of India has not been followed. Constitutional reforms are about to be introduced, hence His Excellency the Viceroy thought it advisable to extend the term following the precedent of the Minto-Morley Scheme. But the Government of Madras have refused to follow the law of the Government of India, and seem to have acted on the principle of passive resistance. It is a pity they have treated with indifference the Government of India's sensible procedure.

Would that the Government of Madras were to break from all connexion with the Supreme Government we should then be in a position to congratulate it.

As to the firing on Mapilas and the treatment of the dead it says the most barbarous thing of all was that the corpses were burnt. The injury caused by this act to Muhammadan sentiments needs no description.

41. In an article under this heading in the *Dasabhaktan*, of the 13th March, which is continuation of an article under the same heading that appeared in a previous issue and has been abstracted in paragraph 48 of Report No. 9 of 1919, a correspondent refers to the plea advanced by the anti-Home Rulers that the very fact of the Indians having been conquered showed that they were incapable of defending themselves and that they were therefore unfit for Home Rule and, pointing to several instances such as Canada and South Africa where conquered countries and races have been given self-government, observes that this plea cannot hold good in the case of India alone and adds:—The multiplicity of castes, creeds and languages prevailing in India is quoted against her. But is there a greater diversity in India in these points than in Austro-Hungary, Switzerland or America? Then again these differences are bound to disappear with the spread of education. The Native States like Mysore, Baroda and Hyderabad which are progressing more rapidly in administrative matters than British India, are also instances to prove that diversity of race or creed cannot be a clog to Home Rule. Though there may not be sufficient facilities now to establish the same type of Government throughout India, there does not appear to be anything to prevent the introduction of the element of Home Rule at least in the administration of the provinces. Our reply to the newspapers like the *Englishman*, which always cry that Home Rule will be granted to us only when we are able to protect ourselves, is that they should look at their own countries before condemning us. But for the certainty of England coming to the rescue of Australia and Canada, the former would have been devoured by Japan ten years back and the latter annexed by the United States of America. Taking England herself, can she stand alone in a war? It is no secret that, in every war within the last 50 years, assistance has been rendered to her by the colonies and India. Will any one on this account boldly declare that Australia, Canada or England is unfit for Home Rule? So it is a folly to bring forward this argument in the case of India alone. Moreover, the disappearance of the valour of the ordinary people is due to the Arms Act.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

Are we fit for *Swaraj*?

42. Referring to a statement said to have been made by one Mr. Fortesque in a recent speech of his in London that the British should be ever grateful to Indians for the services rendered by the latter and that nothing has been done by His Majesty in return for these services, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th March, says:—Every sensible man will admit that this is quite true. Like this gentleman, many Britishers have spoken and written in praise of the loyalty and patience of the Indians, and yet the bureaucrats, as if unmindful of this, block the acquisition of liberty by the Indians, by enacting cruel laws. Now the Government of India are trying to introduce such laws as a reward for the help and services of the Indians! And the Anglo-Indian papers say that this is British justice! Can Mr. Fortesque be unaware of what is happening in India?

Desabhaktan, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

The loyalty of the Indians.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th March, publishes the first portion of an article on this subject from the pen of a correspondent, who begins it with the remark that India has been the abode of loyalty from time immemorial and makes the following observations among others.—There is a great difference between the loyalty of the western countries and that of the Indians. The westerns will establish a monarchy one day, convert it into democracy another day and change it again to anarchism on the third. They will not be afraid of even murdering their king. Many are the stories, abounding in the history of the west, of kings having been hunted down and killed like animals without the least sympathy. . . They say that the king and the people live amicably in a representative system of government. But anarchism has not disappeared from western countries, even after they had attained such a form of government. The reason for all this is

Desabhaktan, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

The loyalty of the Indians.

that loyalty is not inculcated to them as a type of devotion to god. To them the killing of animals is quite natural and convenient and, if they judge our loyalty from their standard, it will not be clear to them. They should judge it from the religious basis we give to it. . . The authorities think that anarchism exists in this country, which has never seen or heard of it. They not only think so, but declare it openly and even decide to enact a law to check it.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 24th Feb. 1919.

Vaccination.

43. The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 24th February, observes:—As the vaccinators have not got the required education, they are not able to adjust the quantity of lymph according to the condition and the constitution of children. Some people fearing that they will be liable to fine if they fail to present their children for vaccination on the appointed day, and some others fearing that they will incur the displeasure of the vaccinators if they say that the children are ill, do not acquaint the vaccinators with the actual condition of the children, and when these children are vaccinated much inconvenience is caused to them. Further, the lancet used in vaccinating an unhealthy child, by being used for vaccinating a healthy one, carries the germs of disease from one child to another. To prevent this kind of infection, the lancets should be properly sterilized. It is not known why these things are not carried out in practice, though there are rules enjoining these duties. It is incumbent on the District Medical and Sanitary Officer to see that these things are strictly attended to, and that the disease of one child is prevented from spreading to another.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 24th Feb. 1919.

The Government and popular leaders.

44. Referring to the proscription by Sir Harcourt Butler of the address of Doctor Ansari delivered by him as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Moslem League last year, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 24th February, writes:—The power of interpreting the expressions, loyalty and disloyalty, rests only with the authorities. The law is not quite clear on this point. It is only in consideration of this that the authorities want further repressive measures. The bureaucrats have been acting against the good of the public, taking advantage of certain differences of opinion among the people and preventing them from protesting against the actions of the bureaucrats affecting the liberty of the public. When factions spring up amongst us agreeably to their policy of 'Divide and rule', the bureaucrats, finding it difficult to accomplish their objects easily, begin to blame us and draw our attention to the split among us. The authorities repress as they like even the leaders chosen by the public. Want of union is the only cause for all this.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 24th Feb. 1919.

The moderates.

45. Condemning the policy and the action of the moderates, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 24th February, asks why, at the present time, when President Wilson is both preaching and carrying into effect the policy of self-determination for every country in the world, certain people styling themselves as moderates should like to be in the position of slaves, and observes:—What to say of these moderates who take an interest in speaking disparagingly of the resolutions of the Congress which represent the Indian public opinion? At the present time when the people are expressing their opinions realising well their responsibilities, it will be profitless if these moderates do not change their old views. Public opinion should receive foremost attention at a time when the Rowlatt Bills are pressing us. The bureaucrats cannot flout public opinion as they like. The authorities who were giving out formerly that all unnecessary agitation was due to a portion of the educated classes, can very well find out, from the large number of telegrams received every day condemning the Rowlatt Bills, how at present the people are realising their hardships. . . These moderates, acting on the words of the authorities, threaten us that if the Rowlatt Bills are opposed, the Reforms Bill will not be passed in the Parliament. We urge that the Government will pay proper attention to the public opinion without accepting only the opinion of a party.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

Juvenile smoking.

46. Anent the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar at the last meeting of the local Legislative Council that the Government should prohibit juvenile

smoking by law, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th March, remarks that, while such a law has been passed in every country in the west on the request of the parents, the Government in India would not pay any heed to the prayer of the parents in this matter and adds:—As the evil habit of smoking can be prevented only by a law passed by the Government, it is necessary that they should take an interest in this matter. How long are they going to waste time without realising this? We are surprised at the statement of Mr. Davidson that there is nothing to show that this habit is increasing, and that the Government should know first that the public are anxious to have a law on this subject. Is not the opinion expressed by Indian doctors and popular leaders, that this is a horrible habit, the opinion of the public? Does not the suggestion of fifteen municipalities in this Presidency that such a law should be passed, represent public opinion? Need we point out that it will be cruel on the part of the Government to put off, on false excuses, any action to get rid of this horrible habit which is spreading among youths, and thereby to help its further growth?

Boys and smoking.

Referring to the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar's resolution calling for State legislation to prohibit smoking among boys, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th March, asks why a law which was found necessary in the Travancore State is not required in the Madras Presidency especially in view of the fact that the bad habit is increasing here.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

47. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th March, writes as follows about His Excellency Lord Pentland:—We regret very much to learn that Lord Pentland, who spoke disparagingly of the Home Rulers two years back from the Nilgiris, the Secretary for Scotland that interned Mrs. Besant who has devoted herself for the service of the country, the magnanimous soul that secured the conviction of Dr. P. Varadarajulu Nayudu, the Tilak of the South, who was touring round the villages, the great archer that aimed an arrow at the 'poor *Desabhaktan*' whose guiding principle is always devotion to country, King and God, and the Britisher, who, by the exercise of authority, prevented one from speaking in the vernacular, is getting away from Madras on the 28th instant. Though we are sorry at his leaving our midst so soon, it seems to be necessary that, having stayed in this hot Presidency for nearly six and a half years, he should now proceed to England to cool his brains. Unlike other Provincial Governors, he stayed here for more than six and a half years, and he did rare things within this period. He has made it impossible for his name to be forgotton for ever.

Lord Pentland.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

48. Adverting to the question raised at the last meeting of the Legislative Council about the propriety of Mr. K. Srinivasa Rao, the District Judge of Guntūr, having published a book entitled 'Crisis in India' the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th March, says:—This question did not elicit any proper reply. Why? Are the Government supporting his book, because it is in their favour? Can even the Government rules operate differently with different people?

Government servants' conduct rules.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

49. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th March, writes:—It appears the Irishmen do not care for the laws of the Government and that the Irish labourers strike work all of a sudden and cause many troubles to the people by transgressing all legal bounds and yet there is no one to check them. In India, if labourers, having grievances, strike work with the object of getting these redressed, the Anglo-Indians find fault with them. How long are the labourers to be without seeking any means of getting their grievances redressed? Cannot the Anglo-Indian merchants spend even a small amount of the immense profits they are making for the welfare of the labourers? It is the belief of the Christians that the profits earned by the labour of men, who are not protected properly, will not last for long. Let the managers of the Madras Tramway Company note this principle.

The condition of labourers in India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan* has a leader on this subject, in its issue of the 15th March, in which it says:—The condition of labourers in India is very pitiable. Strikes are of frequent occurrence everywhere. It is only ignorant persons, who have no feeling of humanity, that can say that the labourers go on strike wantonly. The cause of these strikes is only poverty of the labourers and the pertinacity and the lack of sympathy of the capitalists. There have been a number of strikes in Madras. The Buckingham and Karnatic Mills were closed twice and caused very great distress to innumerable poor labourers. The workmen of the Madras Tramway Company struck work once already and they are on strike again. It is now five days since this strike began. Both sides are stubborn, which results in great hardships to the public. We would remind Lord Pentland that the Governor of Bombay did not sleep when there was recently a serious strike there. Why cannot our Governor follow the example of his colleague at Bombay? We do not know if he is deceived by the words of the Anglo-Indian papers and other papers that prove treacherous to their country that strikes are due to the instigation of political agitators. The labourers have not derived any benefit under the regimé of Lord Pentland. The bureaucrats have learnt the lesson very well of attributing any small disturbance at any place on any account to the work of political agitators. What can we do for this? Let the Tramway workmen stand unitedly and resolutely by truth and they are sure to win a victory.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

'The blackman.'

50. The *Desabhuktan*, of the 15th March, publishes in Tamil an extract from the *Independent*, which refers to the *Saturday Review*, of England, having ridiculed Sir S. P. Sinha as a 'blackman' and invites the attention of the British officials in India to a letter said to have been written by the late Queen Victoria to the Duke of Cambridge appreciating the qualities of the Indians and strongly condemning their being described as blackmen.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th March, also refers to the attack on Sir S. P. Sinha by the *Saturday Review* and quotes the letter of Queen Victoria.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

India and the Bolsheviks.

51. Dwelling at length on the barbarous deeds of the Bolsheviks and referring to their threat to spread their views throughout Asia and chiefly in India, the *Dravidan*, of the 13th March, remarks:—It is said that Mr. Lenin proposes to invade India with an army twenty lakhs strong during the summer. Even if this becomes a fact, most of the Bolsheviks will, it is certain, succumb to the climatic conditions of this country. Though they are huge in numbers, they have no military training. They are more a gang of armed robbers than an efficient expeditionary force. Traitors to the country who are indulging in anarchical acts will be very anxious to welcome the Bolsheviks. At this time a few so-called patriots are making a strong agitation to secure liberty for India. No doubt it is a natural desire that we should love the country in which we are born and brought up, and this love engenders in us a communal feeling and induces us to seek the progress of the country and the advancement of our brethren. But if patriotism is carried to excess and gets mixed up with undesirable ideas, it will breed sedition. Some of our patriots are associating with anarchists who entertain seditious ideas. The anarchists are awaiting the arrival of Bolsheviks, who are threatening to invade India. Further, to facilitate the spreading of their views in India, the Bolsheviks have organized an Indian association in Russia and are issuing through it pamphlets which are likely to start a seditious movement here. We urge that, at this juncture, it will be well if our Government who have already allowed a barbarous movement to transgress its limits, take a little precaution in this matter.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

India and the Bolsheviks' menace.

The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 15th March, has a leader on the subject which is briefly to this effect:—The Bolshevik plunderers, who exceedingly abhor all law and order whether human or Divine in its origin, are proud of their two leaders, Lenin and Trotsky. Lenin boasts that next spring he will attack India with two million men. We think Lenin's dream is not a whit inferior to the German Kaiser's vision.

52. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 15th March, observes:—The introduction of this system is the best way to prevent the middle men from making an unjust profit. By this, the purchaser is saved unnecessary loss, and the Government will get increased postal revenue. The Government of India have, for some time, been considering over the introduction of this system between England and India. It is stated that the European Trades Associations in India are objecting to it. It is but natural that the huge profits they are now making will go down by this system. We trust that the Government will, without caring for their objection, introduce the system between England and India.

Foreign value payable postal system.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

53. Remarking that this Commission is the most fortunate of all the Commissions and Committees formed by the Government till now, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th March, writes:—Though many years have elapsed since the Decentralization Commission, the Famine Commission, the Public Services Commission and the Irrigation Commission have submitted their reports, still many of their recommendations have not been given effect to. Had the recommendations of the Famine and Irrigation Commissions been given effect to, the country would have been more prosperous. While such recommendations remain unattended to, the Government have resolved to carry out the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission immediately. During the discussion in the Legislative Council on certain amendments to the Rowlatt Bills, the member who spoke on behalf of the Government quoted the recommendation of the Commission as being against them. At a time when even such divine works as the Vedas, the Bible and the Koran are attributed to the human authorship, the Rowlatt report is credited with a divine character.

The Rowlatt Commission.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

54. The *Dravidan*, of the 17th March, reproduces in Tamil the sentiments of an article appearing in the *Justice* of the 15th idem under this heading, pointing out the necessity for the Government to effect certain reforms to prevent labour troubles in India.

Industrial unrest in India.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

55. The *Desabhaktan* of the 17th and the *Dravidan*, of the 18th March, republish from the *Times* what appears to be a proclamation issued by an anarchist organization in a Russian town in which all women there between the age of 17 and 32 are declared to be the common property of the town, and rules are laid down about the restrictions subject to which they will be available for men, and the former paper comments as follows upon this proclamation:—What other evidence is needed to show that western civilization is characterised by a bestial feeling? When we see how women are respected in India and how they are treated in the western countries, the glory of our land will become patent. When we consider the extent to which western civilisation has spread among women, their lack of knowledge is well brought out. What do we learn from this but that it will take many centuries for the west to acquire a spiritual feeling.

The Bolshevik marriage.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

56. Adverting to a statement said to have been made by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice T. Sadasiva Ayyar that he had to resign his office as the Vice-Chancellor of the National University to suit the wishes of the Government, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th March, observes:—It is reprehensible that the Executive Government should treat like this one occupying a high judicial office. They have no power to interfere with the National University and as such, how can they exercise their authority over those holding office in that University? Our local Government are perhaps unaware of true Britishers like Sir John Woodroffe condemning the existing system of education in India. The National University has been started only for the purpose of spreading such an education as will conduce to the progress of this country. It is a fact admitted by all that it is only national education that is suitable to the Indian youths. It is not, therefore, desirable that the local Government should, without understanding these things, take such high-handed steps on the advice of experts like Doctor Nayar.

The Government and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice T. Sadasiva Ayyar.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 18th March, also refers to this subject and, remarking that the Government have a wrong impression of the National Education Movement, adds:—Many Indians deem this movement to be necessary and think that there is nothing hostile to the Government therein. If the Government opine otherwise they will do well to apprise the people of it openly. Such side-hits at it, as the present action, will excite the people, which the Government should avoid. Further, we have been under the impression that the Indian Judicial Service is not subject to the Executive Government in India. We do not know on what authority the Government of India have interfered in this matter.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

57. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th March, writes:—The main reason for the moderates detesting this movement and for some who profess to be nationalists not evincing much interest in it, is the low opinion they have of the devine principle of patriotism. Patriotism is not developed by mere talk but by one's own efforts. How many of our popular leaders have endured suffering for the sake of their motherland? How many have entered prison to establish a principle? Only two names strike us in this connexion and they are Tilak and Gandhi. Mr. Tilak's entering the prison thrice and undergoing several hardships was only for our sake. Even now, he has gone to England only for our sake. Who does not know the sacrifices made by Mr. Gandhi for us and the suffering undergone by him in South Africa? The present day Indian patriots do not oppose the officials unnecessarily. They condemn the action of the officials only when they resort to measures which are hostile to the progress of the country. Even this opposition will indeed be mild. This is the idea of several people now about patriotism and that is the cause of the passive resistance movement being detested by the moderates and bewildering some nationalists. The first thing to be done by one taking the vow laid down by Mr. Gandhi is to be convinced beyond doubt, before refusing to obey a measure of Government, that that measure is an unjust one. There is not the least doubt that the Rowlatt Bills and certain other cruel laws are unjust ones. So every one loving liberty and independence should necessarily disobey these laws. Numerous will be the difficulties which one taking this vow will have to face, and it may even lead to death. But those who take it should not flinch at any cost. The path of liberty will not be a bed of roses. It will be full of thorns. If we are not prepared to suffer cruel afflictions, the country can never be benefited. It will be a vain dream to expect to acquire liberty in course of time by adopting the old procedure. Self-sacrifice is the only means of obtaining liberty. O brethren! If you are really anxious about the progress of your country, recognise Messrs. Gandhi and Tilak as your preceptors and be prepared to enter prison and suffer hardships. Passive resistance is the only suitable weapon for a weak race, which has been undergoing suffering for a long time. Mr. Gandhi who inculcated the use of this weapon in South Africa and Kaira will be in our midst to-morrow. True patriots and the sincere disciples of Mr. Gandhi should take the *Satyagraha* vow without delay. It is only this vow that will help to acquire liberty by righteous means.

The passive resistance movements.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th March, in welcoming Mr. Gandhi to Madras describes him as the spiritual lustre which dispels the darkness of the present day civilization afflicting mother Bharata, which roots out all fiendish qualities, which protects the right of man and which is going to reduce to ashes the Rowlatt Law that aims at injuring the life of mother Bharata and adds:—It is only the soul force of passive resistance that can help India to regain the liberty that she has lost. India has passed the age of fighting with weapons. It is the opinion of the Indians that the countries, where the practice of afflicting other lives by means of weapons prevails, are those in which the human spirit of righteousness has not spread. India is now going to preach to the world the spiritual doctrine that it should be hereafter ruled by a high righteous method. Cruel laws like the Arms Act and the Press Act are unnecessary for her and it is a folly to pass the Rowlatt Law along with these. We do not know what kind of creatures the Indians were taken to be by the Rowlatt Committee, for them to have made such barbarous recommendations. If these are passed into law, every right by birth will cease to be in India, and the only thing that can prevent this is soul force. Those who

take to this force cannot be curbed or ruined by any one. Mr. Gandhi thinks that the Tamil land is famous for passive resistance, for it is the Tamils that struggled valiantly when this moment was set on foot in South Africa. O Madrasis! Therefore enlist in the army of passive resisters under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. We will not call them Indians, who are ashamed or who refuse to follow Mr. Gandhi. When are we to show our patriotism, union, capacity and zeal if not now, when the liberty of Mother Bharata is being robbed. If you want to live in the world as men, sign the *Satyagraha* vow of Mr. Gandhi. This is the time for saving the honour of mother Bharata. For her sake you can lose your honour and enter prison. Be prepared to follow the example of Mr. Gandhi.

The passive resistance movement.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th March, publishes a communication from the pen of a correspondent who describes the Tamil equivalent of 'Passive resistance' to mean literally the 'force of truth' and makes the following observations among others quoting instances from ancient history of passive resisters:—Neither the power of wealth nor any other power on earth can stand before this soul-force. This force is superior to brutal force and ordinary rudeness. Physical force, the force of arms on any other force, as for the matter of that, will not affect soul-force. . . This will drive away all kinds of despotism and injustice. As long as the people are willingly or unwillingly subject to a system of government, a resort to this force will lead to complete victory. We have two ways, viz. (1) the adoption of passive resistance when we are asked to obey an unjust law and (2) securing the repeal of the law by demonstrating our soul-force by undergoing a punishment provided in the law until the rulers or the legislators feel for us. . . If this force spreads throughout the world, the tyranny of autocracy and the power of militarism will disappear. The foolish views of power which have disturbed the west and are also spreading in the east will be crushed.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the opposition raised in Madras to the adoption of the passive resistance movement, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th March, observes:—Though Sir William Vincent openly avowed in the Council meeting the other day that he was not afraid of the passive resistance movement, the growth of the movement surely be causing anxiety to him and other officials. Just as the manifesto issued by some members of the Legislative Council has obtained approbation and curtailed the anxiety of the Government, there is no doubt that the cable of the Madras moderates will also do a similar service to the bureaucrats and Anglo-Indians. We hope the names of the Madras moderates will be noted in red ink in the list of the sincere friends of the Government. It appears some of them have stated that, if this movement spreads in the country, passive resistance is likely to lead to active resistance, which is dangerous to the country. We admit that active resistance will cause danger. But the basis of the passive resistance movement is that one should subject himself to the authority of the officials and willingly endure the punishment imposed by them. The great saint who successfully preached and practised this principle without harming others in thought, word or deed, has now come forward to lead the movement. Was there any solitary instance of any one resorting to active resistance, as a result of his working this movement in South Africa? Was there any the slightest deviation when he let it in Kaira? We should be grateful to the moderates for their having stated that they hate the Rowlatt Bills. What will they do, if these become law? The *Bengalee* says that the agitation which secured the annulment of the partition of Bengal, is not lost to the people and may be set up now. How can Mr. Gandhi's movement block such an agitation? Those that come forward to join this movement should be prepared to sacrifice everything. Let those that are so prepared follow Mr. Gandhi and let those who are not so bold join the agitation. The history of Mr. Gandhi will show that passive resisters will be ready to help the Government if an occasion requires it. The method of passive resistance will never lead to unrest or disturbance.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the arrival of Mr. Gandhi in Madras the *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th March, observes:—The sight and association of Mr. Gandhi should increase

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

the mental strength of our people and make them follow him and secure a victory for the eternal truth. It is stated that Jesus Christ asked his followers to come with the cross on their shoulders, implying thereby that they should be prepared to meet with death if necessary. Similarly Mahatma Gandhi is leading, with the cross on his shoulders, and asks his followers to carry the same cross. Just as Jesus prayed to God to forgive his tormentors, even while he was gasping for his life on the cross, the followers of Mr. Gandhi should have the strength of mind to suffer everything and at the same time love every one, and they are sure to achieve their object. Even those who oppose Mr. Gandhi admit the purity of his heart. What strikes a pure heart is the truth. The words of others will be tinged with their own individual opinions. So we should follow the word of Mr. Gandhi in preference to the advice of others. He asks people to follow him with the cross. Will the sons of Bharata do this boldly ?

The same paper also refers to the manifesto issued by some of the Madras Moderates against this movement and to the cable sent by them protesting against the enactment of the Rowlatt law and says :—Though the majority of the Indians are gradually losing their faith in the process of petitions, prayers and appeals, no one can find fault with a few sticking to the old ways. We expect the Government to be grateful to the moderation and unparalleled loyalty of these moderates. But the passive resistance movement will not wane by this. Truth will win in the end. This is the experience of the world.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

Passive resistance.

Referring to the passive resistance of Mr. Gandhi *anent* the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th March, writes in its leader under this heading :—. . . Passive resistance is free from brute force of any form. The Rowlatt Bills are a menace to the common rights of men, and have called forth a strong agitation in the country against them both the Moderates and the Nationalists are unanimously condemning them. There is no more effective weapon than passive resistance for Indians to combat the Rowlatt Bills which are no better than a canker to individual freedom. . . By the grace of God, may Mahatma Gandhi succeed in his attempts to establish the sacred rights of man and to show the greatness of soul-power to his own countrymen as well as to the outside world by leading the movement of passive resistance.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

Passive resistance.

Commending to the *Andhras* the passive resistance movement started by Mr. Gandhi anent the Rowlatt Bills, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th March, writes under this heading :—. . . The protest made by the people to the Government against the Rowlatt Bills as being detrimental to their just rights, has not been respected. This is an insult to every self-respecting Indian and it is, therefore, the duty of every Indian to spread the passive resistance movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

Passive resistance.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th March, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the meeting held on the beach on the 17th instant to support the *Satyagraha* movement of Mr. Gandhi, the resolutions passed and summaries of the speeches delivered thereat.

DESABHAKTAN and SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 6th and 7th Mar. 1919.

The third anniversary of the Arcot Peoples' Association.

58. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 6th and 7th March, respectively publish in Tamil a summary of the proceedings of this anniversary in which one of the speakers is reported to have attributed the ruin of the Indian industries to the development of the western trade in this country, and said that liberty was essential for restoring the original greatness of India, and the President to have observed as follows in the course of his speech :—Our ancients devoted their attention to religious matters and sought after soul force. Our ancient kings were working for the good of the people, while on account of the present rulers being of a different nation from the ruled, our grievances remain without any redress because of the bureaucrats, in spite of the fact that the British rule is a highly righteous one.

59. Observing that the attitude of the local Government does not seem to have undergone any change regarding the Indian systems of medicine since August last, when a resolution was moved on this subject in the Legislative Council, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 17th March, says:—It is now stated that Doctor Koman, who has been placed on special duty to investigate about the Indian drugs, will be engaged in his work throughout the year 1919. We trust that his report will make the Government encourage the Indian systems of medicine. The Government should soon recognise the nature and advantages of these systems which have been doing good to lakhs of people from time immemorial.

Indian medicine.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

60. Quoting the opinion said to have been recently expressed by the Maharaja Scindia that, if the 'curious' principle, that official prestige should always be maintained, is applied in practice, it will increase heart-burning and discontent in the country, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 17th March, observes:—It might have happened that, in some cases, the Indian kings acted as they liked without caring for public opinion. But the reason for this is the belief of the people that their kings deem it to be their first duty to care for the welfare of their subjects. And again if an Indian king had at any time done anything according to his own sweet will, he, being a native of India, had the inclination and capacity to ascertain the real views and aspirations of the people and satisfy them. As much stress is laid on prestige now, it looks as if the authorities want to compel the people to believe that they are all-knowing and infallible, and that they have an admirable experience and skill. Without realising the truth of the observation of the Maharaja Scindia about the consequences of making much of the prestige of the authorities, the Indians are blamed as being ungrateful in unnecessarily accusing the authorities. Let the authorities understand the real cause of the people's discontent and distrust, at least after hearing the words of the Maharaja.

The prestige of authority.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

61. Referring to a statement said to have been made by General Townshend of Mesopotamia fame at London recently, that it was the British troops that saved Kut and that, but for them, everything would have gone wrong, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th March, observes:—Does not the above statement show that none except the British were the saviours of that city? The trouble taken by 8,000 Indian troops for that city is known throughout the world. Has he forgotten this fact? If the slur cast on the Indian soldiers is to be removed, the officers of the Indian army should furnish an explanation at once.

An insult to the Indian troops.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

62. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th March, reproduces in Tamil an extract from the *Independent* to the following effect:—The duty of the Indian members on the Legislative Council is to stand by the people whom they represent. If they are present in the Council after Black Bills are pssed, it will be a disgrace to them and they will besides be betraying their country. They should secede from the Council, considering their own dignity and the country's welfare, and fulfil their duty by supporting the people.

The popular leaders and the Legislative Council.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

63. The *Lokopakari*, of the 17th March, comments as follows on this subject:—The main industry of India is agriculture and it is not advancing on account of the insufficiency of facilities of irrigation. While this item requires an enormous amount of expenditure, the major portion of the revenue is allowed for the military and the railways. When all the armies in India were taken to the front during the war, there was no disturbance whatever in India, which would itself make one conclude that it is unnecessary to maintain an army in this country. If one has to be maintained here for the protection of the British Empire, its expenditure should be met by that Empire and not thrust upon India. If India is deemed to be a training ground for the British army, the proper course will be for all the countries constituting the Empire to share its expenditure. For the protection of India, an army may be raised in India alone, which will also reduce the expenditure. Considering that it is military pride

The Imperial budget for 1919–1920.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

that has been the cause of the great war, it is being decided by the Peace Conference that every Government should reduce its military strength. The formation of the League of Nations again makes it unnecessary for any Government to have a large army. If the opinions of the popular representatives in the Council are acted upon, education, industries, agriculture and sanitation will not be so bad in India as they are now. At this juncture when there is a great famine in India, when the Indians are steeped in ignorance, when lakhs of people are dying of diseases and when the economic condition is low on account of the paucity of industrial and commercial advancement, a very liberal provision should have been made for the expenditure on these items. But what can we do? Our voice does not prevail.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 14th Mar. 1919.

The Imperial Budget.

The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 14th March, writes:—It is wrong to overestimate the expenditure and under-estimate the receipts. For, such estimates prevent the popular representatives from making suggestions in regard to such important matters of public interest as education, as the budget gives the Government handle for pleading dearth of funds. The public will not fail to find that the new Finance Member is not free from this failing which is a general characteristic of all Finance Members. . . . The excessive allotment for military expenditure is a matter which cannot be ignored. Prior to the outbreak of the war the Government gradually raised the expenditure to 33 crores because of the Russian bugbear. During the four years of war again, the expenditure steadily increased. During the current year it reached the colossal sum of 66 crores! Granting that this was indispensable in view of the importance of winning the war, how is it at all reasonable, proper or just to burden the country with a military expenditure of 63 crores even after the war has terminated? To continue a war measure like the Defence of India Act in the shape of the Rowlatt Bill or to continue war expenditure even in times of peace, is something like taking quinine even after the fever is gone. But the terrible effect of such measures on the country will be far more depressing than that of quinine on a patient.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 21st Dec. 1918.

The condition of the Indians in the Fiji Isles.

64. With reference to the article of Mr. C. F. Andrews on the condition of the Indians in the Fiji Islands appearing in the *Modern Review*, for December 1918, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 21st December, writes:— . . . Considering the greater commission allowed for the recruitment of women, it is no wonder that the recruiting agents who are all for the most part natives of the Fiji Isles stoop to any mean action. It is true that love of money would induce people to do deeds however bad, but it is highly regrettable that such mean acts should be done in this twentieth century of advanced civilization in India under the British Flag. What will England say now on this subject. England that has been the birth place of such heroes as Wilberforce and Cobden who put an end to slavery and slave trade—England that has taken the vow to prevent slave trade in the world for all time to come? . . . Mahatma Gandhi has emphasized the fact that the indenture system is the main cause for such a heart-rending state of affairs. It is clear that immorality will not disappear unless all the contracts executed under that system are cancelled. . . Since most of the labourers in the Fiji Isles belong to the Tamil and Telugu countries, it is the duty of the Tamilians and the Andhras to carry on vigorous constitutional agitation to have these grievances redressed.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

The report on the Local Boards and the Union Panchayats.

65. Reviewing the report on the Local Boards and the Union Panchayats for 1917–18, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th March, observes:— . . . The Act allows three-fourths of the local body to be elected members. It is said that at the end of the year under report, the Government have come to the conclusion that the time has come to have two-thirds of the members by election. But it is not understood why all the members even in such local bodies should not be elected. Considering the Madras City Municipal Bill, we cannot hope that the people will be allowed their legitimate place in local self-government. . . From the above figures, it will be readily seen that the number of the elected members in the union panchayats is very small. There is no good of such

panchayats to the people. Unless the members are elected, there can be no progress in the condition of the people.

66. Referring to the debate on the Madras City Municipal Bill in the local Legislative Council and that on the Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th March, writes under this heading :—. . . The Bill has been fully condemned by the Corporation for whose benefit it has been drawn up. The Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achari and the Advocate-General tried to defend it. But their arguments were torn to pieces by the Hon'ble Mr. Ranga Achari and other members. In spite of the non-official opposition to the Bill and in spite of its condemnation by the Corporation, the Government have not thought it fit to give in. The Government of India is showing a similar attitude towards the Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council. . . His Excellency the Viceroy tried to explain the omission from the Select Committee's report of the minutes of dissent written by Messrs. Khaparde, Patel and Malaviya. But his explanation is not at all satisfactory. . . At last it was resolved that the consideration of the Select Committee's report should be immediately taken up. However loud the people cry, what the Government have in mind cannot but come to pass. Is any other proof needed to show the helplessness of the people? The importance of introducing responsible government in the Central as well as the Provincial Governments will now be understood. There is no wonder in making such laws on the strength of official majority. Will the soul-power of the people manifest itself now? The future well-being of the country entirely depends upon it.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

The helplessness of the people.

67. With reference to the attitude of some non-official members towards the Madras City Municipal Bill during the debate on it in the local Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th March, writes in its leader under this heading :—. . . It is known from experience that in the present state of things neither the willingness nor the unwillingness of the people can alter the will of the authorities. But people never thought that the non-official members would behave in such a regrettable way. . . The Bill violates the fundamental principles of local self-government. . . It has been condemned by the Corporation itself. . . It is true that the Bill contains some progressive changes. But these do not relate to the main principles. The acceptance of such a useless Bill at the present juncture cannot but be detrimental to future progress. . . When it was newly introduced, the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao requested its postponement till the introduction of the scheme of reforms. Such being the case, it is not understood why he voted against Mr. Ranga Achari's amendment. It is not also understood why Doctor Nayar whose opposition to the Bill was extraordinary absented himself from yesterday's Council meeting. We do not know whether it was a sign of passive resistance or the result of a wavering mind. The popular representatives have lost a fitting opportunity to help the cause of local self-government by putting on a bold attitude. Instead of representing the popular disapproval of the Bill by unanimously voting against it, they acted in a manner contrary to the public opinion. It is strange that they should have treated even the protest of the Corporation with little respect. It has become a habit with our representatives to slide back at critical moments. It is a pity that they should yield to reactionary forces. It is idle for them to dream that they can change the attitude of the Government by means of speeches and resolutions, so long as the Morley reforms remain in force. Their solid unanimity would have a strong moral effect. It is highly regrettable that many of the popular representatives should give in with regard to the Madras City Municipal Bill, not being able to show even their moral courage.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

Whatever is granted, will do!

68. With reference to the debate on the Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th March, writes under this heading :—. . . The non-official members have joined the Select Committee on the Rowlatt Bills against the wishes of the people who could see no good of their joining it. . . Now during the debate, their amendments also have not been productive of any

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

Fruitless attempts.

useful result. It is not understood why they did not withdraw from the discussion even at this stage. That they should still persist in taking part in the proceedings of the Council will be a matter for ridicule. From the cables received so far, not even a single amendment proposed by them seems to have been accepted by the Government. The official members have not shown the least sign of relaxation. . . Sir William Vincent seems to think that the agitation which may be aroused will be merely artificial and that the popular representatives are only holding up threats to the Government. That he should treat so lightly the high tension of the public feeling with regard to the Rowlatt Bills cannot promote the safety of the country. . . Mr. Sarma wanted the Government to properly define the term 'revolutionary movement'. . . Many will be the difficulties which the people have to face at the hands of judges who cannot distinguish revolutionary movements from others. . . Mr. Khaparde proposed that the Council should settle to what part or parts of the country the Acts should extend, but Sir W. Vincent replied that it would make the authority of the Executive body nominal. True! It is an idle dream to suppose that the Executive body which wants absolute powers should accept such a proposal. . . Mr. Khaparde also made a proposal requesting some facilities in the matter of appeals. But there is no reason whatever to expect a place for judicial trial in a measure which wants to do away with the authority of law courts. The more we see the condition of the popular representatives, the greater grows our pity for them. Their patience is really wonderful in view of the fact that they should move amendment after amendment, though every one of them is blown up.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

An appeal to the Government officials

69. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th March, complains that a heavy discount is being taken on currency notes at Pithāpuram and that the village officers as well as the local police are indifferent in the matters and appeals to the Government to take immediate action in the matter.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

Impartible estates.

70. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 14th March, reproduces from the *Kistnapatrika* a correspondent's view, with reference to the declaration by the Government of the Vuyyur estate as an impartible estate, that it is not in the interests of the country to create any more impartible estates.

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 1st Mar. 1919.

Outbrust of famine.

71. In its leader under this heading, the *Sudarsini*, of the 1st March, writes:—. . . It is to be understood from newspapers that the Government are taking interest in the matter, which does not, however, seem to produce any practical results. Though the Government have issued orders prohibiting the export of foodstuffs from one district to another, the usual malpractices are still going on secretly. . . There is a rumour that Government servants are buying the major part of the commandeered quantity of food-grains, in spite of the orders of the Government that it should be sold to the poor at a very low price. . . The Government said long ago that they would sell a particular sort of cloth at a cheap price to the poor. But till now we have not been able to see it in the market. The poor people are in dire need of cloth, and we request the Government to bestir themselves again in the matter. . . Though crops have yielded good produce this year, high prices are still ruling in the market. . . The Government will, therefore, do well to have an eye upon wholesale merchants who want to gain enormous profits, thereby putting the general public to hard suffering. . . As for the kerosene oil famine, we are afraid that it will excite the feelings of the poor who are sufferers of great injustice, unless the Government find a proper solution for it in time. . .

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 1919.

Guntūr news.

72. Referring to kerosene oil famine at Guntūr under this heading, *Desabhimani* remarks:—. . . The kerosene-oil trouble is increasing. Some people are obliged to take their food in the evening only and go to sleep. The day has come when we should be in such a condition without food to eat, without cloth to wear and without oil for light.

73. In an article under this heading, the *Andhrabazar*, for October 1918 (received on 8th March 1919), observes :—. . . Thus, all our export trade is in the hands of foreigners. As for import trade, it is again foreigners who supply us with articles coming from abroad. The steamer charges also go to foreigners, as the steamers carrying articles to and from our country belong to them. . . Similarly, all banks are theirs. . . Even the steamers and railways which are used for conveyance of articles from one part to another within the country are owned by foreigners. To a large extent, it is foreign merchants who control this internal export and import trade. . . There are many reasons why foreigners should have all the profit while we are in dire need of food and cloth, notwithstanding the fact that we have such a vast commerce. One of these reasons is the absence of proper enterprise among our young men. . . The question which every country has been considering since the close of the war is: "how to become greater?" Our country also will have to consider this question and try to have such provisions as will enable her to transfer this great commerce from the hands of foreigners into those of her own children.

Commerce after the war.

ANDHRABAZAR, Cocanada, October 1918.

74. In an article under this heading, the *Andhrabazar*, for October 1918, describes the relations which existed between the King and the people in ancient India and makes the following observations among others :—For a long time, our mother India has been suffering degradation. By that degradation is not meant the hardship, the misery which the people have been enduring from successive outbursts of famine. However regrettable these troubles may be in themselves, there is one other fact which is many times more regrettable than all these, and that is the attempt on the part of foreigners to destroy the greatness and the fair name of India. This is the greatest of all her sufferings. The attack is being pushed on vigourously in certain respects just now. It is said that India never before enjoyed a good government, and that the people have never been accustomed to take part in the administration of the country. Have such statements been written after reading history or without reading it? How can it be without reading history? No, they have been written by those who, having read history, want to gain their own ends by wilfully saying that we are a people good for nothing. These people try to make us believe in their words. . . And some of our own countrymen nod their heads to such statements. . . It is said not only that we were backward in the past, but also that we cannot become an advanced nation at any time in future. The damage which such statements entail is simply indescribable. . . There are definite instances to show that the people used to elect a king who possessed all the abovementioned virtues Let us take for example the following text from the Rig Veda: "I have brought you. Stand in the middle. May all these people elect you. . ." Similar passages occur in the Adharva Veda. . .

The King and the people in Hindu polity and the election of the King.

ANDHRABAZAR, Cocanada, October 1918.

75. Referring to the view of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao regarding the propriety of the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar trying to address the Local Legislative Council in Tamil, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th March, observes :— . . . We doubted the propriety of Lord Pentland in objecting to the action of Mr. Narasimha Ayyar, when once he has consented to the provision in the new Madras City Municipal Bill, which dispenses with the qualification of English knowledge in the members of Corporation. The *Madras Mail* also expresses the same doubt. . . The Irish and the Welsh people are trying to improve their respective vernaculars. As has been pointed out by Mr. Madhava Rao, the carrying on of the administration in vernaculars would minimise its cost and will surely lead to redistribution of provinces on language basis. . . This is the right moment for the Andhras especially to educate the people on the linguistic provinces question.

National Government and Mr. Madhava Rao's appeal.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

76. Referring to the statement of Mr. Macpherson about the decision of the British Government to release the Irish Sinn Feiners now interned in England, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th March, remarks :— . . . While the British Government has decided to

The release of the Sinn Feiners.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

release even the Irish Sinn Feiners, it is not understood why the Government of India do not set at liberty the Indian internees.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 15th Mar. 1919.

The advent of Rabindranath.

77. In its leader under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 15th March, sketches the various influences at work in India that have led up to the advent of Rabindranath and makes the following observations among others:— . . . The power and potency of the western civilisation, unlike that of the Muhammadan, began its campaign in another way. It was not satisfied with mere dominion. It did not stop with mere commercial greatness. It has ascended the preceptorial seat itself, and begun to import knowledge to Hindu boys and girls. It seeks to extend its conquest over the vitals of the Indian, and to bind him by the spell of western civilisation. The Westerners have not actually demolished our temples with crow-bars; but they have seen that they are covered with cob-webs. They have not converted us to their faith with the threat of the sword; but they have instilled into us an aversion for our faith. By means of the magic of their scientific culture, they have, in every way, promoted an infidelity in our own Dharma (faith). The glamour of western civilisation has gained a complete mastery over a section of our countrymen, and rendered them renegades to their religion, and apostles of a foreign faith. . . While the western continents are under a death-dealing conflagration, the powers of India cannot continue to be in a trance. To rouse her from this trance and exhort her to proclaim her divine message to the world, Rabindranath has come out of his *Santiniketan*. . . At a time when petty nationalism is reducing the whole world to ashes, it is the mission of India to establish there in the Sanatana Dharma (eternal truth), "all this is Brahman"—'All this', comprising not only mankind embracing all the races within its fold, but also the whole animate and inanimate nature. Modern civilisation has led a compaign against nature, and carved for itself an artificial life within walls of stone. Activity that knows no rest, competition untouched with love, search after material pleasures with an insatiate thirst, and scepticism that does not tolerate faith have metamorphosed man into a *Rakshasa*. . . Fancying that they have been triumphing over nature, the Westerners are becoming more and more dependent on her. The shackles of sensual comforts are becoming more rigid than ever. Factories founded on sciences have been undermining human society. Man without humanity may grow potent; but he is no longer a man. He is an *Asura* (Rakshasa). He cannot shake off his *Asuric nature* without becoming a votary of nature. . . Oh, civilized man! Thou hast made thy life artificial, and hast been suffering from incessant pangs, the outcome of restless competition, insatiate thirst, and burning hunger. Rise and come out, contemplate nature and become her votary, and purge thyself. . . Nature will then confer on you all pleasures, and grant you bliss. This is the message of India. . .

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 15th Mar. 1919.

The federation theory.

78. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 15th March, writes:—. . . Just as, economically, capital accumulates in the hands of a few millionaires, politically also, the whole world is gathered under a few big Empires. Small independent States are thrown to the back-ground, weak nations are subjugated by stronger ones. Separate nationalities only exist in name, the real power vesting in the hands of a few gentlemen who happen to occupy high offices in the State. It is these people who have brought about every war in the past, the innocent masses having been always sacrificed on the field as so many dumb cattle. It is for the private benefit of a few men that dominions are extended, weak nations are conquered and commercial centres are acquired. The labouring classes of these various Empires are not so greatly benefitted by them, after all. Forsaking all the teachings of Jesus Christ, the missionaries would back up these self-seeking few and picking quarrels becomes instruments of war. The wars waged by the Europeans in Asia, America and Africa were only murders of unarmed and undisciplined people. . . Thus, the theory of federation believes that the well-being of the world cannot be secured unless the high-sounding idea of separate nationalities is given up and the whole human society is organised into a federation of nations and works in harmony. . . This federation theory has

been called forth by considerations of wealth. The problem of its advocates is, how to make an equal distribution of wealth among all the people? They do not at all seem to be troubled by the inquiry as to how to minimise material pleasures and render life pure. Neither the Federation theory nor the theory of separate nationalities can establish peace in the world, until this inquiry is taken up in right earnest.

79. Referring to the resignation of the Vice-Chancellorship of the National University by Mr. Justice Sadasiva Ayyar, which was published in *New India*, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th March, observes:—. . . This news cannot but come as a surprise on many. The National University has no political bearing. It is improper to forbid Government servants to take part in it on the mere ground that some political workers are working in it. . . Such restrictions are detrimental to the fundamental rights of officials. Though the Indian Civil Service officials have discussed political questions and tried to oppose the Montagu scheme, no action has been taken about them, and a District Judge who wrote a book on politics condemning popular aspirations, has not been criticised. In these circumstances it is altogether improper that restrictions should be laid on Mr. Justice Sadasiva Ayyar for having taken part in an educational movement. The people should not leave the subject here, but should try to get a proper answer to this question.

A strange news.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

80. Referring to the opposition of some official members to a resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council, relating to the treatment of strangers by officials, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th March, remarks:—. . . The Government have promised to inquire into the subject of offering a seat to respectable people. An inquiry is needed to settle this common matter! The opposition of officials to the most ordinary form of courtesy being shown to zamindars only shows their narrowness of mind.

The Bombay Legislative Council.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

81. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th March, gives in Telugu an extract from the *Independent*, anent the conduct of Mr. Narasimha Ayyar in attempting to speak in Tamil and stating that such a practice is in vogue already in the United Provinces Legislative Council and is bound to be generally adopted after the introduction of the Montagu scheme. . . It is an error, observes the paper, to suppose that a knowledge of English is indispensable for understanding political matters.

The boldness of Mr. Narasimha Ayyar.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar's attempt to speak in Tamil in the Legislative Council, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 20th March, writes:—All Indians will be grateful to Mr. Narasimha Ayyar. Everyone should study politics and the rules and regulations in force and learn to argue without infringing the rules. Such persons will be triumphant wherever they may be.

The Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 20th Mar. 1919.

82. Referring to the meeting recently held in the Council Hall to consider the food-problem, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th March, remarks under this heading:—. . . We cannot think that the complicate food-problem will be solved by such a secret meeting.

A meeting about the food-problem.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

83. Referring to the letter of a correspondent to the *London Daily News* regarding the attempts of the Welsh people to get self-government, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th March, asks:—. . . When the desire for Home Rule is so marked even in England which already enjoys a full measnre of self-government, what wonder is there, if it is strongly felt in other countries?

Home Rule for 'Wales'.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

84. Criticising the arrangement made by the Government to have the Anantapur District Court at Bellary on the ground of want of proper accommodation to the District Judge at Anantapur, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 15th March, observes in its leader

The Anantapur District Court.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

under this heading :— . . . If it is proposed to hold the Anantapur District Court at Bellary as a temporary measure till a proper residence for the officer is secured or constructed at Anantapur, we have nothing to say against the arrangement. But if besides residence, other comforts such as club, European society, etc., are kept in view, will it not be necessary that *Viswakarma* (the creator) is to be called in. There will be no objection to having some building at Anantapur, rendered fit for residence after making sufficient repairs. It is not at all proper to hold the Anantapur Court at Bellary on the ground that a proper building for the Judge is not available at the former place. . . The Ramnad District Court is being held at Madura. . . We deprecate this idea of holding at one and the same place the courts of two separate districts . . The failure on the part of the Government to comply with such reasonable requests of the people as those relating to municipal administration, transfer of courts, and a larger measure of responsibility in the Government is, we think, regrettaIle, undesirable and productive of discontent. . .

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

The Ayurvedic system.

85. Replying to the criticism of the Ayurvedic system of medicine made by Doctor Sutherland in an article contributed to the *Medical Gazette*, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th March, says :— . . . It is an indisputable fact that English medical men excel in surgery. But it must be clearly said that they are ignorant of the properties of drugs and medicines, and cannot, therefore, successfully administer them. They do not know how to prepare oils, powders, electuaries, etc. Such preparations have been effective in curing even a hopeless case of leprosy, the full details of which were published by us some time back. The reputation of the Ayurvedic system will not suffer in the least, merely because Doctor Sutherland has deprecated it.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 14th Mar. 1919.

The dearth of small coins.

86. In continuation of an article in a previous issue on the dearth of small coins, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 14th March, under the heading " Why should an ascetic be hoisted on the stake " ? writes :—The Hon'ble Sir James Meston said that coins to the value 12 crores had only recently been issued into currency. But we must remember that the population of India is 33 crores. This means that there will be a rupee worth of coins for every two persons and a half on an average. How is it possible to infer from this that the people have been hoarding coins? Even of these 12 crores referred to, who knows what portion is held by the European merchants. Is it surprising that there should be dearth of coins when each citizen cannot have even half a rupee's worth of coins on an average? The same is the case with sovereigns too. The European merchants being persons who do mostly foreign trade, they have practically a monopoly of the sovereign circulation. Is it not like pouring salt water on a wound then, to accuse the Indians groundlessly of hoarding up or melting coins for ornaments? To fail to issue a sufficient quantity of coins and when the people suffer, to lay the blame at their own door is to let go the offender and hoist an (innocent) ascetic on the stake. If there should be one pitcher of water available for a thousand people, what portion of it can each have individually and how far can it quench the thirst of those people? Unfortunately for us, we no longer live in the days of miracles when even that small quantity should suffice for all. This is not the time to think of escaping the blame by accusing the people of hoarding. What do the people gain by hoarding when there is sufficient coin in currency? We trust the authorities will take a far-seeing and sympathetic attitude in ascertaining the real cause of the suffering among the people instead of displaying their genius in making groundless accusations like the above.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 12th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan* and the freedom of the press.

87. Referring to the forfeiture of the security deposited by the *Desabhaktan*, a paper which the Government considered was disloyal, and to the demand of a further security of Rs. 5,000, the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 12th March, remarks that the order has caused great agitation among many people, and observes that the curtailment of the freedom of the press in this way results only in increasing the agitation already existing on this score.

88. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 14th March, writes:—It is not surprising that the securities obtained from the Indian papers should be forfeited to Government. For, the very object of that measure (the Press Act) is to obtain securities from the presses. It will be quite in the ordinary course of things therefore, if securities are obtained, or those that have been given are forfeited. This by itself is not at all surprising. What surprises us in this connexion is that the authorities do not disclose businesslike qualities in forfeiting such securities. *Desabhaktan* case is an instance in point. The Government forfeits the security by stating that some of the articles published in June and July were objectionable, some seven or eight months after they were published. How businesslike! Why were the authorities quiet till now? If they did not discover the objectionable nature of those articles at that time, they could have given the garb of objection at least to some of the recent articles. Nobody could object to that. Is it not strange and unjust to punish now for what was published such a long time back? But when the Press Act itself is so inconsistent with public opinion, we should not wonder if the operation of that Act should also involve inconsistencies like the above.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 14th Mar. 1919.

The Press Act and the *Desabhaktan*.

89. The *Pauran*, of Makaram-Kumbham 1094 M.E. (January-March 1919), points out that the recent Mappilla riot in Malabar furnishes two lessons for the Government: (1) the urgent necessity of regulating the relations between the janmis and the tenants and (2) the necessity for the immediate repeal of the Arms Act, which does not prevent the unruly from wearing arms and deprives the loyal and law-abiding citizens of all means of self-defence.

PAURAN, Quilon, Makaram-Kumbham 1094 M.E. (Jan.-Mar. 1919).

The Mappilla riot.

90. The *Margadarsi*, of the 14th March, also points out that the root cause of the recent riot as well as of all previous riots in Malabar is the unsatisfactory position of the Malabar tenant who has no permanent hold on the land and is absolutely at the mercy of the janmi who often illtreats him. More than once the Government have set about to improve the condition of the Malabar tenant and to secure to him permanency of holding, but no action whatever seems to have been taken on the report of the Commission appointed to advise the Government on the subject and on the memoranda of Mr. Logan and others.

MARGADARSI, Calicut, 14th Mar. 1919.

Janmi *v.* tenant.

91. A note in the *Margadarsi*, of the 14th March, remarks that the budget presented by Sir James Meston was carefully prepared with public welfare in view. It considers that the large allotment under the head 'Railway' is essential for the prosperity of the country. It endorses the warning against the popular tendency of hoarding silver.

MARGADARSI, Calicut, 14th Mar. 1919.

The Indian Budget.

92. The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 5th March, in publishing the intelligence received with reference to the murder of the late Amir by an unknown person, comments upon his life as follows:—The late Amir was a great statesman and a far-sighted Sovereign. Though his policy was not as severe as that of his late father Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, yet he was eminently successful in taming his turbulent tribes. At the same time he raised a well-disciplined army so that nothing might be wanting in the administration of the country. His acting upon the Arabic dictum 'Travel about the earth' by visiting India, obtained for him invaluable experience and extensive knowledge.

With reference to the Russo-British Convention, he acted so prudently that it proved very beneficial to Afghanistan. Otherwise the difficulties that led to the weakness of Persia might have operated in Afghanistan.

His maintenance of the neutrality during the war in spite of all German instigations is a palpable proof of his wisdom, foresight and wide knowledge. If he had not done so what difficulties might Afghanistan not had to face?

The editor thinks that the murderer may have committed the deed on the grounds of self-interest, and hopes that the Afghan Government will leave no stone unturned to get at the truth.

MUKHBIR-I-DAKHAN, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.

The martyrdom of His Majesty the Amir Habibullah Khan.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 6th Mar. 1919.

Naval administration.

93. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 6th March, has a leader on this subject of which the following is a summary:—In commenting on this complicated question we can emphatically assert that British supremacy depends, to a great extent, on Naval Power. With reference to the engagement off Falkland Islands in which the British Admiral defeated the German fleet under the German Admiral Von Spyd it is obvious how the British Naval Power succeeded in lowering the enemy's prestige. The Navy not only displays the dignity of the empire, but asserts in safeguarding merchant ships and fishing fleets.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 9th Mar. 1919.

The day of proof.

94. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 9th March, has a leader on the marginally-noted subject, which is briefly to this effect.

The *Muslim Herald* suggests to Mussalmans the advisability of holding a general meeting to give expression to their feelings and desires on the question of Khalifate, etc. The writer concurs in the opinion and says it should be acted upon, so that the far-reaching power of Islam might be demonstrated.

He proceeds to say that now is the time to inform the Government in a lucid and clear manner that our hopes are connected with this office that every one of us desires that friendly relations may be re-established between the two Islamic Powers.

Our demand consists of only this that the King-Emperor's Government should act according to its promises and allow the holy places of Islam to remain in the hands of Mussalmans.

If the Government does not fall in with this view, there can be no hope of success at the Peace Conference. The religious aspirations of six crores of Indian Mussalmans are not without foundation, and the question is more important and worthy of consideration than that of the labour strike.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 9th Mar. 1919.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 9th March, in an item defines, 'Passive resistance' thus at the request of one Muhammad Husain:—

"Passive resistance" for which Mr. Gandhi has advised, connotes loyalty to truth, that is to say not acting against one's convictions. 'Passive Resistance' is a translation of an English idiom. It is the custom in Europe, when a party regards an order or law as illegal it refuses to obey it regardless of the consequences.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

Sir Alexander Cardew to act as Governor.

95. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 15th March, writes:—It gives us great pleasure to hear that Sir Alexander Cardew will act as Governor during the interregnum between the departure of His Excellency Lord Pentland, the present Governor, and the arrival of His Excellency Lord Willingdon. Sir Alexander is an energetic and popular officer who has gradually climbed to the top of the ladder.

III.—LEGISLATION.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 11th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

96. Reiterating its view that these Bills should be passed into law as they are indispensable for the progress of the country and for the maintenance of peace therein and, remarking that it is not desirable to follow the policy of passive resistance which is advocated by some extremists, the *Dravidan*, of the 11th March, observes:—Though the *Madras Times* acquiesces in this view, it seems to have got a little staggered at the loud cry of passive resistance. It suggests, as a remedy to remove unrest and dissension, the appointment of an Indian officer for carrying into effect the Rowlatt Bills when they become law. Perhaps the paper deems the appointment of a moderate to be necessary! The Government have not yet correctly guaged the time-serving policy and unsteady actions of the moderates. It is well-known to many that the moderates are a party who separated themselves from the extremists with a view to gain their object as much as possible. However, as these moderates now make a show of being favourable to the Government, the latter have begun to esteem them highly, discarding in a way even the sincere non-Brahman leaders. It is not known why the *Madras Times* holds such a strange view. If an Indian officer should be

appointed as suggested by this paper, there is little doubt that it will only be setting the fox to keep the geese. Though it is proper that one of the leaders from among the non-Brahman community which forms the bulk of the population of the country, should be appointed to such a post, still past events indicate that the Englishmen and the Government will, without doing so, only appoint a moderate Brahman with a sweet tongue. Instead of their doing so, we have to point out that it will be desirable to appoint an Englishman of upright views and correct principles.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 12th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

Remarking that the interview which Mr. Gandhi had with the Viceroy, afforded him an opportunity to clearly explain in person the readiness of most of the people to resort to passive resistance in case the Rowlatt Bills are passed into law, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 12th March, observes:—The *Satyagraha* cry has been started in right earnest, and has taken deep root. It seems that it will very soon spread to every nook and corner of the country. There is room to think that the people will, in large numbers, join the *Satyagraha* party. The Government should, under the present circumstances, yield to the unanimous opinion of the public and drop the Rowlatt Bills. Otherwise, they should be prepared to meet with the serious consequences of the *Satyagraha* vow which will be observed by the people. The Government should not venture to pass the Bills on the strength of the fact that some of the moderate leaders are not in favour of this vow. Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, who may be deemed to be the foremost among the moderate leaders, characterises these Bills as highly objectionable and cruel. It is not meet for those who are known as the leaders of the Indian people and those who are styled as the representatives of any section of the Indian public to belittle the strong opposition of the public. By their doing so, the Government would take to ways which are likely to create discontent and unrest among the people. This will result in evil. So the course to be followed by the Indian patriots at this juncture becomes clear. The Bills are of a nature to subvert the fundamental rights of citizenship of the people. They will have to be passed into law in opposition to the views of the public as well as those of the popular representatives on the Legislative Council, and so they will not be binding on the people. . . Soul-force which is involved in the *Satyagraha* vow is superior to military strength. Without resorting to either of those forces, *Swaraj* can never be achieved and an intelligent agitation cannot be started. *Swaraj* which has been secured without any efforts cannot be *Swaraj* at all. We should not refrain from demonstrating the excellence of the soul-force through the *Satyagraha* vow, because some of the leaders object to it and the Government hate the same. These leaders and the authorities of the Government should properly realise the strength of soul-force and pay heed to it. Otherwise, the other kind of force, namely, the military strength will prevail. Our people have come forward to resort to the superior force, and the publication of the names of the persons who have thus come forward, will help the Government to understand what strength the movement has since gathered.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

Expressing its approval of the scheme proposed by Mr. Gandhi to have branch committees in every province, district, taluk and village to that appointed for deciding what other laws than the Rowlatt laws are to come within the purview of the passive resistance movement, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th March, says:—Instead of starting a movement all of a sudden and dropping it after a time, thereby giving room for ridicule, it is well to make proper arrangements, after mature consideration, for this movement to spread throughout India. It is certain that the passive resistance movement will live for ever, as it relies upon soul-force. In Mr. Gandhi's words, all the present grievances and hardships of the Indians will be rooted out by passive resistance. Every patriot should come forward to support this movement. He is no true Indian who obstructs or slights this. We should consider him only to have brute force. So, brethren! follow Mr. Gandhi.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

Referring to a public meeting of ladies held in Bombay recently, for protesting against the Rowlatt Bills, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th March, observes:—These Bills are being condemned in every nook and corner of the country. Cannot the Government yield to public opinion at least on seeing this? Need

we say that it is madness for them to think that they will lose their prestige by doing so?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 14th March, also refers to the decision of the ladies of Bombay to resort to passive resistance and asks whether stress need be laid upon the special feature in even women, who are considered to be weak, coming out to begin a struggle.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 5th Mar. 1919.
HINDU NESAN, Madras, 7th Mar. 1919.
SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.
DESABHAKTAN, & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

The *Dravidan*, of the 5th and the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 7th March, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th idem, and the *Desabhaktan*, and *Swadesamitran*, of the 10th idem, publish, some in full and some in abstract, the proceedings of public meetings recently held at Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madras, respectively, for protesting against the Rowlatt Bills and adopting the policy of passive resistance in case the Bills are passed.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

Remarking that it is unnecessary to say that the whole of India should now reflect the spirit of Mr. Gandhi, who is described by the paper as having vowed to consume the poison that is to originate from Delhi, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th March, says:—In the Imperial Legislative Council, the amendments moved by the Honourable Members have been negatived. His Excellency the Viceroy has cast them all to the winds. We are grieved to see the Honourable Members standing in the Council bereft of all influence. The condition of the sons of *Bharata* in the Imperial Council has come to be that of a sea without waves and tree that has dried up. The official members are elated with their victorious position. Let the power of the bureaucrats rise to any height. Another force is also rising to controvert this and this divine force should spread throughout India. . . The only thing that true Indians should resort to hereafter is passive resistance. Men have been created only to endure suffering. One who endures suffering in this world for the sake of others attains salvation soon. Sisters! Brethren!! Look at the condition of Mother Bharata. Think about the hardships of the sons of Bharata in the Legislative Council. Come up to join Mr. Gandhi who has come forward to relieve our misery.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the arrival of Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu here in connexion with the protest againt the Rowlatt Bills, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th March, expresses the hope that her arrival at least may infuse a new enthusiasm in the people here and adds:—While thousands of people have taken the vow of passive resistance in Bombay, the number of men who have offered to take this vow here is only about a hundred. This is really strange! Madras is the most important of the different provinces in India and the people of this Presidency are in no way inferior to those of other Presidencies. What, then, is the reason for Mahatma Gandhi's preachings not being acted upon here? Every hour is very important to us now, and we should not make any further delay. The official members are unanimously opposing and negativing every amendment in the Imperial Legislative Council. Hereafter at least the popular leaders should adopt the vow laid down by Mahatma Gandhi, without discussing its wording. O brethren and sisters of the Tamil land! Get up from your sleep! The war drum is sounding. Mr. Gandhi has arrayed his warriors on the war front of truth and is waiting for us. The Goddess of Virtue is standing beside him. Goddess Bharata appears a little consoled and is looking at Gandhi with a smiling look. O Tamils! Do not delay! Gandhi is relying upon you. O sisters! Send your husbands and brothers to the war front of truth and follow Mr. Gandhi yourselves.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th March, writes:—'The amendment has failed' was the one chorus of the proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council yesterday. The business transacted during the last two days was almost a tug-of-war. As the parties in it were unequal, no amendment brought by the Indian members was carried. But it will ever be remembered that in spite of this they did their duty without getting tired. Without withdrawing an amendment because of the failure of a similar one brought by another member,

one by one the members moved their amendments in succession, just like a soldier in the hind ranks immediately taking the position vacated by one in the front ranks falling down wounded by the enemy's arrow, and proved their valour. What if they were defeated? They are heroes still. The Government crushed every amendment by using the dead weight of their votes and it is certain that they are determined to pass the second Bill similarly, regardless of public opinion. The moderate leaders, while stating that they reserve the right of opposing the principles of the Bill, have either by leaning towards the Government or unwittingly helped them as much as possible in passing this Bill. The explanation of the Viceroy for his partiality in excluding the dissenting minutes of the nationalist members from the select committee's report is untenable. He has stated definitely that no exception could be taken to the principles of the Bill in the Select Committee. If so, how does he explain the statement of the moderates in their dissenting minutes, that they do not approve of the principles of the Bill and reserve their right of objecting to them? Why should the dissenting minute of one party that declines to accept the principles of the Bill, be accepted, while that of another party that says the same thing be rejected? How could their opinions differ because one signed the report and the other did not? Did it lay bare merely the fact that the moderates are the favoured party, while the nationalists are not? The Viceroy says that because the nationalist members declined to sign the report, their dissenting minutes were not accepted. How could they sign the report, when they did not approve of the recommendations in it? But the Viceroy has curiously interpreted the significance of affixing one's signature to the report, to be an admission that the report contains a true version of the proceedings of the Committee. Even granting this, has all that transpired in the Committee been stated in the report? Why have the objections of the nationalists been omitted from it and why have their dissenting minutes detailing such objections been excluded? How can the nationalist members sign this incomplete report? So it is but right that they declined to sign the report, whether their signing meant that they agreed to the recommendations in it, or only that they testified to its accuracy. We therefore hold that it is nothing short of partiality that the dissenting minutes of the moderates should have been accepted, while those of the nationalists were rejected. The Viceroy has also attempted to reply to our contention that there was a precedent for a dissenting minute of Mr. Malaviya having been accepted without his signing the report of the Select Committee. But he is not able to reconcile his present action with that precedent. He says that the former event is an exception which proves the rule. Why should it be taken as an exception and why can it not be construed as a recognition on that occasion of the right of a member of the Select Committee to decline to sign the report and at the same time to record a minute of dissent? Has any note been left on record either by the then Viceroy or the President of the Select Committee to the effect that a member refusing to sign the report has no right to record a dissenting minute and that the dissenting minute was accepted in the particular case as a matter of grace? In the absence of such a note, we have to take it that the dissenting minute should have been then accepted in recognition of the member's right to present it and in accordance with the analogy of the practice in Parliament. This right the Viceroy has now denied. Under these circumstances, we need not say what the attitude of the Government shows. The Government did not yield to the request either to postpone enforcing the law, if passed, or even to limit its operation only for a year. So they have decided to bring it into effect immediately and deny the rights of the people as citizens for a period of three years. For this purpose, they continue the sitting up to 1-30 a.m. in the night and did not rise, until all the plans chalked out by them had been carried out. So it is certain the law will very soon commence its work and what is the procedure to be adopted by the people at this juncture? The time is past for praying that it should not be passed. The only means left is to adopt Mr. Gandhi's *satyagraha* vow. What harm can result by our telling the Government "we are weak, but we are sensitive. You are enacting a law, which we cannot tolerate; we request you to repeal it, and we shall suffer until you do it. We are not angry with you. But we believe that you are persisting on account of a wrong impression"? Why should the moderates come out in haste

to oppose this movement? Whatever be their motive, they have had their reward. Sir William Vincent has patted them as 'good boys' and though they have thus obtained laurels at the hands of the Government, their act weakened the people's cause. Though they may not resort to passive resistance, had they but remained neutral for some time longer without expressing their opinion against it, Sir William Vincent would not have stated that he would not be afraid of it. In spite of the moderates having expressed this opinion, the *satyagraha* will never fail; this they will feel soon. Will those that espouse truth meet with failure? Did not Harischandra succeed in the end? Did not the Allies that lost their position at Verdun and stood by truth succeed in the end? We will also succeed. Truth will succeed.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

97. Referring to the amendment moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee that the report of the Select Committee on the first of the Bills should be circulated to the High Courts, Provincial Governments and public bodies for opinion, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th March, says:—Though the arguments of Mr. Bannerjee were quite convincing, neither the Viceroy nor the official members paid any heed to his words, in spite of his amendment being supported by all the members of the Select Committee. The Indian leaders are as anxious as the Government to get rid of anarchism and unrest and establish peace. So it is necessary for the Government to listen to their opinion also in introducing repressive measures.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th March, has the following running comments on the discussion of these Bills in the Imperial Council:—The Hon'ble Mr. Shakul moved an amendment to the first Bill that one tried for sedition should be convicted only if all the Judges trying him find him guilty and that he should be acquitted even if one of them differs, and the Hon'ble Mr. Patel wanted that this amendment at least should be accepted by the Government, seeing that the accused in such a case had no right of appeal. According to the repressive law passed in Ireland, the accused had a right of appeal. But the Rowlatt Bill denies even this right. So we need not say that the lot of the accused under this Bill is a hopeless one; for once a man is considered to be guilty by the authorities, he is sure to be convicted. Is this British justice? If the Government had accepted at least this amendment, the people will think there is room for British justice prevailing in India at least to a little extent. Now they cannot even think so. What can be done?

The Council meeting seems to have been held until 1-45 a.m. on the 13th instant and a number of amendments are said to have been disposed of in haste. Till now the meeting of the Imperial Council never took place during the night and we do not know why this procedure was followed this time. What are we to say of the attitude of the Viceroy, who has tried to pass the Rowlatt Bills into law even by holding an emergent session of the Council at night. The first part of the first Bill was passsed during this night session and the second part, relating to the measures to be adopted to prevent the starting of seditious movements in the country has been taken up. No one would complain against the Government, if the law embodying the measures proposed do not clash with justice and civilization. The people believed till now that there was such a thing as law in India and that justice was administered according to it. Now that belief has disappeared. Hereafter the will of the executive authorities, i.e., their orders will prevail. An amendment was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel that this part should be omitted, in that it would kill all political agitation in the country and lead to unnecessary distrust and quarrel between the executive officials and the people, and he explained how a man charged by the Police would be punished, without any one to care for him. But what of it? The Government obstinately rejected the amendment without any sympathy. The Hon'ble Messrs. Jinnah, Bannerjee and Sapru supported this amendment and clearly pointed out how the rejection of the amendment would be against British justice and law. The Government Members ignored the sound arguments adduced by these and attached the least importance to them. Now it is the time of the bureaucrats. What can any one do under these circumstances? Even the third part of the Bill was taken up yesterday, and this was likewise opposed by some of the non-official members.

Even here the bureaucrats won the day in the end. Hereafter the Government are sure to pass the first Bill into law without a moment's delay. How long are the Indians to put up with this cruel law?

The Rowlatt Bills.

In the course of its criticism of Part I of the Second Rowlatt Bill, the *Desabhimani*, of the 5th March, observes in its leader:—. . . The three Judges, constituting the new court defined in Part I of this Bill, may all be Europeans or Indians who belong to the Government side. Such Indians with their bias against popular aspirations are prone to consider the bad and not the good points in these questions. Naturally, every word will sound for them as sedition. They cannot distinguish love of one's own country from hatred of other countries, and patriotism from sedition. No patriot who has courage and boldness in him and who speaks out his mind fearlessly, can be safe before this Court, however loyal he may be. . . On the ground of public safety, the procedure which applies even to the most heinous criminal has been dispensed with in this part. The absurd meanings given to this term have led to the imprisonment of thousands of persons in Bengal on suspicion. There can be no happiness in the country till this term is clearly defined. . . Many people will be afraid to give false evidence in an open trial. Since the accused or any other person cannot expose witnesses, however false may be the evidence given by them, there is absolutely no wonder in injustice being done to the accused. This is a fundamental principle of law. Such being the case, it is very strange that those who are responsible for this Bill should not care so much for these fundamental principles. . . This is not common justice and it is not sanctioned in England. . . It is neither Aryan justice, nor British justice to try to prejudice the minds of the Judges by publishing the old offences committed by the accused, before his present guilt is proved. This is wholly unjust. . . It is a very grave injustice to try to punish the accused in the course of his trial for a new offence without framing any fresh charge at all. To deny him even the opportunity of establishing his innocence with regard to the new offence is what cannot but strike every discreet thinker as absurd. . . Should it come to light in the course of the trial that the accused committed murder, section 16 empowers the Court to inflict capital punishment on him for the offence of murder. Neither his trial, nor the crime for which he is tried, nor the evidence given by witnesses is about the offence of murder. Though the accused has no opportunity to disprove his connexion with this offence, he should be hanged. What perverse times! Where will justice be? The next section deprives the accused tried under this Bill of the right of appeal which is allowed in all ordinary law-courts. . . Section 18 dispenses with some principles of evidence as laid down in the Evidence Act. In short, all those facilities which help the establishment of the innocence of the accused have been taken away, and all possible provisions to convict him have been newly laid down. . .

Desabhimani, Guntur, 5th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

The *Pauran*, of Makaram-Kumbham 1094 M.E. (January-March 1919), regrets that at this auspicious moment when the Great Powers are trying to establish peace in the world and to protect the freedom of nations, the Government of India should have thought it fit to take up such legislative measures as cause intense pain to the people of India and heartily approves of the hostile attitude of the representatives of the people towards the measures, which will enable the executive to imprison, without trial, persons suspected of sedition. It is of opinion that such laws and the way in which some Government servants will administer them may in reality help the growth of anarchist tendencies and crimes and prays that the Government will agreeably to public opinion and to the sense of justice now dawning on the world, withdraw the Bills in question.

Pauran, Quilon, Makaram-Kumbham 1094 M.E., (Jan.-Mar. 1919).

The Rowlatt Bills.

Writing on the same subject, the *Malayali*, of the 15th March, points out that Indian leaders are of opinion that the anarchist tendency in India owes its origin to the wrong policy of the Government, that it will disappear if the Government are sympathetic towards Indian aspirations and that it will be a standing disgrace to the British Empire if the Government of India, instead of meting out punishment to the anarchists, set about passing a measure to destroy the natural freedom of all

Malayali, Quilon, 15th Mar. 1919.

Indians. It is like burning a house to destroy the mice. It thinks that Lord Sydenham and the Anglo-Indian Association, jealous of the welfare of Indians, consider the Rowlatt Bills as a suitable instrument for whittling down the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. It notices the spread of agitation against the Bills and the passive resistance started by Mr. Gandhi, and observes in conclusion that it is becoming clear that it will be injudicious on the part of the Government to act in opposition to public opinion.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

The Madras City Municipal Act.

98. Remarking that the Madras City Municipal Bill has been passed by the Government on the strength of the votes in their favour in spite of the protests of many members, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 14th March, observes:—It is inexplicable that the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao who considered it desirable to take up this Bill for discussion only after the introduction of the administrative reforms gave his consent for passing this Bill. The observations of the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Achariyar, who spoke at length on behalf of the Government show that he laid great stress upon the members having been deceived and that he did not realize the duty of the Government to safeguard the rights of the public. He said that he anticipated opposition to the provision in the Bill regarding the appointment of the Commissioner by the Government and that it was not proper for the members to have kept quiet when the provisions were individually discussed and to oppose the Bill at the last moment. We admit that the Honourable Members erred. Can that be a sufficient explanation for the action of the Government? What to say of the Hon'ble Mr. P. Rajagopala Achariyar, who occupying the position of an Indian Member is bound to seek the advancement of the Indians, venturing to state openly that taking advantage of the carelessness of the members, he was a party to an act which was favourable to the bureaucrats and prejudicial to the cause of Home Rule. Perhaps he wantonly desisted from seeking any remedy for the ill-suited provision in the Bill divesting the municipality of the power to appoint its chief officer. What if the Honourable Members failed to oppose that provision? This paper has thrice condemned it. So the statement of the Hon'ble Mr. P. Rajagopala Achariyar that no opposition was raised to that provision appears to have been made without any effort to ascertain the public opinion on this point. What if the Honourable Members had slept over the matter? Is it not the duty of the Government including the Indian Member to protest the rights of the people? It is highly regrettable that the Honourable Member should have argued in such a way as to make the public think that, because these members slept, they were deceived by the Government. He argued that steps had been taken for increasing the revenue of the municipality by an enhancement of the house-tax and profession-tax. Had the Hon'ble Mr. Achariyar duly considered from whom these taxes have to be collected, he would not have gloated over these two items. Most of the houses in this city are let out for rent and not occupied by the owners themselves. It is true that the house-rent is, as stated by the Honourable Member, increasing by leaps and bounds every day. It is the poor that pay these rents. So the anticipated increase of revenue from house-tax will thus have to be obtained only from the poor. The same is the case in regard to the increase of revenue from profession-tax. Mr. Molony pointed out that by reducing the expenditure on water-supply a surplus of Rs. 2,80,000 would become available. If the poor should have the required quantity of water for their use, they have to pay for it and if they cannot afford to pay they have to live in this hot city without sufficient water and in unhealthy conditions. All these go to show that the proposals made for the increase of revenue will only affect the poor. What provisions have been made in this Act to make the people with extensive property, those that hoard money, and companies and institutions, pay municipal taxes proportionate to their means? Similarly, if the poor also are made to contribute to the municipal expenses according to their means, we can say that the law has been passed in a benevolent spirit. Will the reform scheme empower the poor to remodel the law in this way?

Dravidan, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 15th March, reproduces in Tamil the sentiments of the *Justice* in its issue of the 14th idem criticising the action of the Government in rushing the Bill through and getting it passed.

99. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 8th March, remarks with reference to the Rowlatt Bills:— . . . The split which had occurred in the Nationalist camp at Delhi shows signs of being made up with reference to the Rowlatt Bills Mrs. Besant accepts the passive resistance pledge issued by Mahatma Gandhi. . . There has been among the people an awakening which is necessary for the well being and prosperity of the country. The duty of the people is to make it felt by the Government. . .

The duty of the people.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 8th Mar. 1919.

100. With reference to the Budget statement in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Andhravani*, of the 8th March, writes under this heading:—The Budget statement presented by Sir James Meston in the Imperial Legislative Council cannot be satisfactory to the people. The estimates made by them for the coming year are causing fear. One-half of the expenditure will be devoted to military purposes. The authorities have not given the details. This expenditure is twice the amount which generally used to be spent on this head before the war. It will be understood from Sir J. Meston's speech that it would remain so in future. The enemy was defeated and the British have won the battle. It would be just on the part of the British to bear the cost of the Indian Army which has fought for the Empire and thereby to relieve India of heavy expenditure. . . The expenditure on railways will only benefit to the European merchants and capitalists and not the masses of this country, who are suffering from famine and pestilence. . . When three-fourths of the income is spent on railways and the army, the people of India fail to understand how it would be possible to show improvement in other directions. . .

Our economic condition.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 8th Mar. 1919.

101. Referring to the debate on the Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th March, writes under this heading:—The discussion on the Rowlatt Bills is coming to a close with the rapidity of an arrow. Parliamentary traditions have been observed in this country in holding the discussion on the Rowlatt Bills during the night, though not in other respects. . . Sir Vincent rejected the amendment of Shukul, even though there was no objection to it. . . . In spite of the proposals of the popular representatives for the complete omission of Part II in the Bill, which substitutes the power of the Executive in place of the authority of the law-courts, it has been retained. . . The popular representatives are able to silence the official members by the logic of their arguments; but what is the use? The drama is coming to a close and the curtain is about to fall. The debate on the Select Committee's report has been finished. The Bill will be passed into an Act next Tuesday. It is important to consider about the future.

The close.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

The Sedition Bills.

102. The *Ravi*, of the 13th February, supports the Rowlatt Bills in its leader under this heading.

RAVI, Cocanada, 13th Feb. 1919.

The Hereditary Village Officers Act Amendment Bill and the opportunity for public criticism.

103. The *Village Officer*, of the 25th February, requests the Government in its leader under this heading, to extend the date of receiving representations on the Hereditary Village Offices Act Amendment Bill to July, since village officers will be engaged in jamabandi and other duties and will be unable to spare their time for the consideration of the Bill till then.

VILLAGE OFFICER, Tenali, 25th Feb. 1919.

The difficulties of village officers.

104. Under this heading, the *Village Officer*, of the 25th February, details the hardships of the karnam and remarks that they are being borne for the sake of the hereditary right.

VILLAGE OFFICER, Tenali, 25th Feb. 1919.

Absolute power over village officers.

105. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Village Officer*, of the 25th February, writes:—. . . Taluk officers are already masters of the village people in every respect, and to entrust to them all the powers exercised now by Divisional officers would indeed be a great evil.

VILLAGE OFFICER, Tenali, 25th Feb. 1919.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

106. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th March, writes with reference to the Rowlatt Bills:— . . . The popular representatives have at last failed to make any, important alterations in the Bill. To-morrow the Bill will become an Act, and it is clear then that the non-official members cannot at all carry out any more amendments. Will they in deference to the wishes of their countrymen withdraw from the Council without incurring the responsibility for the passing of the Bill?

Despair.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

107. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th March, writes:—. . . The Maharaja of Bikanir praised Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu, saying that they would be respected by coming generations for their services in the reconstruction of the empire. But it is during the tenure of the offices of these gentlemen that repressive measures are going to be enacted which violate the fundamental principles of law. It does not appear from the Reuter's message that neither the Aga Khan nor the Maharaja of Bikanir has made any reference to this subject. This is very regrettable. Whatever shape the reforms may take, there can be no peace and happiness in the country, until and unless repressive measures are cancelled.

Educated Indians and the British Government.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 12th Mar. 1919.

108. Exhorting the people to try to undo the Rowlatt Bills by signing Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance pledge, the *Desabhimani*, of the 12th March, observes in its leader under this heading:— . . . There is not the least doubt that the nationalist leaders in the Imperial Council, Messrs. Khaparde, Patel and Malavya were right in not signing the majority report of the Select Committee and while congratulating them on their courage we should say that the other non-official members would have added to the honour of Indians, if they had acted likewise. We think that no self-respecting Indian should consent to the passing of these Bills which are subversive of the primary principles of law. . . It is strange that the Government should persist in this legislation in spite of the unanimous condemnation of it by the people. . . Should they pay no heed to all the agitation which is made by the people to oppose these Bills, and should they pass them into law, Mahatma Gandhi has told his countrymen what they have to do in the matter. He has decided to offer passive resistance to the Bills and is supported by most of his fellow countrymen. . . May all the people sign the *Satyagraha* pledge and make the Government give up their uncalled for persistence. . . Our local leaders exhorted the people to show passive resistance to the Bills even before it was thought of anywhere else in India. We now request them to take the pledge and thus set an example to their fellow townsmen.

The Rowlatt Bills and Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 12th Mar. 1919.

109. The *Desabhimani*, of the 12th March, publishes in Telugu the resolutions passed on the Rowlatt Bill and other subjects at a meeting of the ryots of the Bapatla taluk held in Karamchedu village, Bapatla taluk.

A meeting of the Bapatla taluk ryots.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 15th Mar. 1919.

110. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 15th March, observes:—. . . In the event of any disturbance occurring in the country, the Government alone will have to be held responsible for it. The bureaucracy with the help of a few of its followers will have to oppose the power of the people. Their attempt to go against the current of popular opinion, relying on the support of the Sastri-Bannerjee party is dangerous, and cannot avail. . . The *Satyagraha* movement is spreading all over the country, and the people are determined to worship the Goddess of Dharma under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi. . . The bureaucracy, intolerant of popular opposition, is bent upon acting in a manner detrimental to the freedom of the people. The Indian nation with that awakening which it has received from the time spirit is prepared for self-sacrifice. The *Satyagraha* ideal is now uppermost in the hearts of the three-hundred million Indians.

Satyagraha.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

111. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 14th March, writes:—The discontent caused by the Rowlatt Bills is spreading the movement of passive resistance everywhere. All classes, from the youngest to the oldest among the people, agree in thinking that imprisonment without trial is contrary to all traditions of justice and they are therefore resorting to passive resistance. The enforcement of this measure is against the traditions of British justice. The Government would do well not to persist in enforcing it. The appointment of Lord Sinha as Under Secretary for India has been regarded as a shower of gold. When there are tens of thousands of Europeans above him, what good can he do for India as Under Secretary? If we should have at least a hundred representatives of ours in the British Parliament, the Anglo-Indians who are autocratic will be somewhat afraid of doing injustice. When we see that the Government of India is determined to pass the Rowlatt Bills into law, despite the unanimous protests of the whole country, we know what importance is attached to the prayers of the 310 millions of people. We do not say that the guilty should go unpunished. The people sorrowfully ask how they can remain sincerely loyal to their Government when the latter would not grant them even the request that no one should be imprisoned without trial. It is difficult to answer a question like this.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 14th Mar. 1919.

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, in its issue of the 18th March, observes:—A few Anglo-Indians such as Mr. Morrison propose that the territories taken from the Germans in Africa should be converted into Indian colonies. We cannot believe that those who seek to injure our life and honour by enacting laws which provide for the imprisonment of suspects without trial will create colonies for us.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 18th Mar. 1919.

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, in its issue of the 17th March, says:—The persons who carry this law into execution are not the persons who enact it but police constables getting a pay of 8 to 10 rupees. It is hard to believe that these will execute the law without giving way to passion, prejudice or corruption. It is scarcely possible that many of these constables can refrain from using the measure in an irresponsible manner in order to get their fill thereby. When our people are given pay which does not suffice even for their bare food, the passing of these laws amounts to asking them to drink the blood of their own people. These measures will serve to cause the Indians to be deemed wicked and the Europeans just and thus preserve the fair name of the Europeans. What Mahatma Gandhi tells the Indians therefore that it is their prime duty to take the *Satyagraha* vow in case the Government of India pass the Bills into law is quite just.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 17th Mar. 1919.

A writer in the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 15th March, criticising an article published in the *Vrittanta Patrike* in support of the Sedition Bills, remarks:—Vagrants and *badmashes* may have a grudge against a pure and innocent person and they might make ungrounded accusations against him. They might arouse a suspicion that he is a seditionist. Is it right under the circumstances to arrest and imprison him without an open trial? Will Christ or His disciples assent to such a procedure? Even a shepherd will not, who can help regretting that this Missionary editor has written an article so contrary to the British traditions? Though ordinarily he does not take a wrong view of things, it is difficult to believe that he has followed his conscience in writing thus. To ridicule Gandhi is the same as ridiculing Christ or God. Mahatma Gandhi is unequalled for honesty and integrity; he has subdued all passions and has nothing but good wishes for every one in this world. If the Viceroy were to thank him for the advice he gave in public interests refusing to be influenced by any other consideration, and order that these laws should not be enforced, the flag of British justice would have won the hearty respect and adoration of every Indian. Even now the Imperial authorities would do well to withdraw the Bills without listening to the enemies of the British traditions. If it is an offence to oppose these laws, Mr. Gandhi is prepared to be a victim for the sacrifice which the Government may undertake in order to punish such opposition; and crores of just-minded Indians are ready to join him as victims. These are critical times. It is to be hoped that God will grant the Imperial authorities the capacity to calmly consider the situation and maintain the traditions of British justice.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 15th Mar. 1919.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

Reforms in Travancore.

112. Adverting to the complaint of some members of the Christian, Ezhava and Muhammadan communities in Travancore, that though they form three-fourths of the bulk of the population of the State, they are excluded from being appointed in the Revenue Department of the Darbar, on the score that the officials in this department have to deal with matters connected with *Devastanams*, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 13th March, observes:—It is suggested that it would be well if the Revenue and Devasvam Departments are separated from each other. The Darbar is found fault with as being partial in reserving certain posts exclusively for some sects in the State. But how far has the Queen's Proclamation, that in British India all the subjects are eligible for all appointments according to their qualifications, been fulfilled all these years? Even to-day we see certain appointments being reserved for Anglo-Indians and Eurasians. There is considerable difference between making a promise and carrying it out. The Christians of the Travancore State which has not given any assurance that all persons will be appointed equally in the State now demand that the Darbar should confer these appointments impartially. No such liberality is found to be shown to the Hindus in a Christian administration, while in a Hindu administration this liberality is claimed for the Christians. Whatever may be the difference between word and deed in other places, still, as the Travancore State in one which fosters democratic principles, we trust that steps will be taken there to employ the members of the communities referred to above in the Revenue Department.

Pauran, Quilon, Makaram-Kumbham 1094 M.E. (Jan.-Mar. 1919).

Travancore Administration for 1093 M.E.

113. Commenting on the Travancore Administration for 1093 M.E., the *Pauran*, of Makaram-Kumbham 1094 M.E. (January-March 1919) points out that a close examination of the heads of income and of expenditure will show that the gratification of the Darbar at the sound financial condition of the State has been out of place, inasmuch as the total of ordinary items of expenditure during the year under review exceeded the total of the ordinary items of income and was met by disposing of lands belonging to the Darbar and by 'coup' sales of timber from Government forests. And, on the other hand, the Darbar have done nothing practical or worth mentioning for permanently increasing the wealth of the people by starting industrial projects. The financial condition and policy of the State cannot, therefore, be considered to have been satisfactory. The writer concludes with his oft-repeated observation that the people should therefore earnestly try to secure to their representatives the power to direct the policy of the State and the control of the State finances.

Sahodaran, Trivandrum, Kumbhom 1094 M.E. Feb.-Mar. 1919.

Equality of civic rights.

114. In the course of an article on the agitation in Travancore for securing equality of civic rights for twenty-six lakhs of people, the *Sahodaran* (Kumbhom 1094 M.E.) for February-March 1919, says:—It is impossible for any one to obstruct the course of the man that pleads for equality of civic rights. He is supported by justice and reason. Neither cannon nor sword, nor imprisonment nor the gallows can deter him in the least. That Providence that protects the safety of the whole world is behind him and encourages him. If truth and justice must prevail, his plea will also a prevail. In other countries this plea has overcome difficulties by the sacrifice of blood. But in the 'land of charity' ruled over by the present Maharaja who is anxious for the welfare of his subjects, the principle of equality can be established without disorder and commotion.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 10th Mar. 1919.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam's title.

115. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 10th March, has a leader on this subject of which the following is a summary:—The British Indian political administration has acknowledged the Hyderabad State to be an important link without which the golden chain of the British possessions would not be strong. The importance attached to the personality of the Ruler of the Dakhan is a historical fact, and the support which Imperialism derives from His Highness the Nizam needs no description.

It has just come to our knowledge that His Majesty the King has, in certain correspondence, addressed the Raja of Nepal as His Majesty. Now it is evident that in certain respects the Hyderabad State should be given preference over Nepal.

The Parliamentary laws have approved of Sir S. P. Sinha being raised to the Peerage and this is the first instance of the kind unparalleled in Parliamentary history. When the title of Lord can be given to an Indian citizen, the title of His Majesty should certainly be conferred upon an Indian ruler whose State was free and independent before the days of British Rule.

Errata.

Report No. 10.

Page 355, item 25, margin, *insert* 'the' before 'Khalifate'.
,, 355 ,, 25, line 9, *insert* 'His' before 'late'.
,, 358 ,, 34, last line, *substitute* 'interment' *for* 'internment'.
,, 358 ,, 34, line 8, *substitute* 'expeditiously' *for* 'expedetiously'.
,, 358 ,, 34 ,, 9, *substitute* 'interment' *for* 'internment'.
,, 392 ,, 112, margin, *omit* 's' from 'excitements'.

Report No. 11.

Page 423, paragraph 57, line 11, *for* 'of authorities' *read* 'of the authorities'.

Issued, the 27th March 1919.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 13 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 29th March 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

1. In a leader under the heading 'A Dangerous Ring' *New India*, of the 28th March, observes:—"Mr. Molony's dictum that the Corporation should keep out of the affairs of the Tramway Company, though the latter is admittedly exploiting a public monopoly, will be better understood if we glance at some other concerns in the City occupying, more or less, a position similar to the Tramway Company. The most striking of those are the Madras Electric Supply Corporation and the Telephone Company. Both of these are enjoying a monopoly, and working it directly with the assistance of the municipality. . . If Mr. Molony's dictum is to stand, the City will at once be placed at the mercy of a few exploiters, who are in addition non-Indian. Perhaps Mr. Molony would advocate non-interference, if to-morrow the Electric Supply Corporation is to refuse to supply electricity to any building or factory. . . On its very face, it looks monstrous that the comforts of the City should thus be controlled by non-Indians, who are bent also upon exploiting the monopoly as mercilessly as we see in the present Tramway deadlock."

New India, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

The Madras Corporation and the Tramway Company.

(k) *General.*

2. The *Hindu*, of the 24th March, remarks:—"The communiqué from the Government of India on the recommendations of a Special Committee composed of official and non-official members of the Viceroy's Council will go far to remove what was felt to be an indignity on the self-respect of Indians, a badge of servitude and a racial ban of inferiority. Act XV of 1878 was meant to guard against possible insurrection and opposition to authority by communities in India priding in professional crime and only half civilized. . . Lord Chelmsford's Government are to be congratulated on removing a grievance which, as we have said, stigmatised all sections of the Indian people with the ban of distrust and disloyalty."

Hindu, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

The Indian Arms Act.

Justice, of the 24th March, observes:—"All arms other than fire arms have been exempted from the operation of the Act as also fire arms of an obsolete character which have only an antiquarian value, except in Burma, the Punjab and the North-Western Frontier Province. Discretion is however reserved to Local Governments to retain the existing restrictions for particular weapons and in particular areas. In other respects also rules have been revised to enable the law to be worked less harshly and more liberally, but the provision to enable licensees to compound for three years does not commend itself to us, for it allows of a gun travelling from hand to hand for a considerable period of time, possibly bad hands and behind the back of the authorities. It allows the gradual accumulation of arms in a place for sinister purposes. After all the advantage conferred by the provision to compound is not much. The other changes made are unexceptionable and will satisfy all except perhaps the irreconcilables."

Justice, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

3. *Justice*, of the 24th March, writes:—"Post-prandial speeches are not intended to be taken seriously except in India where Indian politicians take everything seriously. The latest occasion on which Indian reforms were dealt with in after dinner speeches was when Lord Sinha was entertained at the Savoy Hotel in London, under the presidency of the Maharaja of Bikanir. . . We are fairly sick of the speeches of the Maharaja of Bikanir. If His Highness will point out the practical political reforms which he has introduced into the Bikanir State, we shall accept those as proofs of his sincerity in the advocacy of political reforms. But speech-making alone will not convince us. And we intend

Justice, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

Post-prandial views on Indian Reforms.

to apply the same test to the other Indian Chiefs as well. Indian Chiefs who have practically made no advance in the matter of political constitutions within their own State lay themselves open to severe criticism when they come forward to praise Mr. Montagu to the skies as the deliverer of India. Mr. Montagu has to get his proposed reforms through the Houses of Parliament before the reforms can become operative. These Indian Chiefs can introduce reforms without such inconvenient formalities. . . To us Lord Sinha's warning appears to be nothing else than a serious threat. That is Lord Sinha's threat which in effect is also the threat of the Indian Extremists. . . Having uttered the threat in the style of a true Bengalee politician, Lord Sinha quietly assumed the roll of the official—Parliamentary Under Secretary for India. There he talked of the general policy of the Declaration of the 20th August 1917 and the general principles underlying the Montford proposals, and became reticent about the details regarding the controversy which centres round the transfer of powers from the Government to popular control and the method of such transfer. . . Mr. Montagu's peroration was a highly imaginative piece of work and its theme was the union between races. He took the association of himself with Lord Sinha in the work of getting the Indian Reforms through the Houses of Parliament as symbolical of the coming co-operation and union between the two races, European and Indian. Perhaps the significance of the union and co-operation between Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha is somewhat exaggerated. For one Lord Sinha there are thousands of Bengalees not co-operating with Englishmen but abusing them to their utmost capacity, and it was a wonderful exhibition of philosophical detachment from the realities of the world for Mr. Montagu to ignore the facts and conditions of the development and progress of Indian Extremism and to forecast a happy union of the two races in the future simply because Lord Sinha has been raised to the Peerage and appointed Parliamentary Under Secretary for India."

Hindu, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

The *Hindu*, of the 24th March, says:—"The dinner in honour of Lord Sinha has been elevated, with the unerring eye for dramatic possibilities with which the present 'stunt' Cabinet is so largely gifted, into a political function of the first magnitude. There need be no quarrel this side of the water over the fact, though doubtless there will be much gnashing of teeth among the Messiahs of Prusso-British Imperialism. So far as India is concerned, nobody will argue that there was no necessity for a reiteration of the intentions of the British Cabinet with regard to reforms. There is a feeling abroad in the country that we are about to witness a drastic whittling down of even the Montford scheme, a feeling by no means unfounded considering the activities and the multitude of the forces of reaction. . . Here in India, reforms are a matter of vague speculation while repression is an accomplished fact. The public may be excused for doubting if the same stubborn tenacity which held on to the Rowlatt Bills in the face of an unprecedent unanimity of condemnation would be called into play in securing any considerable measure of reform. It feels, whether rightly or wrongly only the event can show, that there is no prospect of any substantial reforms when the prejudices and selfish interests of the trader and the bureaucrat have worked their will upon the scheme. In the mephitic atmosphere created by the Rowlatt Bills controversy, it is not surprising if the reforms are only visualised as through a glass darkly and the public is unable to share the robust optimism of certain people whose proleptic enjoyment of reforms is sufficiently pronounced to modify their opposition to the Rowlatt Bills. . . One looks in vain for any reassuring suggestions that the apprehensions of the Indian public in regard to the whittling-down of reforms are exaggerated. It would perhaps be cruel to accuse Mr. Montagu of believing in the saponific theory of state-craft. As an anodyne for the public's lacerated feelings, however, his speech does undoubtedly suggest an unsubstantiality in regard to points at issue generally associated with soft soap. . . The same easy grace in skirting round controversial questions is displayed in his skilful avoidance of any mention of the subject which is now agitating the mind of India to the exclusion even of the reforms, the Rowlatt legislation. From this attempt to please all parties and the equally colourless speech of Lord Sinha it is a relief to turn to the vigorous outspokenness of the Maharaja of Bikanir, whose merciless exposure of the methods and aims of the

Indo-British Association must have caused an unpleasant shock to that unholy cabal of crusted bureaucrats and selfish exploiters."

4. The following appears in the *Wednesday Review* for the week ending 26th March:—"We bid a reluctant farewell to Lord Pentland whose administration of Madras for nearly seven years has been memorable in more respects than one. . . There is no gainsaying that His Excellency's administration was cast in difficult and troublous times. Circumstances conspired to disturb occasionally an otherwise placid and progressive rule. If he had had his own way, he would not have suffered any disturbance. But where Lord Pentland had a right to expect their moral and active support, the Supreme Government meddled and muddled and made his task more difficult. . . Barring the few petty and petulant detractors whom Lord Pentland did not care to placate, the people of Madras will cherish his administration in grateful remembrance which was marked all along by beneficent activities for their advancement and well-being."

The retiring Governor of Madras.

WEDNESDAY REVIEW, Trichinopoly, 26th Mar. 1919.

5. Writing under the heading 'Unrest in Egypt', *Justice*, of the 28th March, says:—"Need we point the parallelism of what has taken place in Egypt to what is taking place in this country? Indian Nationalists demand Home Rule or autonomy for India. The British Government are not prepared to grant that at once, but offer to grant part of the demand with a promise that in successive stages India would be permitted to have Home Rule at a future date. Indian Nationalists are not satisfied. They threaten to continue violent agitation unless their demands are satisfied. That is the stage we have got to now. We would rather not anticipate the further stages of the evolution of events in this country. We hope that the Indian Nationalists will not bring about martial law and military occupation of this country."

India and Home Rule.

JUSTICE, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

III.—LEGISLATION.

6. The following appears in the *Wednesday Review* for the week ending 19th March:—"As we anticipated, the passive resistance movement is slowly fizzling out. As has happened before the movement has not spread beyond Mr. Gandhi and this is perhaps another instance of a movement being composed of one individual and one only. Those who expressed at first their approbation of the movement and profuse admiration of Mr. Gandhi as the leader are inventing safeguards and excuses which will entail no sacrifice on them in taking the vow of passive resistance. Many have sworn not to obey the Rowlatt Acts if passed and that means nothing practically. It is an assurance from them that they will obey the law to the letter. . . Some others have vowed that they will passively resist other laws by disobeying them. But they are only awaiting the report of a committee which is going to be appointed, we do not know when, to know what those laws may be which have to be disobeyed. So that those who have taken the vow with or without reservations do not know what they are about and yet a great lot of fuss is being made over the movement as if it meant anything in particular. . . We are really sorry that Mr. Gandhi is wasting his time and energy on spreading a movement which won't spread, at any rate with as much ease as in South Africa and his Madras friends are adepts in whittling down the vow of passive resistance to the proportions of a small and innocuous joke."

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

WEDNESDAY REVIEW, Trichinopoly, 19th Mar. 1919.

The *Commonweal*, for the week ending 21st March, has the following:—"In what way the suffering is to be invited, beyond the general idea of breaking certain selected laws, has not yet been made known. The principle of such breaking is, to my mind, against good citizenship, while the motive of a real Satyagrahi, as conceived by Mr. Gandhi, is noble and selfless. As an education of individual character the vow should be useful, but if widely adopted it will be civilly dangerous."

COMMONWEAL, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

The British rule in Egypt.

7. Remarking that, just as the British say, after having governed India for more than 150 years in their own interests, that the Indians are not yet fit to conduct a government responsible to the people, they have begun to repeat the same even in Egypt, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st March, observes:—The people of Egypt, who had been asleep all these years when their country was being administered under the supervision of the British, seem to have woke up now and demand Home Rule. We learn that the statement made in India, that this great war was waged for the establishment of justice and equity, was repeated also in Egypt and the Egyptians believed this *truth* just as the Indians did. But we need not say that, like the Indians, the Egyptians also would have understood now that the object of the war was to maintain justice and equity in the world of the whites. The Nationalist papers in Egypt claim and agitate for the application of President Wilson's principle of self-determination to the Egyptians on the ground that the reforms introduced by the British in that country have not enabled the people to advance as much as they ought to have. But the Egypt correspondent of the *London Times* questions the capacity of the Egyptians to manage a government and lays stress upon the necessity of the continuance of the British control in Egypt for ever, on the plea that, if the Government yield a little to the Nationalist party, it will lead to a minority getting all power and influence in their hands and ignoring the welfare of the masses. We need not say that the opinion of this correspondent is exactly that of the British Government. Our friends can well imagine the present condition of Egypt from the news received yesterday that four leaders of the Nationalist party have been deported on a charge of sedition. The British seem to be curbing political agitation in Egypt by means of repressive legislation in the same manner in which they are suppressing the Home Rule agitation in India. It appears proclamations and promises are ignored even in Egypt, as they have been cast to the winds in India. Though we do not know the trend of the internal administration of Egypt, we see that the people are suffering much hardship, as can be gauged from a small book entitled "The injustice of the British rule in Egypt." Let the British note that it is as impossible to prevent the thirst for liberty in Egypt as it is in India.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

Self-determination for Ireland.

8. Referring to the resolution passed by a representative assembly of Americans that the Peace Conference should consider the question of granting the right of self-determination to Ireland, having been characterised as an irresponsible and foolish one by the Anglo-Indian papers in India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st March, remarks:—It is only the Indians condemning the Rowlatt Bills that have been treated with scant courtesy by these papers and we never thought they would accord the same treatment even to the Americans, who are applauded by the whole world. Further the people receiving the support of the Americans for self-determination in this case are not Asiatics but white Irishmen! If there is such affinity between even whites and whites, what sort of affinity can be expected between races of different colours?

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

The League of Nations.

9. Reproducing in Tamil from the *Herald* of London certain observations to the effect that this is not a league of nations but only a league of a few Governments, and that, being formed, as it appears, on the principle of the mighty lording over the weak, it is feared that the League cannot be beneficial to the world, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 21st March, observes:—The westerns who own big armies claim the right to rule over the easterns who lack such military strength by keeping them under

subjection and refer to the easterns as an uncivilized race. In fact the civilization of which they boast is in such a plight as to involve them in war and unrest and eventually come to ruin.

The League of Nations.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 22nd Mar. 1919.

Continuing his criticism on the draft constitution of the League of Nations, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 22nd March, writes:—Rule 19 lays down that though some of the countries belonging to the Turkish Empire are fit to be independent, they should remain in the custody of a big power for some time after which their integrity will be recognized. So, the Peace Conference has decided that those countries should receive their training in self-government at the hands of a big power. But which lover of freedom does not know the advice which big powers give and the scheme of self-government which they teach. To govern small nations autocratically is the system of self-government which they teach!! And to deprive small nations of the little strength they still possess, to suck their blood and to take the life out of them is all the advice which they can give!!! Is it for these dire results that small nations should have their training for a time at the hands of big powers? If the Peace Conference proposes to do such things, how can it establish peace in the world, and how can wars be stopped? What is the use of talking of self-determination without following it in practice? How can one nation govern another? Since it is impossible for big powers to govern small nations unselfishly, let not the Peace Conference propose to do any such thing. The Peace Conference has said that some of the races suffering many troubles under Turkish domination till very recently are fit to become independent and to be recognized as separate countries. Is it then its opinion that India which has been under the absolute domination of Britain for the last 150 years and Ireland which has been fiercely struggling for independence for the last 200 years are not yet fit to receive self-government? Or is it that it does not like to discuss questions affecting these countries?

It has been clearly laid down that German colonies should be annexed to the British and the Boer colonies. But it is strange that the Peace Conference should be ignorant of the fact that South Africa is unfit to govern either the German colonies or the Asiatic races. There cannot be any act more unwise than to entrust other nations to the hands of the stone-hearted South Africans who are incapable of distinguishing between justice and injustice.

Indians in South Africa.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 21st Mar. 1919.

10. Referring to a letter communicated by Mr. Gandhi to the Press complaining of the treatment accorded to Indians in South Africa, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 21st March, writes:—Any westerner is at liberty to come to our country and enjoy greater independence here than in his own country and receive whatever help he needs; while we have to remain like coolies even in our own country. We have most loyally given 10 lakhs of men and 30 crores of rupees towards the recent war; and yet, our condition is not even tolerable. Even Sedition Bills are likely to be passed. The plaintive cries of our representatives, our Congress and our Muslim League are all apt to prove absolutely unavailing. What can anyone do if British justice itself is subverted? What cannot be cured must be endured.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(*a*) *Police.*

Mr. Gnanaprakasam Pillai.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

11. Referring to the fact that Mr. Gnanaprakasam Pillai, who was acting as Assistant Commissioner of Police in the City, was reverted to his permanent post on the return of Mr. Withinshaw from leave, but not Mr. Jagadisa Ayyar, who was appointed subsequent to Mr. Gnanaprakasam Pillai, to a new Assitant Commissionership that was created for the City, the *Dravidan*, of the 20th March, observes:—What justice is this? Is it not the senior officer that should, in all fairness, be appointed to the new Assistant Commissionership and the junior reverted to his permanent post? We do not know on what sound principle the Commissioner of Police made this recommendation and how the Government approved of it. This difficulty would not at all have cropped up, had Mr. Gnanaprakasam Pillai been a Brahman?

When the Government of Madras and their views are under the sway of a few deceitful and selfish people, perhaps all those in the employ of the Government have to dance to their tune! We regret that even Lord Pentland has not understood very well the devices of these selfish people.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

What justice is this?

12. Referring to the recent arrangements in the Police Department consequent on the return of Mr. Withinhsaw to duty and to the reversion of Mr. Gnanaprakasam Pillai in that connexion to the place of the Chief Inspector of Intelligence, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 19th March, remarks under this heading:—. . . When it is Mr. Jagadisa Ayyar who should be made to revert to this place, we fail to see the reason for making the above irregular arrangements. . . It is very regrettable that they should take a turn which amounts to an insult to Mr. Pillai.

(*d*) *Education.*

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 15th Mar. 1919.

The Andhra movement and the Andhra Province.

13. The *Sudarsini*, of the 15th March, publishes an article under this heading from the pen of a correspondent, expressing views much to the same effect as those contained in the *Dharmasadhani* of the 1st March under the heading "the present day education" and noticed in the report for the week ending 22nd March 1919.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

The necessity for a Muhammadan College.

14. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 18th March, writes:—When there was formally no college the Mussalmans felt the necessity for one but now that the Government of Madras has established an institution of the kind, leaders have arrived at the conclusion that the community does not need it.

Some gentlemen are reiterating their thanks to the Government and saying that it has placed the community under a lasting obligation. They seem to think that the Government by so doing, have galvanized the Mussalmans into life, and that had they three score and ten tongues, these would be inadequate to express their gratitude. We wonder where and when the community has ever expressed such feelings. The college is before the eyes of the community. Its incomplete condition, its irregular shape, its ordinary methods of teaching, make all true sympathisers weep.

The Government has given to the community something which it never asked for. Besides it has been given in a manner that makes the recipients ashamed of themselves. His Exalted Highness had given a lump sum for the Usmania College, and, the wealthy members of the community had collected a considerable sum for the Islamiah College, but the Government rejected both proposals, and a third college, which can hardly, by a stretch of poetic generosity, be called a college, was suddenly opened whose manifold praises are being sung by one and only one tongue.

The college established by Government consists of Intermediate classes only. A portion of the present building of the Madrasa has been vacated for it and a few teachers of the staff have been placed in the professorial chairs, or in the seats of lecturers. The onerous duties of the Principal has been entrusted to the headmaster. The greatest boon of all is the ignoring of the tastes and desires of the students who are invited to partake of pot luck 'what is ready'. In other words they have no choice of their subjects. The college does not possess any semblance of nationality or religion. The comprehensive character of the University is not to be found there, nor is there any provision for study and observations. As it bears the name of Muhammadan College hence it is, forsooth, worthy of our affection and because it has been established by Government we should be grateful.

The community was in need of a national college to develop national aspirations, and to provide for the teaching of relegion with the management in the hands of national leaders. The object of the Usmania College or the Islamiah College was to supplement teaching with training and science with religion. It is still a secret why the management of the Muhammadan College has not been placed in the hands of the community, and what useful purpose, a college of so imperfect and unsuitable a character is likely to serve. By the grace

of God the community is neither dead nor in such straitened circumstances as not to be able to attend to its own requirements. Can the Government even now understand that their kindness has had a disheartening effect and quenched the national spirit?

(*e*) *Local and Municipal.*

15. Referring to the resolution of Diwan Bahadur P. Tyagaroya Chettiyar regarding the presentation of a farewell address by the Madras Corporation to His Excellency Lord Pentland, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th March, remarks:—Leaving alone the internments, G.O. No. 559, the Madura trouble and other occurrences which took place during the governorship of Lord Pentland, popular opinion has been set at nought even with regard to the Madras City Municipal Bill condemned by Mr. Chettiyar and others. The forfeiture order recently served on the *Desabhaktan* clearly shows the nature of His Excellency's administration. The Government have passed into an Act a Bill which the Corporation has condemned. In these circumstances, the Corporation would have placed itself in a ridiculous position, if it had accepted Mr. Chettiyar's resolution We congratulate Mr. Chettiyar on his having withdrawn his resolution in deference to the sound sense of the meeting.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

The Madras Corporation meeting.

In its leader under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 20th March, regrets that some of the Indian representatives in the Corporation should have opposed the resolution to present a farewell address to His Excellency Lord Pentland.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

The Madras municipal meeting.

16. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 15th March, commenting on the alleged extreme severity practised by the Health Department staff in forcibly entering Muhammadan houses without any deference to Gosha rules writes:—If this information is correct we strongly protest against the procedure and invite the attention of the Health Officer to the fact in order that he may direct his staff to pay some attention to the rules of society and not to wound the religious feelings of the public.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

Perplexity caused by plague.

We condsider that the measures that are being taken for the prevention of plague are unnecessarily drastic.

If the Health Officer were to act with consideration and examine his own independent report we are sanguine he would find out his mistake. As his staff is warring the people in his name it is his duty to go round the city to redress the grievance of the public.

(*f*) *Land Revenue and Settlement.*

17. Adverting to the recommendations of a committee appointed by the Government of Madras in 1914 to inquire into and report on certain matters connected with Survey and Settlement, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th March, observes:—In the Bombay Presidency and other provinces, statistics showing the particulars about the occupancy of lands are duly maintained in the offices of sub-registrars, and the confusion prevailing in our Presidency does not prevail there. Even knowing that this system is working satisfactorily in an adjacent province and in spite of the Committee's recommendation to adopt it, the Government of Madras have in their recent order on the subject stated that there is no need to adopt that system in this Presidency. In this matter they rely upon the view expressed by a former Inspector-General of Registration of this Presidency as the result of inquiries made by him only in a few select villages. It is not proper to issue a general order affecting the whole Presidency on the strength of such an inquiry. Apart from this, the other arguments adduced by the Government against this system are very curious. They have stated that as the sole object of maintaining accounts in the Revenue Department is the collection of kist, and that as there is at present no trouble of any kind in this matter, the present system will do. The Committee have pointed out that as the patta is not a faithful record of the actual possession of land, the kist due in respect of it has to be determined by the karnam with the help of his chitta and that he is likely to act with partiality in the matter. The

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

The Survey Committee.

Government without paying heed to this have stated that, as long as the kist due in respect of lands is being collected easily, nothing need be done.

(*h*) *Railways.*

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

The Indian railways.

18. Detailing the hardships of the third-class passengers, the *Dravidan*, of the 22nd March, urges that the Railway Board should take immediate steps to remove these, and condemning the view of its contemporaries and some politicians, that the increased provision in the Imperial budget for railways for the year 1919-20 is unduly high, observes:—We cannot support this view in the least, inasmuch as railway is one of the chief facilities for minimising the various kinds of hardships caused by famine and for doing good to the country. It is certain that those who wish that the country should progress on all sides, will be in favour of increasing transport facilities. The whole world is at present experiencing a severe famine, and the severity of the famine will not be felt in all its rigour if transport facilities are sufficiently provided. Most of the railways in India are managed by British capitalists. They have lent their capital in the construction of railways in India, because the Government have guaranteed an interest of 4 per cent on their capital. This indeed is true. But it is not right to say that the British capitalists have done so to get immense profits. Our people do not come forward to launch in a business that yields a profit of four per cent. Whom to blame for this?

(*k*) *General.*

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

Indo-Ceylon connexion.

19. Referring to a booklet issued by one Mr. Rajaratnam describing how the Ceylon Quarantine Regulations connected with plague have seriously disturbed the commercial relations between India and Ceylon, causing much loss to many Indian merchants and depriving many Indian ferrymen of their avocation, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 19th March, observes:—The ports on the northern shore of Ceylon have been closed on account of these regulations. A large number of Indian agriculturists and merchants and cattle were going to Ceylon direct from ports like Vēdāranniyam, Dhanushkōdi and Negapatam and this route was easier to them, being only 37 miles. In place of this route, the Tuticorin route was strengthened and all were required to take to this route, and not only was the trade in the ports of the Tanjore district thus ruined, but the South Indian Railway Company and the British India Steam Navigation Company began to make huge profits at the cost of the Indian ferrymen. Further the new route entailed also a great deal of inconvenience and increased expenditure for passenger as well as goods traffic. Seeing that the new plague regulations framed by the Local Government show that all the old theories as regards the spread of plague infection have been exploded, it appears to be neither just nor necessary to continue the old quarantine restrictions still. We hope that the authorities in India and Ceylon will put their heads together and remedy the existing situation so as to increase the facilities for passengers and goods passing between India and Ceylon.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

The conference about the food situation.

20. Referring to the conference of officials and non-officials that is being held to consider about the remedial measures to be adopted in connexion with the stress caused by the high prices of foodstuffs, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th March, observes:—Those that were expecting much from this conference will doubtless get disappointed, because the conference has resolved that the retail prices of foodstuffs cannot be controlled. Though it may not be possible to control these prices everywhere, can it not be tried at least as an experiment in a few places? Apart from this, a proposal has been adopted to appoint a Special Deputy Director of Civil Supplies for the northern districts, which, of course, would entail additional expenditure. The appointment of one Director has proved very beneficial! The complaints far outweigh the benefits. It remains to be seen what benefit will be derived by the appointment of an assistant to him.

SWADESAMITRAN, & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

The action of the Government against the *Desabhaktan*.

21. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th March, publish the proceedings of a public meeting held in Negapatam on the 12th idem to protest against the action of the Government regarding the *Desabhaktan*.

22. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th March, pubulish a summary of the proceedings of a public meeting of the rice merchants and others held in Madras on the 14th idem to consider about the present food situation.

The food situation.

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 21st March, observes:—One of the mistakes committed by the Director of Civil Supplies is in the matter of issuing licences for the import of rice from Burma. If in the grant of these licences he had preferred local merchants to outsiders, they would have charged only moderate profits, because of their acquaintance with the local people. The next mistake committed by him lies in his having given the monopoly of importing articles to a few merchants. In the recent conference under the presidentship of Sir Alexander Cardew, it was resolved that licences should be granted to as many bonafide merchants as possible and that only a profit of four annas should be charged on a bag of two maunds. But so long as retail prices are not controlled, this restriction will be binding only on the importers and there is nothing to prevent those that purchase from these importers charging a profit of Rs. 2 per bag. But it may be said that as the importers are bound to sell in retail, if so required, others cannot sell at rates higher than theirs. The importers will be bound to open retail shops only in their respective places of import. It will neither be just, nor will it be possible for them, to open retail shops all over. So, these retail shops will in no way regulate the retail prices prevailing elsewhere. The conference has, however, decided that it is difficult to control the retail prices. It has taken more than six months to understand that the system adopted from the beginning is not the right one and it may take another six months to find out that the one proposed at present is equally wrong. It is no doubt commendable that the conference has decided to afford facilities for importing on a larger scale, seeing that the restrictions imposed in the matter all these months have failed to produce the desired results We trust that, if this arrangement is carried out properly, prices will to a certain extent come down.

The food situation.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd March, publishes in its supplement an article on this subject, from the pen of a correspondent, wherein the following observations find place among others:—It does not appear that the conference paid any attention to the hardships likely to be caused by the restriction that merchants should export rice only from certain specified mills. This is considered by all to be the chief cause for the high price of rice in the delta tracts. The price will naturally go down if this restriction is removed.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 22nd March, reproducing the sentiments of an article in the *New India* of the 21st idem under the heading 'The kerosene-oil famine', observes that the result of the resolution of the conference is to add an additional middleman in connexion with the sale of this oil and that the conference had no other alternative in the matter inasmuch as the oil companies were stubborn.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

The *Manorama*, of the 21st March, in its leading article on the 'Food problem' generally approves of the resolutions passed at the conference recently held in Madras, and urges that the resolutions may be carried out without delay in view of the intense distress prevailing in the country and the danger of serious outbreaks like the recent looting in Calicut.

The food problem.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 21st Mar. 1919.

23. Referring to the fact that the tramway workmen are holding on with a determination not to resume work, without getting their grievances redressed and that the company are also stubbornly keeping silent, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th March, observes:—This matter is not one between an ordinary company and its workmen. The Tramway company has been afforded special facilities and concessions by the Madras Corporation and has undertaken to do a public duty. The public have been subjected to great hardships as a result of the present dispute. So, not only the workmen, but also the public using the tram-cars, the Corporation that has granted the company many concessions and the Madras Government are involved in the present strike. Hence it is the duty of all to see that the differences that

The tramway strike.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

have arisen between the company and the workmen are justly and equitably settled.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

The Tramway strike.

In writing again on this subject, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd March, remarks that, in view of the fact that all are affected by this strike, it is neither fair nor just for the Government to keep quiet in this matter.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

The Tramway workmen's strike.

With reference to the Tramway workmen's strike, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd March, observes:—. . . Taking advantage of the strike, the jatkawallahs and bandymen are annoying the people. Though such a serious situation is prevailing in the city, it is very regrettable that neither the Government nor the leaders of the people should take any steps to bring about a settlement. We wait to see what action the meeting to be held in the Gokhale Hall to-morrow would propose to take in the matter. The Government have not interfered in the matter so far. Unrest is bound to increase among the strikers in the event of further delay. . . That the strike should successfully go on for so many days in the metropolis cannot be a sign of the efficiency of its administration.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

The Tramway strike.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 15th March, commenting on the procedure adopted by the Tramway Company observes:—It is time now for the Government to settle the dispute and not to allow the working class to suffer unnecessary hardships. Such occurrences are regrettable and unless the Government pacify the poor people it is impossible for it to maintain its good reputation.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras,

England and India.

24. Referring to an announcement about the prospect of the release of the Sinn Feiners who were detained in custody in England till now, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th March, observes:—These Sinn Feiners rose in rebellion against the British Government during the period of the war and again recently. And yet they are going to be released. But in India, thousands of persons have been interned though they never took part in any agitation during the period of the war and their release is not in sight. Even one of the Rowlatt Bills has been passed into law. We are afraid that liberty will have no place in India hereafter. It is perhaps a sign of the times that British justice is being followed differently in different places!

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

Partiality or privilege.

25. In a short note under this heading, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 20th March, observes:—The Europeans raised a cry against the heavy steamer fares to England and the fares were reduced subsequently and a special steamer is expected from London to take the Europeans to England. But how about the cry of the Indians? Everyone knows that the railway fares were raised in view of the emergencies of war and that this increased the income of the railway considerably. As the increase of fares caused very great hardship to the third-class passengers, a cry was raised in the Imperial Legislative Council that they should be reduced and this point was also urged in the newspapers. But has any salvation dawned till now?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

The resignation of the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma.

26. Referring to the resignation of his seat on the Imperial Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma as a protest against the second of the Rowlatt Bills having been passed into law, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th March, appreciates his action as a highly commendable one.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 20th March, also refers to this subject and remarking that Mr. Sarma's resignation is as it were a reminder to the Government that it would not do for them to be so stubborn, says that it is no doubt a pitiable situation for the people's representatives to hold seats on the Imperial Legislative Council and still be incapable of doing any service to the people.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 20th March, however, observes that the action of Mr. Sarma will be commendable only if he abstains from seeking a seat on the Council until this law is revoked according to his wishes.

Mr. Sarma's resignation.

Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th March, writes a letter admiring the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma for his courage in resigning his seat in the Imperial Legislative Council. — ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

Mr. Sarma's resignation.

Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st March, remarks that the news of the withdrawal of his resignation by Mr. Sarma will be disappointing to many. — ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

The passive resistance movement.

27. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 14th and the 15th March, respectively, publish in Tamil the instructions issued to the *satyagraha* volunteers in taking signatures to the *satyagraha* vow. — DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 14th & 15th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th March, reproduce in Tamil the message of Shraddhananda to *Satyagrahis* appearing in *New India* of the 15th idem. — DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the detailed scheme connected with this movement, the *Dravidan*, of the 19th March, says:—It is really funny that great 'mahatmas' should recommend such an absurd course and that many Brahmans and a few others following them should dance with joy at the proposal. It is indeed surprising to see the Brahmans of Madras, who are ever steeped in gluttony, coming out to follow Mr. Gandhi. There is a gulf between them and fasting. Whatever others may say we stick to our original view about passive resistance. In this connexion we have to point out that an act of omission as well as an act of commission constitute an offence under the law. — DRAVIDAN, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th March, refers to the manifesto issued by the moderates in Madras against this movement and says:—We have read all the names of the signatories to this manifesto and we need not dwell here upon their qualifications. But we would ask whether these have been present at any public meeting convened to condemn the Rowlatt Bills or whether they have at least expressed their opinion against the Bills in the papers. For aught we know, they have done neither. It is, therefore, a traitorous act on the part of these to come out suddenly and without any forethought and, acting on the words of others, condemn this thing or that. — DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

The passive esistance rmovement.

Advising the people of Southern India not to associate themselves with the Home Rule agitation and with this movement in particular, the *Dravidan*, of the 22nd March, again writes on this subject as follows:—Many of the moderates also have begun to condemn this movement, because they consider that this mad policy will entangle the people in danger and lead to untoward consequences. Attempting to associate with religion matters quite unconnected with it, is only stirring up vain fanaticism. — DRAVIDAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

A farewell entertainment to Lord Pentland.

28. Quoting a letter addressed to *New India* by Mowlana Abdus Subhan, taking exception to the Prince of Arcot using the name of the Moslem community for an entertainment given by him to His Excellency Lord Pentland, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th March, comments in the same strain as *New India* of the 19th idem on the action of the Prince and adds:—It may be Lord Pentland has done much good during his administration, which demonstrates his skill. But the people of South India know only of three acts of his, viz, the internment of Mrs. Besant, the conviction of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu and the forfeiture of the security of the *Desabhaktan* These are indeed invaluable benefits! Where is the necessity for entertainments and farewell addresses to His Excellency Lord Pentland who has acquired an everlasting fame by such rare acts? When Diwan Bahadur P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar moved a resolution in the Corporation that a farewell address should be presented to Lord Pentland, we were afraid that the tumult, that occurred in Bombay over the question of presenting an address to the Governor there, would be repeated here. But the withdrawal of this resolution avoided it. Though it was the friends of Lord Willingdon that strove to present an address to him, their thoughtless action only brought discredit on him. Lord — DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

Pentland has providentially escaped from most of the undesirable situations in which he was about to be placed. But the Prince of Arcot has thoughtlessly made an arrangement which is likely to bring discredit on His Excellency.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

29. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th March, reproduces in Tamil a communication addressed to the Press by Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao on the present political situation.

The present political situation.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, in its issue of the 18th March, publishes a lecture delivered by Mr. B. C. Pal at Trichinopoly on the 14th idem on the same subject.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

30. Regretting that the resolution recently brought by the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju in the meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, that the Government should help the Co-operative Agricultural Societies with loans, has not been carried, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 21st March, observes:—The population of India is going on increasing; the fertility of the soil is declining; the seasonal rains fail and the food situation causes despair. If, to such difficulties the poverty of the agriculturists is also added, how can Indian agriculture thrive? The agriculturist is already in the hands of the sowcar. But Sir Alexander Cardew without being moved with their miserable plight began to preach a lesson that the Indians secreting all their wealth plead poverty and that these do not deserve any help from the Government but should seek their own redress. If no assistance should be rendered to the Indian ryots, why do the Government incur large expenditure on agriculture and in maintaining experimental farms? The ryots are a hard-working class and it is they that contribute largely to the Government revenues. The Government should take pity in the matter of helping them.

The Government and agriculture.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

31. Referring to a statement in the *Truth* of England that the Government of India are not worse than any other bureaucratic government, inasmuch as all the bureaucrats actuated by selfish motives care very little for the interests of the people committed to their 'unjust' sway, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 21st March, observes:—The bureaucracy will be the same all over the world. Will it be different in India alone? The bureaucrats in India assert that they are born to safeguard the interests of the masses in India. Lord Willingdon has recently stated in London that, if the good acts done by the bureaucrats are appreciated by the people, the progress of India will be an easy matter. Compare this view with that of the *Truth* which has also remarked that, on account of the great distance between England and India, the weapons of the English cannot effect from England a proper cure on the Indian officials here. This is a good testimonial to the Indian bureaucrats.

Indian aspirations.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

32. Referring to the opposition of Sir James Meston in the budget session of the Imperial Legislative Council to the resolutions brought forward by the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma to provide fifty lakhs of rupees each for the improvement of sanitation and for porviding additional irrigation facilities in villages, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 21st March, observes:—The reasons advanced by Sir James are not such as can be accepted. He said that these were matters for the consideration of the Provincial Governments and not of the Government of India, and the latter had approved all the suggestions made by the Provincial Governments in regard to sanitation during this year. In other words, if these matters are not well attended to, the fault lies with the Provincial Governments and not with the Government of India. It does not appear to be proper for the Government of India to shirk their responsibility in this manner. Even after according sanction for incurring increased expenditure on the improvement of agriculture and industries, the Government of India have warned the Local Governments to exercise great care and observe strict economy in the matter of expenditure and to confine it to the balance on hand. Will the Local Governments venture to spend liberally in the face of this warning? What can the Local Governments do? So, the argument that the Local Governments have not asked for increased provision, will not stand. Then the words of Sir James in opposing another resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma for an increased provision for the growth of

The Imperial budget for 1919–20.

primary education are strange. He said he never knew if the Government had ever been against the advancement of this education. Ilad Sir James meant by his words that the Government have taken interest and paid proper attention to growth of primary education, certainly they will not hold good. Progress of education is neither an insignificant nor an unnecessary matter. Sir James, however, very easily opposed the resolution on the ground that there are not sufficient number of teachers. Can this stand as a reason? We have become sick of hearing such petty excuses. If earnestly we require teachers, we can have any number of them. Have not the Government of India devised a plan for securing the appointment of a good number of Englishmen to the Police service here? Have they not devised means to create appointments in the Indian Medical Service for the English youths? The Government say that all these are quite necessary, but the Indians consider it unnecessary to spend such a huge amount for recruiting men from other countries. Cannot handsome salaries and facilities be given to teachers in the same way in which such salaries and facilities are recommended for people from other countries? Why not an assurance be given to the Indian youths that, by taking up the profession of teachers, they will not suffer from penury, but will prosper? If such an assurance is given and training schools are started, sufficient number of teachers will become easily available.

33. In a leader dwelling on the excellence and efficacy of this vow, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st March, says:—For those born in India, the abode of the *Vedas*, it is not a difficult thing to follow the *satyagraha* vow. Cannot thousands of people come forward to curtail their worldly pleasures and suffer hardship for the sake of mother *Bharata?* It is only this vow that can maintain her liberty. Those who obstruct the *satyagraha* vow and those who are afraid of it can be said to be devoid of any sincere devotion to their country and of all love of liberty. The co-operation and help of the people are necessary for the efforts of Mr. Gandhi to succeed. A great opportunity has now arisen to guage the patriotism of the Indians.

The vow. — DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd March, publishes the opinion said to have been expressed by Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar about passive resistance to one who interviewed him, which appears in the *Hindu* of the 21st idem and says:—We agree with the view of Mani Ayyar that hundreds of *sanyasis* like Mr. Gandhi should come out if India is to progress. This view has been expressed also by Mr. Tilak and this is again the object of Mr. Gandhi, who is anxious that this movement should spread throughout the country. It is that day when the object of these three saints is fulfilled that will indicate the auspicious time of the redemption of India

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th March, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the open air meeting held on the beach on the 18th instant in support of the movement of passive resistance started by Mr. Gandhi.

Satyagraha. — ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd March, reproduces in Telugu the report of an interview which a correspondent had with Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar on the subject of passive resistance. The report appears in English in the *Hindu* of the 21st instant.

Satyagraha. — ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th March, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the public meetings held on the beach last Saturday and Sunday in support of the Satyagraha movement of Mr. Gandhi, and summaries of the speeches delivered thereat, including Mr. Pal's lecture on Satyagraha on the 23rd instant.

Satyagraha. — ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

34. While admitting that, as India is being governed through the Parliament in England and the responsibility of granting complete liberty to her rests with the Parliament, it is necessary that the Indians should work in England for acquiring that liberty, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd March, compares the condition of India after the passing of the Rowlatt law to one whose hands are fettered while he is trying to

Our future work. — DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

remove the fetters in his legs and, remarking that, as, either on account of the passive resistance movement started by Mr. Gandhi to do away with the Rowlatt law or on account of the repression that may be adopted by the bureaucrats to curb these movements, many may have to go to prison, the presence of many patriots is necessary here to endure such hardships and that therefore a large number of Indians should not proceed to England now, adds:—We now think that much good may not result even by our work in England. Some reforms may be obtained by such work; but India cannot surely acquire complete liberty by means of these reforms, nor will they get rid of repressive laws like the Rowlatt law. Considering the action of the bureaucrats in introducing a cruel law at this juncture, when the whole world is seething with unrest and agitation, it is clear what a low idea they have of India. It is only the absence of union here that makes the bureaucrats think lightly of India. If they understand that the Indians are united, they will never resort to repression here. So, if the bureaucrats are to be taught a lesson, there should be union among us and the *satyagraha* movement may be said to have been started only to increase the union among us. If the *satyagraha* vow is observed correctly, it will open the eyes of England and it is only then that the attention of the people there will be turned towards India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

35. Anent the concluding speech of the Viceroy at the session of the Imperial Legislative Council that has just closed, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd March, says:—We have often stated that our Viceroy is a very capable speaker. His words will lend themselves to many interpretations. We offer our sincere thanks to Lord Chelmsford who has this unique capacity and who is kind in words, though not in deed. All the official supporters of the Rowlatt Bills have only been harping upon the necessity for their introduction, but have adduced no grounds therefor. Even Lord Chelmsford only supports the words of the bureaucrats near him, but does not evince his British spirit in this matter. This is highly regrettable. Lord Chelmsford wants the members of the Council to forget all differences and evince a spirit of unity and love. We will make the same appeal to him and we pray that the Government of India should have a friendly feeling for the non-official members. Our last request to Lord Chelmsford is that he should speak out what is in his heart. Hatred at heart and friendliness on the lips is detested in India. We hope Lord Chelmsford will understand this well in shaping his conduct at future meetings of the Legislative Council.

The Viceroy's speech.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

Adverting to the concluding speech of His Excellency the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd March, remarks:—. . . It was hoped by some that the Viceroy would change his opinion at last. But it proved to be a blighted hope. The *Hindu* announces that Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar has taken the Satyagraha pledge. Will not even England show now the statesmanship which is required to satisfy India?

The Viceroy's concluding speech.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

36. Referring to the cry raised in Bombay that the Government are not taking adequate steps to prevent the effects of famine upon cattle there, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd March, says that sufficient fodder is not available for cattle even in South India and remarking that the situation is giving room to much anxiety, wants the Government to realise it and do the needful.

The condition of cattle in South India.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

37. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd March, observes:—Though the whole world appreciates the leaders and eminent men among the Indians, still our bureaucrats view them otherwise. For example, while the whole world extols Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore we have to state that the bureaucrats view him with fear, inasmuch as it is said that the Government of Bengal have issued a confidential circular prohibiting Government servants from sending their children to *Shanti Niketan*, a school started by him in Bholpore. This famous poet, before he came to prominence, contributed an article to the Press which appears to have immediately elicited a warning from the Government of Bengal that it contained seditious matter in it. But it should be noted that it was only subsequent to this incident that the

Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

authorities gave him the title of 'Sir'. Is there any doubt, therefore, that the action of the bureaucrats is conflicting?

The speech of Lord Willingdon.

38. Publishing in Tamil certain extracts from the speech delivered by Lord Willingdon at a farewell entertainment given to him on the eve of his departure from England, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 22nd March, reproduces the sentiments of the *New India* of the 21st idem appreciating this speech and observing that he will be rendering a great service to the British Empire and to India in particular if he acts up to what he has said in the course of his speech.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

Adverting to his reference to the extremists in the course of this speech, the *Dravidan*, of the 22nd March, observes:—We are glad that he made a reference to the extremists in the way in which he did in the presence of Mr. Montagu himself, because it was only during Mr. Montagu's visit to India that attempts were made to make peace with the extremists in view to secure a calm atmosphere here. The description of the extremists by Lord Willingdon is indeed commendable. He expressed the hope that there would be union among the people of this Presidency also when the Reform Bill is passed into law. It indeed gives us pleasure to see that he entertains such a hope But he should note that it is not possible to create union by means of a Parliamentary statute alone.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

Mr. Gandhi's message.

39. Referring to the message of Mr. Gandhi that, in view of the welfare of this country, every one in India, be he a passive resister or not, should, irrespective of caste or creed, observe a day of fast, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th March, urges the necessity for this observance and trusts that every one will carry out the direction of Mr. Gandhi.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

The three speeches.

40. Referring to the speeches made in London by the Maharaja of Bikanir, Lord Sinha and Mr. Montagu at a dinner recently given to Lord Sinha in London, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th March, makes the following observations among others:—At a time when very liberal views are prevailing it is a disgrace to all the British people that Lord Sydenham and others should, without any shame, venture to state that their interests would suffer if political reforms should be granted to India. It is indeed praiseworthy that the Maharaja of Bikanir has pointed out this. He also remarked that, according to the Rowlatt Committee Report, only a few persons were addicted to evil deeds in a country with a large population of 3,150 lakhs, and that it was unjustifiable therefore to stigmatise the whole nation on that score. This has often been pointed out by us. But the Government of India have chosen to forfeit the liberty of crores of people and betrayed them into the hands of the Police and the executive authorities.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

Adverting to the observations of Lord Sinha on the occasion, the paper says:—He stated that it was an unmixed lie to say that the educated classes in India were opposed to British rule and remarked that the Indians hated only absolute sway and that they would not be the better for having received education if they did not hate it. It is only this that the authorities forget. The Britishers are not aware of the fact that many of the officials in this country exercise absolute authority and wound the feelings of the people. The Indians should be grateful to Lord Sinha for apprising the Britishers of this fact. Lord Sinha also clearly pointed out that only a few in India would act in the manner described in the Rowlatt Committee Report and that they would not yield to the influence of the enemy countries. Can we not therefore infer from this that he meant it to be unnecessary to enact a law that would affect many, with a view to punish a few? If so, will he persuade Mr. Montagu to decline giving his assent to the Rowlatt law? There is not much hope this way.

Then on the speech of Mr. Montagu the paper comments as follows:—From the details now received about this speech, we have no reason to be much elated. However, it is noteworthy that Mr. Montagu without speaking in the patronizing strain in which the Viceroy spoke of the Indian Civil servants, spoke as if he meant to ask whether the interest of the Civil servants or that of the Parliament should prevail. He asked whether the Civil servants in England were not acting in obedience to the Parliament, and whether this was felt to be intolerable. Mr.

Montagu forgot the one difference there is between the Civil Service in England and that in India, namely, that in England Civil servants have always been subject to the control of others, while in India they have been exercising absolute authority and it is unbearable for them now to think that they will have to act under the control of others. We should be grateful to Mr. Montagu for having spoken in such a way as to make the Civil servants realize their position. But, in his observations as regards political reforms, there is nothing new. He asked if it would not do if public health, education and development of industries were entrusted to the Indians. Those that heard him talk as if all these were to be entrusted to the Indians, are likely to consider the Indians to be very greedy. But even these are not to be entrusted to the Indians completely. From the Viceroy's speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 6th February last, it will be seen that the power of legislation in respect of matters connected with trade and industry will not rest in the Provincial Legislative Councils. Mr. Montagu attributed the heavy mortality caused by influenza to the poverty of the Indians and said that they lacked the necessary physical strength to combat the disease. This is true enough. After the administration of India for 150 years by the British, the Indians are said to be lacking the strength to resist a fever! The British administration has been carried on very well!! It appears that Mr. Montagu is going to entrust the work of preventing such diseases into the hands of the Indians. What can the Indians do? If they can secure funds, they can improve the sanitary condition. But the Indians will have no control over the finance. Further, in addition to the improvement of sanitation, the poverty of the people also should be relieved, to enable them to withstand all diseases. As all the people are agriculturists, unless the Land Revenue Department is entrusted to the Indians, the poverty of the people cannot be relieved. If that department is in their hands, the land revenue policy can be revised in such a way as to leave the people enough for their sustenance and the surplus utilized towards the improvement of sanitation. If, on the other hand, only the health department is entrusted to the Indians without the required funds, there will be large mortality in the country and the Indians will have to bear the responsibility which is now borne by the bureaucrats and may also become liable to the charge of incompetency. Mr. Montagu has only repeated his observations before an audience ignorant of all these facts and has not met the counter-arguments of the Indians.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

The condition of India.

41. Observing that in ancient times there was no unrest of any kind in India, that the labourers then never knew what poverty was, that there were no differences at all between the king and the subjects and that sedition and anarchism were then unknown to the people, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th March, writes:—If the Indians were materialists, no nation could have approached India. The idea that no foreign nations should come to India has not generated here even now. It is certain that India which has given birth to saints and philosophy will not, now or ever, take to materialistic deeds to wage an uncivilized war with the other races so as to get rid of them. In India which is full of theists, different kinds of disturbances are frequently cropping up now. The Government are going on enacting cruel laws. The rulers say that there is anarchism in India. Popular leaders are frequently getting into prison, and party differences are growing strong among them. Caste disputes are increasing largely. Labourers are falling a prey to indescribable hardships. In short, it may be said that India's old virtues have declined. The reason for this is that India has been subject to foreign administration. As the rulers are foreigners, there is no affinity in any respect between the rulers and the ruled. The rulers have formed an opinion at the beginning that the Indians are like the people of their own country. The people of the western countries are materialists. They lead their lives frequently thinking of anarchical methods and seditious deeds. As the British that rule India view the Indians too with western eyes, it gives room to several kinds of false suspicions in their minds. Taking such suspicions to be true, they enact many cruel laws and subject innocent people to hardship. Under a good system of administration, acts of oppression will generally decrease day by day, while the contrary is the case under the bureaucratic

system of administration, and the reason for this is, according to the bureaucrats, the growth of anarchism in India. If this statement is true, the bureaucrats should investigate the cause for the sudden appearance of anarchism in India where it was unknown. Our opinion is that there is no anarchical feeling in India, and if there is such a tendency here, there is room to think that it should have been the result of western education. The other reason, it may be said, is the oppression of the bureaucrats. There are other kinds of defects too in India under the bureaucratic system of administration. Almost all branches of administration are becoming defective. If in India the anarchism, which the bureaucrats refer to, and other defects should disappear, the present system of administration should indeed undergo a change. Let the Government and the popular leaders make the necessary efforts therefor.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

The speech of Lord Sinha on Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals.

42. Observing that Lord Sinha has recently spoken much in praise of the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th March, remarks:—We do not know what advantages he has found in them to speak like this. Perhaps he did so under the impression that, as the Under Secretary of State for India, he should support the reforms proposed by the Secretary of State for India.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

The Arms Act.

43. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th March, observes:—We were demanding the removal of the restrictions imposed on the Indians by the Arms Act. But the authorities have only decided to impose like restrictions on the Europeans as well. It is a fact borne out by experience that, even though restrictions may be imposed on Europeans, these will not operate against them. It is now laid down that persons possessing certain qualifications might carry arms. What of that? The powers in regard to this will vest in the executive, whose ways of doing things are widely known. Instead of giving a hope that the Arms Act will be amended and subjecting us to greater dissatisfaction and disappointment, the Government might have preferably said in one word that they do not propose to amend the Act.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

The Arms Act.

Referring to the recent Government of India communiqué on the Indian Arms Act, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th March, observes:— . . . On account of the Arms Act, the the people have lost all manliness and courage. They have become so timid as to startle at the sight of a sword or at the sound of a gunshot. They are thus unable to face any danger. The great harm done by the Arms Act was brought home during the war when there was a call to the people to join the army. The total abolition of this Act has been urged by the people in many of their political meetings. But the Government do not agree to that. . . The Government have at last decided to issue licences to all men of good character without any racial distinctions. . . But we do not think that their recommendations will be successful in undoing the evils which are arising out of the Arms Act. . . There are many respectable people among those not mentioned in the schedule. Moreover, it is people residing close to mountains and forests who are in need of licences to bear arms more than others, as they are exposed to the danger of wild beasts on the one side and to the attacks of dacoits on the other. . . Under the present Act, wicked men manage to get arms secretly and trouble innocent people who, being unable to resist them, have to submit to many difficulties. Though there will be a little improvement from the new changes, we do not think that the old condition will undergo any considerable modification. Since the responsibility of determining the status of applicants for licences rests with Magistrates, Europeans and Anglo-Indians will freely get arms. . . Though the old racial distinction is not mentioned in the Act, its effect will continue in practice. For these reasons, the new communiqué is not so encouraging. The people will do well to represent their opinions in the matter to the Government forth with.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

The Arms Act.

Referring in its leader under this heading to the Government of India communiqué on the Arms Act, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 25th March, observes:—Hitherto, Indians,

however respectable their status may be, have been unable to get licences to bear arms in spite of all their trouble to secure them, while those wearing hat, boot and pantaloons could have them very easily. . . Though the removal of racial distinctions is gratifying in itself, there may be an opinion in some quarters that it cannot remedy all the defects of the existing Act. Something is better than nothing and it is a matter for pleasure that this Act should be modified at least thirty-five years after its inception. Some people may be apt to think that the change now made is little encouraging. . . But it is wrong to entertain such opinions. There can be no objection to the grant of all we desire, if only we wait to see the disappearence of all traces of revolutionary and anarchical crime in the country.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

A meeting about the food-problem.

44. With reference to the meeting held in the Local Council Hall to consider the food-question, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th March, says:— . . . We cannot think that the resolutions passed at the meeting will save the food-situation. . . The evils of placing the monopoly of importing kerosene oil in the hands of a few are being now realized. Should these evils prevail in the case of rice also, there will be no limit to the trouble of the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

A cartoon.

45. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th March, reproduces from the *Hindi Punch* a cartoon representing the Goddess of Freedom in India chained by Rowlatt Bills Nos. I and II with the following inscription at the bottom:—The Goddess of freedom established at Delhi by the bureaucracy.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

How to reduce prices?

46. In a letter under this heading, dealing with the steps to be taken by the Government to reduce the prices of foodstuffs, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th March, writes:— . . . The restrictions laid down by the Government in regard to the import and export traffic do not seem to be properly obeyed. Articles are being secretly conveyed by boats and carts. It has been admitted by Government servants themselves that it is impossible for the Government to stop such malpractices. The restrictions laid down by them have gone to increase the prices instead of reducing them. Merchants are recovering from the people the bribes which they pay to secure licences in the Contorller's office, and to Railwaymen for the supply of waggons. Some people are of opinion that these circumstances have prevented a reduction in prices. . . Facilities must be afforded for the export of food-grains from a district having them in plenty to a district which has not got them. There should be a free supply of Railway waggons required for these purposes. Licences should not be limited to a few individuals but should be granted to all those who want to export grains to the districts they like. The Government must regulate the prices. If this method is not practical, the Government should purchase all the important food-grains and sell them at cheap rates to the people. The Government may incur loss by this method; but if they have the welfare of the people at heart, it is of the utmost importance that they should adopt it.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

Last week.

47. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, weekly, of the 19th March, observes:— . . . Revolutionaries are trying to bring about an all-round revolution such as is going on now in Russia. . . There the houses of gentlemen, the treasure-repositaries of the rich, the lands of the lords, the factories of the mill-owners are all being ruthlessly captured by revolutionaries by brute-force. Missionaries are being imprisoned. The modesty of respectable women is being outraged, they being declared in some towns as the people's property and handed over to men as so many cattle. . . When this evil is spreading in such a well-disciplined country as Germany it is not possible to realize the nature of the revolution threatening to overtake Europe. It is becoming clear that the professions of westerners about their moral greatness are unfounded and invalid. The brute force which they have sought to destroy is going to be reinstated in another form by the western statesmen. The draft rules of the League of Nations do not lead us to believe that the glamour which physical force has for the westerner has given place to a deep faith in the spiritual power of justice. Russia, Germany,

and Austria which respresent one-half of the population of Europe stand outside the League. The people of Asia and Africa are also sought to be kept out of it. . . It will be no wonder if America does not propose to concern itself largely in future with the well-being of the people of Asia or with the execution of the principles laid down by the League. Then it lies entirely in the hands of the British Empire to safeguard the rules of the League or to protect the well-being of the Asiatic countries or to establish permanent peace. And the future will decide whether the British statesmen will use this new epoch for the regeneration of justice or for the preservation of their own power. . . The recent carrying out of the Rowlatt Bills by force is a proof of the fact that the British officials in India are using their authority for the preservation of the power of the bureaucracy. . . The weakness of the popular representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council has been brought home by the procedure adopted in connexion with the Rowlatt Bills. . . Even the bureaucracy must admit the fact that the Rowlatt Bills are opposed to that reign of justice which the British statesmen are anxious to establish in the world. . . With the assistants of bureaucrats, His Excellency Lord Pentland has carried on the administration of this province for the last five years in defiance of the public opinion. The sympathy for official power evinced by him in the Council is well-known. During his tenure of office, repression has been used against newspapers and meetings. The withdrawal of the proposition to present a farewell address to him is a strong proof of the absence of love for him among the people. The Madras City Municipal Bill was passed into an Act at the last session of the Council in spite of the protest made by the Madras Corporation against it. This is an example of official power and official prestige. However loudly one may cry, officials' wishes will be carried out without any hindrance The propositions moved by the elected members have met the usual fate. His Excellency has not thought it fit to show a sympathetic spirit even on the eve of his departure. His recent shaft against the *Desabhaktan* has given it strength and increased the number of its subscribers. The security of Rs. 5,000 demanded of it was easily available. Officials will have to understand even now that repression is not the way to establish peace. His Excellency's decision to dissolve the present Council after the next session is absurd. It has become a habit with the Madras Government to defy the public opinion and the Government of India. It is strange that it should forget the slight which came to it as the result of a similar defiance in connexion with Mrs. Besant's internment. But this is a trait natural to the love of official power.

The views of the new Governor of Madras.

48. Commenting in its leader under this heading on the speech of Lord Willingdon on the political situation in India prior to his departure from England, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th March, observes:—. . . Though we find some liberal ideas in the speech, it contains also views which generally find favour with the members of the bureaucracy. It is a fact known to every one that unlike the present Governor, he is favourably disposed to the Montagu Scheme. . . As has been pointed out by Lord Willingdon, the Government have been so far only looking to the efficiency of administration, and they have been trying to preserve it without thinking of conceding a portion of that responsibility to the people . . The above sentiments are certainly liberal . . . and so far, there can be no difference of opinion between him and the popular leaders. But it is not possible to understand the reason for his anger against the extremists. If he wants to put into practice Lord Morley's dictum, "Rally the Moderates," we can understand the meaning of his words. But the manner in which he is accusing the extremists with unmerited charges is regrettable. He advises the Government not to lend their ear to agitators and extremists. . . He makes the audacious statement that the extremist leaders want to abolish the British Government altogether and that the professions of loyalty which they make here and there in the course of their utterances are entirely false. There is room for the suspicion that he is speaking in this strain, forgetting himself, on account of his wrath against the Nationalists of Bombay for the agitation carried on by them in connexion with the question of presenting a farewell address to him. Otherwise, there is no connexion between the earlier and the latter parts of his speech. . . His reading of the differences between the extremist and

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

the moderate schools after a period of 5¾ years of administrative responsibility in India reflects little credit on his discriminating faculty. He will understand the truth in the matter, if he peruses the speeches recently delivered by the Maharaja of Bikanir, the Aga Khan and Lord Sinha who, born and brought up in India, have been honoured by the British Government. They have made it clear that no party in India wants to sever British connexion. It is highly presumptuous on the part of Lord Willingdon to say that the expressions of loyalty made by the most advanced political school in India are entirely false. In no respect are the differences between the extremists and the moderates insurmountable. . . So, it can be said beyond doubt that all the difference which he imagined as existing between these parties is entirely unfounded. . . We do not know how Lord Willingdon coming to Madras with such narrow ideas about political parties will act in the disturbed atmosphere brought about by the Rowlatt Acts. We request him to understand the truth hereafter at least and give up his old views.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

Farewell addresses and Doctor Nayar.

49. Referring to the discussion in the Corporation on the resolution about the presentation of a farewell address to His Excellency Lord Pentland, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th March, writes under this heading :— . . . Personally no one can cherish any ill-will to His Excellency. There is no doubt that he is gentle, kind hearted and free from self-conceit He may not also be personally responsible for many of his administrative acts. But his administration cannot but loom large when the matter of honouring him comes up. . . Doctor Nayar wrote in the *Justice* yesterday objecting to the practice of presenting public addresses to retiring administrative heads. Mr. Tyagaroya Chetti would have saved the discussion over the matter in the Corporation meeting and avoided giving occasion for the publication of a hostile opinion in a paper under his own management, if he had only consulted Doctor Nayar in time.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

Wrath.

50. Referring to the comments of the *Madras Mail* on a letter from its American correspondent recommending the murder of some Sinn Feiners by the Irish peasants themselves as the only smooth solution of the Irish problem, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th March, remarks :—. . . Whatever differences of opinion there may be, we fail to understand the reason for the display of such spite against our brother-men.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

The Madras Provincial Congress Committee.

51. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th March, publishes in Telugu a statement from one of the Joint Secretaries of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee, explaining the recent resignations of some of its office-bearers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

Political reforms and the future prospect.

52. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st March, remarks :—. . . If the people successfully face (by the help of *Satyagraha*) the danger of repression, they are bound to have a satisfactory form of self-government for the country. The British people also will surely discharge their duty then. Mr. Gandhi explained this fact in his message yesterday.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

Rupee notes.

53. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st March, complains that illiterate ryots are put to much inconvenience from their inability to know the value of notes which they get from merchants in towns, that notes are not accepted by some merchants who demand change, and that some are taking a discount of one anna on soiled notes and request the Government to take strong action in the matter.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

The duty of the members of Legislative Council.

54. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st March, reproduces in Telugu a letter contributed to the *Bombay Chronicle* by a correspondent, commending the Satyagraha movement started by Mr. Gandhi and exhorting the members of the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Councils to resign their seats in their respective Council, to stand for re-election and to resign their seats after being re-elected, since such a course of action on their part would compel the Parliament to interfere in the matter.

55. Dealing with various topics in its leader under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 21st March, observes:— . . . Since the increased expenditure on Railways would enhance the facilities for Railway traffic by extending the line, it is unobjectionable. . . Similarly, the military expenditure also is welcome, if it is utilised for the improvement of Indian regiments and for the encouragement of merit in Indians. . . A dispassionate perusal of the Rowlatt Report would show the reasonableness of the Rowlatt Acts.

Disappointment.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

56. Referring to the coal miners' trouble in England, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd March, says:—. . . Mr. Hartshown, the Welsh miners' representative, said that if the men's demands were not granted, there would be Bolshevism in England. . . We request the British Government to solve the labour problem now.

Coal miners in England.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

57. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd March, writes:— The *London Times* has asked the Government to publish a detailed statement on the economic condition of India, as it apprehends from the information so far received that India would have in future a famine which will be of a more severe type than that of 1900. It is necessary that the Government should forthwith publish a statement, explaining the real position and suggesting relief measures.

Famine.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

58. Under this heading, a correspondent contributes a letter to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd March, stating that it is not possible to describe the troubles of the people at kerosene oil depots and suggesting that photographs may be taken of these wrangling crowds and published in newspapers, and that strong agitation may be carried on to obtain redress at the hands of the Government in the matter.

Kerosene oil and the lot of the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

59. In a letter under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd March, remarks:—The wages which a labourer gets even in normal times would not suffice for two full meals a day. Will what he is now earning suffice for even a half meal? . . .

Scarcity of food.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

60. Referring under this heading to the proceedings of the last Kistna District Board held at Ellore, a correspondent to the *Hitakarini*, of the 16th March, objects to the allotment of Rs. 185 for the purchase of cholera medicine chests for Local Fund overseers, proposes that quinine and cholera pills may be freely sold to the village officers and to such village people as may want them and requests District Boards to adopt this economical arrangement and to discontinue its usual expenditure on cholera-parties and overseers' cholera-medicine chests, as it is not serving any useful purpose.

Local Fund affairs.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 16th Mar. 1919.

61. Referring to the speeches of Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir at a dinner in the Savoy Hotel, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th March, observes in its leader under this heading:—. . . Though it is a matter for pleasure that Mr. Montagu and his friends have successfully exposed the activities of the Indo-British Association, it is regrettable that the wishes of the Indian people should not be made well-known to the British public. Orders were passed from time to time, refusing passports to the members of Indian deputations to England. . . The Montagu party are jealously guarding against the development of opposition to the Reforms Scheme from any quarter. It is understood that the Round Table society is doing them all the help which is in its power to do. But there is nobody to explain to the British public the right of self-determination and the scheme of self-government desired by the people. The Reform Bill is about to be introduced in the Parliament shortly. It is the duty of the leaders of the people to oppose the Rowlatt Bills which are a menace to their birthrights. . .

Lord Sinha and the political reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.
ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras | 25th Mar. 1919.

62. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 22nd March, and the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th March, publish in Telugu the proceedings of the Kistna district village officers' special conference held at Masulipatam on 16th March 1919 to protest against the Village Officers Amendment Bill and the resolutions passed thereat.

The special Kistna district and village officers' conference.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

63. Referring to an article under this heading contributed by one Vijaya to the *Hindustan Review* for February 1919, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th March, observes in its leader :—. . . On account of some unfavourable circumstances, the Karnatic Province which was once united has been split up into four parts. . . It is clear that the Karnatics are backward everywhere at present in education and neither the Government nor the people are encouraging their language. . . The present, when the Karnatics, the Mahrattas, the the Sindh people, and the Uriyas are enthusiastic about the redistribution of provinces on the language basis, is the most opportune moment for the Andhras to hold the first All-India Provincialists' Conference and thus help the process of national construction in India.

The misfortune of the Karnatic Province.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

64. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th March, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the meeting held on the beach on the evening of the 24th instant, the speech of Mr. B. C. Pal on 'our work in England,' and summaries of the other speeches delivered thereat.

Our work in England.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 22nd Mar. 1919.

65. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 22nd March, observes :—. . . The present helplessness of the Indian people is not the outcome of their inherent weakness, as some say ; but it is the result of the training given to them by the authorities who have been governing India. This is the verdict of the history of British administration of India for the last 150 years. . . The histories of the German, the Russian, the Austrian and the Turkish Empires will demonstrate the fact that autocratic countries which are based on official power are bound to collapse. Historians will corroborate this fact. The Allies are telling the world that those empires, raised out of brute-force, have come to an end, and that a new era has begun. . . English statesmen want that arbitrary rule come to an end in India. The people believe that the announcement of the 20th August 1917 will achieve this object, by establishing a democratic government. Mr. Lloyd George, the British Premier and other British statesmen have expressed their readiness to be bound by that announcement. . . When there is a conflict between arbitrary power and the popular will, the path of political reforms will be beset with thorns. This has happened not only in India, but in Ireland also. When the rulers happen to be foreigners, they will be naturally suspicious. . . Repressive Acts in India show the natural weakness and not the strength of the bureaucracy. . . The people of India proclaim to the world that they cannot tolerate any arbitrary power. . . It is not the Rowlatt Acts which can bring about such a mutual good understanding between the rulers and the ruled. It will be possible, if the rulers gain the confidence of Indians and comply with their natural desires.

The rulers and the ruled.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 22nd Mar. 1919.

66. Referring to the Anti-Passive Resistance Manifesto issued in Madras, the *Andhravani*, of the 22nd March, says:—. . . Satyagraha will be possible through renunciation and self-control. Those who cannot sacrifice for their country will do well to keep silent. It is not good that they should work against strong public opinion.

Opponents to *Satyagraha*.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 22nd Mar. 1919.

67. Under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 22nd March, congratulates Mr. B. N. Sarma on his resignation and regrets the action of those Andhras who have signed the Anti-Passive Resistance Manifesto.

The self-sacrifice of an Andhra.

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 15th Mar. 1919.

68. In the course of a story under this heading, a correspondent to the *Sudarsini*, of the 15th March, makes the following incidental remark :—Why should we go so far? Are not the acts of the bureaucrats very surprising, who, with the selfish and evil object of filling their bellies, take away in various ways all the wealth and

Subbamamba.

prosperity of India, like men who undermine the house in which they had taken their food, and who annoy the Indians without the least mercy saying parrotlike "the time has not yet come for granting self-government to the Indians."

69. A correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 24th March, writes from Anantapur:—I presented two petitions to the Brahman Collector and the Police Superintendent of Anantapur, stating that my brother's son was trying to murder me. I received blows twice or thrice, escaped and saved my life. I have now a civil suit, and I am very much afraid to go out of my house. Though it has been 40 days since I submitted my petitions, no inquiry has been made as yet. My own son is openly threatening to murder me, and he is assisted by my brother. There is no officer to inquire into the matter. Oh! Editors of Newspapers! You are my only refuge. If you publish this in your paper, you will be doing a service to me.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

The Anantapur District Collector.

70. In its leader under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 22nd March, refers to the attempt of the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar to speak in Tamil in the last session of the local Legislative Council, and remarks:— . . . It is certain and inevitable that ideas detrimental to swadeshism, swaraj, self-respect and the best interests of the country will prevail, so long as we worship English language, English education, English titles, English names, English dress, and English officials as inviolable objects and sacred deities. . .

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 22nd Mar. 1919.

The mother tongue.

71. With reference to the enactment of the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th March, observes:— . . . From this, it is clear that the Government have not expected such a strong and solid opposition to the Bills from the non-official members. Then the doubt may arise. Why have they not given up the Bills? As has been observed by Sir William Vincent who was troubled by Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance, it is due to their traditional policy of maintaining their prestige —a policy which was severely criticised by Mr. Montagu in his speech during the debate on the Mesopotamia Report in the House of Commons. . . The statement that to yield to the public opinion would diminish official power is meaningless. The release of Mrs. Besant from her internment bears this out, inasmuch as it had the effect of establishing greater co-operation between the rulers and the ruled and of strengthening the position of the former. Without realizing this secret, Sir William Vincent is indulging in fallacies. . . We cannot hope that the British Government will interfere in the matter just now. Under these circumstances, there is only one way of saving the country.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

Official prestige.

Referring to the passing of the Rowlatt Bill (the Emergency Powers Bill) into an Act, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 22nd March, writes under this heading:— . . . If the bureaucracy had borne in mind the incidents connected with the Partition of Bengal, would they have persisted to-day in passing the Rowlatt Bills? Are the feelings of disapproval and indignation expressed by the people against these Bills ordinary? Not only young men and extremists but old moderates also have objected to them. All the non-official members of the Council including the representatives of zamindars have unanimously opposed them. Their criticisms of the Bills reveal an amount of anguish which is enough to shake the determination of any official. Such a lover of truth as Mr. Gandhi has appealed to the Viceroy to have forbearance. Saint Sraddhananda has sounded the trumpet call from the Gurukula, saying that the time has come when Yogis (Saints) should come out of their trance. But our bureaucracy remains unmoved. They believe that their prestige is irresistible. . . After 150 years of their rule, the British have forged this, this sharp shaft, this cruel weapon, this monstrous machine, showing thereby their inability to rule India according to law! India! What a bad name has come to you! Be not angry! You have never hated those who have done evil unto you. Your love and forbearance will reform even your enemies. Be meditating on the holy text, 'Truth alone will triumph'. The evil that has befallen you will disappear soon.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 22nd Mar. 1919.

Prestige.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 21st Mar. 1919.

72. The *Swadesabhimani*, of the 21st March, writes:—We are very glad to learn that the Hon'ble Sir Cardew told the Council that the Government are thinking of convening shortly a conference of officials and non-officials including the merchant class to consider the food situation. For, the Government had scarcely given any attention till now to the enormously high prices prevailing and the plaintive cries of the poor. Some time back when there was a similar hue and cry that the prices were abnormally high, the same Sir Cardew had come forward with the sophisms that if the prices were high, the wages also had gone up and even the abkāri revenue had increased and that the country was therefore in a prosperous condition. It is therefore some satisfaction to find that the Madras Government have pushed aside the screen which obstructed their view and opened their eyes to the real state of things. The paper next refers to His Excellency the President's objection to the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar's attempt to address the Council in Tamil and thereupon remarks:—The Honourable Member very ably gave reasons to prove why he was entitled to address the Council in the vernacular. But the regrettable circumstance is that justice and ability are powerless before authority, as has been proved by the moral in the fable of the wolf and the lamb. The President of the Council adopted the same line of action in preventing the Hon'ble Narasimha Ayyar from speaking. The dialogue which took place in the Council in this connexion is very interesting; but we regret the lack of space for placing it fully before our readers.

The Madras Legislative Council.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 21st Mar. 1919.

73. The leading article in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 21st March, gives a brief abstract of Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu's speech delivered before a Madras audience on the previous Monday, being an exposition of the significance of the passive resistance vow. Muhammadans and, after them, Christians during several centuries past have invaded India and have tried to destroy the soul force of India which, in patience, merely receded from the onslaught and is even now flowing as an undercurrent. India has been disarmed. India which at one time was the most prosperous country in the world lost all its prosperity and is wedded to famine. And now even the patience of India is being severely tried by the introduction of repressive laws and repressive methods of administration. Indians are minors and the guardians of administration need not mind their opinions. That is how the official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council made up their minds to pass the Bill in the face of united opposition from the 21 Indian Members. India sacrificed herself beyond her powers in men and money to help her guardian, Britain, to win the world war. But the Government of India, instead of manifesting confidence and appreciation, is demonstrating suspicion and hatred, in the attempt to introduce the said sedition law. The vow of passive resistance is not a thing which the Government of India can lightly ignore. If the Government of India should persist in their attempt to pass the Bill, God alone knows what troubles and calamities will follow both to the Government and to the people.

The passive resistance vow.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 22nd Mar. 1919.

74. Adverting to the fate of the resolution proposed in a meeting of the Madras Corporation to present a farewell address to Lord Pentland, a note in the *Samadarsi*, of the 22nd March, says:—"A pity indeed that the administration of Lord Pentland has closed without the good fortune of earning the good opinion of the people."

Lord Pentland's administration.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 22nd Mar. 1919.

75. Referring to the recent looting of the bazaars in Calicut and to the activities of the Police and the military force after the event, a note in the *Samadarsi*, of the 22nd March, asks 'why all these antics after the consummation of the results of the neglect of precautionary measures?'

Looting in Calicut.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 18th Mar. 1919.

76. A note in the *Manorama*, of the 18th March, says with reference to the decision of the Government of Madras to dissolve the present Legislative Council and to have a re-election forthwith:—It is disappointing to note that the policy of the Government of India is one and that of the Government of Madras another. It seems to be a pity that the matter was left to the discretion

The Madras Legislative Council and re-election.

of the provincial governments. If the Government of India thought it fit to wait till the introduction of the Reforms scheme, why should not the Madras Government?

77. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 19th March, has a paragraph to the effect that Mrs Sarojini Nayudu and Mr. Gandhi spoke on the beach in favour of passive resistance. QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

Mr. Gandhi in Madras.

III.—LEGISLATION.

78. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th March, publishes the proceedings of a public meeting held on the Madras beach on the 7th idem for the purpose of urging the necessity of adopting the policy of passive resistance, in which the speakers are reported to have dwelt on the dangerous results likely to follow from these Bills and exhorted them to resort to passive resistance. SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th March, publishes the proceedings of a public meeting held in Tuticorin on the 11th idem to condemn the Rowlatt Bills and advocate resort to passive resistance. DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th Mar. 1919.

Remarking that the second of the Rowlatt Bills has been passed into law formally by 30 officials voting for it and 20 non-officials voting against it, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th March, observes:—If a little thought is bestowed on the matter, it will be clear that the 30 official votes are practically equivalent to 8 votes. There are 8 members on the Executive Council of the Government of India including the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief and the other official members of the Legislative Council are bound to vote in accordance with the opinion of the majority in the Executive Council. Even granting that all the members of the Executive Council were unanimous about passing this Bill into law, it is but the opinion of 8. It should be remembered that it has been so arranged that this opinion of 8 should be made to appear to be that of 30 or 35 members. Now the opinion of these eight was opposed by 20 Indian members, who are not bound by any compact. Some of them are inclined to advance only a little in political discussions, while the others are prepared to go to the utmost limit allowed by law. Though they are thus divided, they were unanimous in their opposition to this Bill. Ordinarily, the opinion of 20 should prevail over that of 8. But, according to a law, the opinion of the 8, who constitute the Government of India, has become the opinion of 30 on the Council and, as a result, the Indian members were defeated and the Government party gained a victory. The moment the Viceroy declared that the Bill was passed, the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma handed in his resignation. Bravo! Mr. Sarma! Perhaps the other members did not venture to do so, as they were unwilling to forego their long connexion with the Council. They would also do well to resign soon. Two more formalities have yet to be gone through, before this law is brought into force, viz., the assent of the Viceroy and that of His Majesty the King-Emperor. Just as one, drifted along by a high flood, tries to escape even by catching hold of a straw, Sir Wacha requested the Viceroy not to give his assent. The next step will be to send a cable to the Secretary of State. But there is not the slightest chance for hoping that their assent will be kept in abeyance. But, as there are people who hope against hope, let them try this course. The others have no other alternative than to follow Mr. Gandhi. The course of the one party does not clash with the other. If the other party succeed in their attempt, Mr. Gandhi's movement will stop of itself. If not, will they resort to passive resistance? SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th March, comments on this subject in the following strain:—One of the two Bills, that aim at dimming the lustre of India, has been passed into law, and we shudder at the thought of the hardships that will result from this law. Mother Bharata has already lost her crown and ornaments and is now suffering the pinch of poverty. This law, which resembles a deadly poison, will hamper even her present life and it looks as if she will be subjected to frequent attacks of severe disease. The Honourable Members spoke as much as possible against the Bills, but all their words have been cast to the winds. The Viceroy, who did not pay heed even to Mr. Gandhi, is not going to DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

listen to the words of any one hereafter. The conduct of Mr. Sarma who has resigned his seat will gladden the heart of the Madrasis. Why have not the other members sent in their resignations yet? The Emergency Powers Bill has been passed into law by the influence of the bureaucrats and the majority of the Indians have signed the *Satyagraha* pledge of Mr. Gandhi and are ready to resort to passive resistance. We wish the struggle begins in this Presidency. Even now the false patriots styling themselves moderates, the traitors to the country who kill their conscience for the sake of titles, the selfish people who seek the favour of the bureaucrats for securing appointments, have signed a manifesto against passive resistance. It is these moderates that spoil the progress of the country. When will this class cease to be? The only way of making the Rowlatt law ineffective and getting rid of it eventually is to take to *Satyagraha* vow of Mr. Gandhi. Every patriot should consider that this law would affect him, and regard all artificial pleasures as miseries. He should deem the prison to be his home. He should accustom himself to all kinds of hard work and give up the habit of consuming fatty substances like ghee and milk. We are really pained that the pen which wrote: "The war has ended. It is all pleasure for us hereafter" has now to write "The danger has come. Misery is enveloping you. Be careful." Brothers and sisters! What is the lot of mother Bharata who has begotten us, 33 crores of children? Is it not our duty to secure happiness and grandeur for our mother? We can do it by our union, zeal, sincerity and determination. Is it necessary to describe the mean services which the celestials had to do when they were imprisoned under the rule of the *Rākshasās* like *Hiranyā* and *Rāvana?* Our ancestors underwent so much hardship. Now prison life is not so hard under our benign Government. For those possessing soul-force, a prison is as good as any other place. Mothers! Wish to send your sons to prison!

The same paper refers elsewhere to this law again and says:—Mother India will, from the date on which this law was passed, be subject to a new bondage along with the existing ones, and this new bondage will suck up her very blood and make it impossible for her to lift her head again before the world. The British Government have the fortune of fettering mother India in this twentieth century, and their action will be recorded in the history of the world and especially in the history of India. This barbarous and rude law, this unjust and wicked law, this law which punishes people without any trial, this law which roots out British law and justice is subjecting every Indian man and woman to endless misery.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th March, refers this subject again and attributing the absence of zeal on the part of the people to get rid of the Rowlatt law, which roots out the liberty of India, to fear and other causes, refutes the argument of many professing to be *vedantists*, that they should not interfere in the affairs of the Government, and in appealing to them to come out and lead the *Satyagraha* movement in the interest of the country, observes:—We would say they have not understood what the affairs of the Government are. The people will be free from misery only if the Government is conducted properly, and those who do not bear to see the misery of the people used to try to reform the Government. These will always be *vedantists* who do not care for their body. It is the duty of *sanyāsis* versed in *vēdantism* to set right the principles of a king when he goes wrong. Otherwise all people in the world will have to suffer. The *vedantist* need not be afraid of any one. Nobody can do harm to him, not even a force of artillery, because he is the embodiment of God. The majority of the *sanyāsis* in Northern India have come out to get rid of the Rowlatt law. Why not the numerous *sanyāsis* in the south, who have none to feel for them if they enter prison, do so for the sake of their people. It is ignorance to think that this law will affect only a few. We predict that, in course of time, it will affect even religious preachers and religious works. Mahatma Gandhi would not have started to oppose it if it were an ordinary law. Let all the Indians note this.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

Reverting to this subject, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 20th March, observes:—Though the authorities give an assurance that this law will be enforced only against those, whose aim is to overthrow the Government, it is certain that

political agitation will get weakened as a result of this law. The makers of law are different from those that apply it and the latter do not act according to the intentions of the former. While we believe that it is the object of the Government of India to apply this law only to anarchists, the fact that laws already enacted with a particular object are being applied in practice with a different object, makes us apprehend that this law too may be similarly applied. Had the Indian members who unanimously opposed this now exercised a little more caution six months ago, this dangerous situation would never have arisen. It is only anticipating this thunder, that the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde brought forward a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council six months ago to postpone consideration of the Rowlatt Committee report. But the other Indian members made fun of him then and began to raise a wail after the Bill based on that report was brought into the Council. It is natural for the Government to think that their prestige will be at stake, if they withdraw a Bill on account of the opposition of the people. If all the Indian members had presented a united opposition then alone, the Government might perhaps have, after calm and deliberate consideration, desisted from bringing forward this Bill, and the remarks of Sir William Vincent, just before the Bill was passed, give room to the above inference. We hold that, if the Indian members had only made the Government understand then that the Indians would resort to passive resistance, should a law be enacted on the basis of the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations, the Government would never have brought this Bill. Sir William's speech on the 18th February 1919 shows that the present situation does give him room for anxiety. He said "Let us hope that Mr. Gandhi's effort will not succeed in practice." But it is evident that he is to a large extent depending on our moderates to see that his wish is fulfilled. Sir William stated that it was regrettable that a saint like Mr. Gandhi who has renounced everything should resort to this. Who is it that drives even such people to take to this? Where is the other alternative? Whoever noticed the cry frequently raised by us that the Defence of India Act was being applied in ways far different from those contemplated at the time when it was passed? In the same way, if this Act too is applied against political propagandist work later, how can the people prevent it? So, unable to find any other possible way, Mr. Gandhi decided on this movement. Sir William and the moderates say that innumerable evils will result from this movement. But Mr. Gandhi thinks that it is necessary to resort to it only to ward off evils. This law has created a feeling of rage in the minds of many. This feeling will vent itself through the *Satyagraha* movement and be spent in righteous ways. If it is not allowed this outlet, it will be smouldering within and lead to mischievous movements like secret conspiracies and attempts at riot. So even in the interests of the Government, the *Satyagraha* movement is an excellent one. By adopting this, everything will be made public and secret-working will disappear. Those resorting to it will acquire an excellent character by self-renunciation. The Government too cannot but yield at the end. So there is no remedy at present other than the *Satyagraha* movement. If the moderates are afraid, let them keep aloof. But will they cease to dissuade others? The country expects this help from them.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

The *Swadesamitran*, and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th March, publish, the former in *extenso* and the latter in abstract, the proceedings of a public meeting held on the Madras Beach on Sunday, the 16th idem, in which speeches were delivered by a number of persons condemning the Rowlatt Bills and advocating resort to passive resistance as an effective weapon not only to get rid of the Rowlatt law but also to acquire *swaraj*.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919. & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th March, publishes in *extenso* the proceedings of a public meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 17th idem under the presidentship of Mr. T. Prakasam in which Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu is said to have moved a resolution condemning the Rowlatt Bills and advocating passive resistance, while the *Desabhaktan*, of the same date publishes only the speeches in abstract of the president and Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu at this meeting.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 18th Mar. 1919.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th Mar. 1919.

79. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th March, reproduces in Tamil the description of the night session of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 13th idem in connexion with these Bills and the attitude of the officials at that session, as given by a Delhi correspondent and appearing in the *Hindu*, of the 15th March.

The Rowlatt Bills.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th & 18th Mar. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran* publishes in its issues of the 15th and the 18th March, the lectures delivered by Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal at Madura and Trichinopoly, respectively, on the 12th and the 16th idem condemning the Rowlatt Bills and advocating resort to passive resistance.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the Viceregal assent to the Emergency Powers Bill the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th March, remarks:—All the protests made by the people have turned out to be cries in wilderness.

The Rowlatt Bills.

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 15th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the Rowlatt Bills, the *Sudarsini*, of the 15th March, observes in its leader:—. . . The Rowlatt Bills are the boons which the Government have to offer to the loyal subjects of His Majesty in the Indian Empire in gratitude for all their help in men and money during the war. . . In the event of these cruel laws being passed into permanent law, it is not possible to describe how wretched the condition of Indians will be. . . We should not forget how Mahatma Gandhi has successfully led the Satyagraha movement against the Boer demons in South Africa when they whipped Indians and treated them worse than beasts, against the European proprietors of plantations in Assam when they behaved unjustly towards their labourers, against the mill-owners of Ahmadabad for the redress of the workmen's grievances and against the Bombay Government in connexion with troubles of ryots in Kaira district. . . His enthusiasm has now dragged into the political arena such religious recluses as Lala Munshiram out of their yogic trance. . . May the Indians show their soul-power to the western world under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and win the approbation of the Government!

The Rowlatt Bills.

SAMADARSI, Trivandram, 22nd Mar. 1919

Referring to the resignation by Mr. B. N. Sarma of his membership in the Imperial Legislative Council and to a similar intention on the part of some other leaders, a note in the *Samadarsi*, of the 22nd March, says:—"It is difficult to estimate the depth of disgust felt by the leaders of the people in that the bureaucracy has passed the Bill in the teeth of the united opposition of all Indians.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 21st Mar. 1919.

A note in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 21st March, remarks that various guesses are made regarding the motive of the Government of India in pushing these Bills through the Imperial Legislative Council in such hot haste. Some ascribe it to the fear of a wave of Democracy (Bolshevism?) spreading into India from Russia through disturbed Afghanistan, some others ascribe it to the need of having a weapon ready to meet the possible Moslem discontent at the conclusions that will be arrived at by the Peace Conference and still some others say that the weapon will be needed to meet Indian discontent at the coming reforms. Whatever it may be, all this will tend to create suspicion against the Government of India and this suspicion, we believe, is fraught with grave danger. Several signs are now visible of an impending disturbance in India and the famine brought in by the war will add to the momentum of that disturbance.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919

80. Referring to an observation made by the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 21st March that he cannot but give assent to this Act, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd March, observes:—The auspicious hour expected by the Members of the Imperial Legislative Council for tendering their resignation has now come. The Viceroy has, by stating that the law might be kept in reserve duly passed without the possibility of its being applied at all for three years, held out a hope. This indeed is a good device. It is not known whether he is under the impression that the *satyagraha* movement, which is resorted to by the people only to prevent the hardships likely to be caused by the application of the law, will die of itself, if it is given out that the

The Rowlatt Act and passive resistance.

law will not be given effect to. It might have also struck him that, if it is given out later on that the exigencies demand the enforcement of this law and the law is actually carried into effect, it would not be an easy matter to start the *satyagraha* movement again. So we warn those who are against this measure not to get deceived by the enticing words of the Viceroy. In the western countries laws are enacted only by the people's representatives and the proceedings in connexion with this Bill have clearly shown that in India laws are made by the officials. All the representatives of the people objected to this measure, but the Government remained stubborn and had it passed. In these circumstances, where is the alternative for the people but to adopt the *satyagraha* movement? Past events show that there need be no apprehension of the *satyagrahis* resorting to the use of force. The *New India* states that, in view of the recent amendments to the Bill, there is no necessity to controvene even this law. Perhaps its idea is that the law has become satisfactory; but it contradicts itself by saying at once that the agitation should continue. Has not *New India* recognised that nothing can be gained in taking a vow to contravene this law alone? This law may be applied only against a limited few. If the *satyagraha* movement is to be resorted to after the law is enforced, some may suffer while others may escape. Then the movement will become very feeble and will fail to make the authorities feel its effect. So it should be the object of Mr. Gandhi to afford an opportunity for all people to voluntarily take to suffering and make the movement strong. Every *satyagrahi* will be made to realise his duty and act accordingly. Sufficient precautions will be taken to see that none resorts to the use of force. To do this work, a *satyagrahi* association has been started in Madras.

The Sattenapalle taluk village officers' conference.

81. Commenting under this heading on the proceedings of the Sattenapalle taluk village officers' conference held at Sattenapalle on the 16th February under the presidency of the Public Prosecutor, Guntūr District Court, to protest against the Village Officers Act Amendment Bill, the *Village Officer*, of the 10th March, observes that the Government will do well to consider the views of such responsible persons who have at heart the welfare of both the Government and the people.

VILLAGE OFFICER, Tenali, 10th Mar. 1919.

Difficulties of village officers.

82. Continuing his article under this heading, a correspondent to the *Village Officer*, of the 10th March, writes:—. . . It is no exaggeration to say that the duty of making supplies to officers on tour is for village officers something like an abscess in the stomach and is inflicting excessive loss on them. . . Of touring officers, those drawing big salaries and having no eye on others' money will pay for whatever they are aware of having been received; those who want to be talked of as not coveting others' money will pay four annas or so in the rupee, out of the actual cost of articles supplied to them and they do not trouble themselves about their subordinate officers, peons, private servants, etc, and lastly nothing need be said of those who like to get on with their travelling allowance alone without touching their salaries. The trouble which the last-mentioned officers give to some village officers, especially to those whose pay will hardly suffice for making both ends meet, is simply indescribable. Under such circumstances, what is to become of a village officer who wants to lead an honest and truthful life? . . . Leaving out all other supplies, let us consider the supply of *bandies*. . . It will be the busiest season for the ryot from the end of June and officers also do not commence their touring before this, on account of excessive heat; and the bandy-men will be unwilling to place their bandies at the disposal of Government officers, unless they are paid the fare which is current. . . Such being the case, instead of ordering the officers to pay the current fare, or the bandy owners to place their bandies at the disposal of the Government whenever they require them, what is the meaning of teasing the village officer for the supply of bandies? . . . There should be a rule that touring officers should not demand the supply of anything other than such necessary articles as milk, curd, ghee, grass, firewood, fouls and eggs. . . If the Government lend a ready ear to the representations of village officers in this respect, there will be no room for this evil practice.

VILLAGE OFFICER, Tenali, 10th Mar. 1919.

The same paper publishes the proceedings and resolutions adopted at the special Kistna District Village Officers' conference held at Bhimavaram on 2nd March 1919.

VILLAGE OFFICER, Tenali, 10th Mar. 1919.

Village offices.

83. The *Village Officer*, of the 10th March, issues as a supplement a pamphlet under this heading, in which the writer makes the following observations among others :—. . . It is understood that prisoners, though not fully released, are allowed greater freedom on the Pongal. But the karnam is obliged to be more busy than ever that day on account of the collection of kists. From this, it is clear that the karnam is denied the freedom which is generally allowed to a prisoner. . . Let us suppose that a karnam's pay is Rs. 10 a month. . . Nearly a half of his annual income is spent, as the above table shows, on his visits to the Taluk office, his jamabandi and stationery expenses. It is not possible to detail his other expenses. . . Ah! We have come down to such a low position as to be known as slaves of the Taluk officers—we, the descendants of those village officers who won the title of 'Desapandyas'! . . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

The last scene: the self-respect of an Andhra leader.

84. Adverting to the enactment of the Rowlatt Bill in its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th March, observes :—. . . In defiance of the appeals of the non-official members, the Government have carried out their will on the strength of their own majority. Though the elected members did not choose to act in the manner indicated to them by Sir N. Chandravarkar, the Andhra leader, Mr B. N. Sarma, has resigned his seat in the Imperial Legislative Council to uphold the honour of his country, community and himself. The courage shown by him is very commendable. There is no doubt that the respect of his countrymen for him will now be many times more than when he was a member of the Council. It is certain that he will be able to do greater service to his country outside the Council than within it. . . Though the inquiry of the Rowlatt Commission was held in violation to all principles of law, the people are requested to place implicit confidence in its report. . . Sir William Vincent promises that this Act will not be used to suppress political agitation; but a perusal of the history of repressive legislation will show that such promises have been of no use in the past. It is within the knowledge of everybody how not long ago, the Defence of India Act which was intended to be used for the exigencies of war has been employed against political agitation. . . The Imperial Legislative Council does not seem to be competent to pass an Act which violates the primary rights of men. The Government have not placed before the Council the correspondence that passed between the Secretary of State and the Government of India on this subject. Mr. Patel has told the Government that in such extraordinary circumstances, no other course than Satyagraha (passive resistance) is open to those who want to safeguard the birth-rights of the people . . Mr. Gandhi said yesterday that when some official members not only defied public opinion but took pride in having done so, no other course of action was open to the people than passive resistance. Though there is some difference of opinion in the matter, the *Indian Social Reformer* describes in the following manner how the public opinion would be in future:—". . . We are certain of one fact. The gain to the Government by passing these repressive Bills into law is nominal while the loss would be undoubtedly great."

Reforms or birthrights? On which of these is India going to concentrate the greater part of her attention just now? Let us have or not have reforms; the preservation of your birth-rights is of paramount importance to the country. . . Mr. Gandhi has sounded the bugle. . . Is not victory assured then?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Acts and unrest in Bombay.

85. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st March, publishes in English and Telugu a telegram on the subject stating that placards were posted in the public streets of Bombay in English and vernaculars asking the people not to pay taxes to the Government, and to resist the orders of the 'goolmi' (tyrannical) Government.

86. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st March, expresses its approval of Mr. S. E. Stokes's letter to the *Times of India* on the Rowlatt Bills and urges the Parliament and the Secretary of State to interfere in the matter in view of the strong public opinion and cancel the Bills so that unrest may not grow in the country.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and an Englishman's criticism.

87. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st March, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the meeting held on the beach on the 20th instant in support of Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha movement, the resolutions passed, and summaries of the speeches delivered, thereat.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Acts and Mr. Gandhi's message.

88. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd March, makes the following observations among others on the passive resistance movement started by Mr. Gandhi anent the Rowlatt Acts.—. . . The Rowlatt Bills have been condemned by men of such varying schools of thought as Mr. Gandhi, Sir N. Chandravarkar and B. N. Sarma. . . In none of the European countries which are the hot-beds of revolution is such a repressive Act in force. The Government have yet to answer the question, why a repressive law which is not to be found in any country should be introduced in India. Is it statesmanship, justice or expediency to pass a repressive measure which will apply to three hundred million people, on the ground that some 400 revolutionaries are lurking in some corner ?. It is impossible that a measure passed by the Government on the strength of their official majority in defiance of justice and public opinion can have the moral assent of the people. Though the bureaucracy has gained a physical triumph, the popular representatives had the moral victory. When the people are in a doubt as to how to worship the spirit of *Dharma* which is on their side, Mahatma Gandhi has come forward to teach them that Satyagraha is the means to establish fully the victory of *Dharma*, and to lead them in this movement. . . President Wilson has declared that physical force is indispensable for the victory of *Dharma*. Physical force which is demonic (Rakshasa) cannot help the establishment of Dharma which is divine. The western people, acquainted well with physical force but very little with *Dharma*, have not the ability to understand this great secret or to proclaim it to the world. It is the mission of the self-sacrificing descendants of the Indian races, like Mahatma Gandhi, to establish the victory of *Dharma* for which the world is so eagerly longing. The greatest purpose of Satyagraha is this victory of *Dharma*. Satyagraha is not a futile threat. . . Let it be the prayer of all people that by God's grace the Satyagraha sarifice may be of immense benefit to the well-being of the world under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi, the officiating priest ! . . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd Mar. 1919.

The message of Dharma.

89. Referring to the Budget debate in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Hitakarini*, of the 16th March, observes in its leader :—. . . . The representatives of the people in Legislative Councils are looked upon as lifeless dolls. The autocratic passing by the Government of every measure they like in the nominal presence of these gentlemen, and the rejection of every amendment and resolution brought forward by the latter are becoming disgusting day by day. . . The manner in which the Government defeat the Indian members by their official majority cannot but appear as a wonderful farce. Far from being of any use to the country, this procedure gives room for the spread of the unfounded statement that questions are settled in accordance with the wishes of the people The instances of meetings which have been held and are being held, will suffice to prove this fact. It is doubtful that even the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme would alter the present system and secure real representation for the people. . . The Railway and the Military departments having received all the liberality of the Government, it is a pity that they do not find even a pie to spend on other departments. . . It is not known how the representatives of the people feel for their position at heart; it is becoming intolerable for those who hear of it.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 16th Mar. 1919.

The Imperial Legislative Council and the Budget debate.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 19th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Acts and the Hon'ble Mr B. N. Sarma.

90. Referring to the passing of the Rowlatt Bill into law and to the resignation of the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma in that connexion, the *Desabhimani*, of the 19th March, observes, in its leader under this heading :—. . . The uselessness of these Legislative Councils and the futility of the presence of non-official members there have been now brought home. No more proof of the weakness of the representatives of the people is needed. This most cruel and ferocious Act has roused the awe and fear of the people of India and submerged them in an ocean of sorrow. . . Soon after the news of the passing of this Bill into an Act was announced by His Excellency the Viceroy, agitation had begun to increase among the elected members. The Hon'ble Mr. Sarma, the Andhra member of the Council, submitted his resignation of his seat in the Council to the Viceroy, on hearing this news. We agree with Mr. Sarma in all that he has stated in his resignation and congratulate him on the propriety of his action. . . May the other self-respecting members of the Council follow his example.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 22nd Mar. 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bills.

91. A writer in the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 22nd March, remarks :—The Rowlatt Bills were passed into law which means the possible obsequies of popular liberty. It is no longer possible to be consistent in mind, word and deed. The time has arrived when we should think in one way, talk in another way and act in a still different way. The Penal and Procedure Codes were sufficient for putting down anarchism. But the authorities did not have autocratic powers under these codes. They have them now. It was hitherto the glory of the British that they respected public opinion. This glory is at an end. All private citizens of India are against the Bills. Among Government officers too, many are against them at heart. But they have chosen to be silent lest they should lose their source of livilehood by speaking out their minds. What can the public do beyond protesting fearlessly, as the non-official members of the Imperial Council have unanimously done ? They have nothing left to do but to suffer. Their only right consists in adopting Mr. Gandhi's satyagraha vow. Many people fear to do even this, as is evident from the Madras moderates' manifesto. But even they have proclaimed these laws to be unjust They advise appeal to the Crown. Practically every Indian is against the measure. Nevertheless it was passed. This alone is sufficient to show how far the Government of India is responsible to the people. The British traditions are to be found only in the United Kingdom and not in India. Autocracy has incarnated here. As we sow so must we reap. Whosoever is ill-fated in India runs the risk of going to prison under this law, even if he be innocent. We cannot say at present what the Government shall have to reap as the fruit of this autocratic action of theirs.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 21st Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and *Satyagraha*.

92. In an article under this heading, *Swadesabhimani*, of the 21st March, writes :—All the amendments, with the exception of one or two, were negatived by the strong official majority. When Ireland was in a similar situation at one time the Irish Members in Parliament tried to gain time by proposing thousands of amendments. Their object was to put off the evil day of passing a measure which was calculated to stifle their natioral life. It is not surprising therefore that the Indian non-official members like the Hon'ble Mr. Patel, should at least seek to gain time if they cannot altogether prevent the demoness of the Rowlatt Bill from entering the open arena and disturbing the tranquility by reason of its abominable dreadful nature; nor is it surprising that the bureacracy which is determined to force on the Indian nation these fierce measures which limit individual liberty and even ordinary political agitation should be so much in a hurry to pass the measure like the widower who is impatient to marry a second time. If we may judge from past events, it requires no prophet to tell us that in this tug of war the Government side will win. Under these circumstances, what is the duty of the loyal citizens of the country ? Mr. Gandhi has shown to us the necessity of resorting to *satyagraha*. We shall now see how welcome is the course suggested by him.

The paper next dwells on the satyagraha vows differently advocated by Gandhi and Besant and remarks: when the Government despite the opinion of

the majority of the educated as well as the uneducated classess in the country and of the popular representatives in the Council and notwithstanding the tranquil condition of the country, is letting loose this *Surpanakha* (demoness) of the Rowlatt Bill on the country to roam about as she likes, is it not natural that Gandhi's satyagraha should attack her like Lakshmana?

The paper expresses regret that Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Besant have chosen different methods in taking the vow and remarks that it is a universal failing of India that there is not a single question about which there is complete agreement among the people. In another article the paper congratulates the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma on his resignation of the Membership of the Council as a protest against the passing of the Bill.

The Rowlatt Bills agitation and passive resistance.

93. In an article on the 'Stir in India', the *Samadarsi*, of the 22nd March, congratulates the Indian leaders who put up a strong fight in the Imperial Legislative Council against passing the Bills, and notes that the Bills were passed in spite of them and that the law now introduced will certainly obstruct all endeavours in connexion with (the achievement of) freedom of administration in India. The motive of the legislators may be pure, but this law provides another horrible instrument of oppression to the hard-hearted executive officers of Government. The Defence of India Act was introduced during the time of the war to bring to book those who should conspire with the enemy against the peace and welfare of the country. Though this was the purpose of the Act, it really hit several patriotic young men of North India and reduced them to a state of misery. After this experience, Indians need not be told what sad suffering will follow the introduction of this new law. While there are laws already on the statute book to deal with offenders who go against the king's authority or public peace, no Indian will consent to new laws being imposed on him, such as open the way to increase the ferocity of the bureaucracy and to reduce the people to a state of helplessness and bondage. . . Even as it is, the people of India have not the freedom to act in accordance with their conscience. New laws, introduced for one reason or another, from time to time, have already obstructed the free play of the physical and mental freedom of the people of India. After the mutiny, the people lost the right to wear arms in their own country for self-defence. The Press Act prevents the natural expression of their thoughts By their indifference and weakness the people have become servile and lifeless. They may cry about their misfortunes never so loud, but the Censor will not allow their cry to be heard abroad. On the whole the Holy land of Bharata has become like a prison house of three hundred million slaves. . . . If in addition to all this the bureaucracy should be armed with power to punish without trial, without question and without any open procedure any one who should be suspected by them, would not freedom and peace of mind disappear altogether from India? . . . The people of India are peaceful and submissive by nature and they unmurmuringly submit to all hardships. Their submissiveness is interpreted by others as a sign of weakness and ignorance.

Samadarsi, Trivandrum, 22nd Mar. 1919.

The article urges the need of united, steady agitation. If agitation fails, the next step is 'Passive Resistance.' . . . There is nothing in this world that cannot be achieved by it. Agitation having failed in this matter the leaders of the people have decided to adopt passive resistance. If all Indians take the vow not to obey the said laws, what can the bureaucracy do? The article concludes with the prayer that the movement, to which the people are driven as their last resort, may succeed and that the more liberal minded among the bureaucracy may use their influence with their comrades and turn them to the right path.

IV.—Native States.

The Raja of Pudukkottai.

94. Referring to the stay of the Raja of Pudukkottai in Australia which was attributed to the want of facilities for sailing and to the dangers of sea voyage at the time of the war, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th March, observes:—As the war has ended and the ships are sailing without any hindrance, why has not the Raja returned

Desabhaktan, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

as yet? Perhaps, he is waiting for the final declaration of peace after the close of the Paris Conference! The true cause is known to the Raja; or certainly to his wife. Instead of living in Australia under the title of the Raja of Pudukkottai, he may as well make over his State to somebody else in India, and purchasing necessary estates in Australia, pleasantly spend his whole life-time there in the company of his wife. Even before the war, London and Paris were congenial places of living for him. The love and the patience of his subjects in respect of this Raja, who is not in the State, are commendable. However, we cannot give credit to the patience of our Government in regard to this Raja who lives thousands of miles away without paying any attention to his State.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 21st Mar. 1919.

Liquor traffic in Bhavanagar.

95. A note in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 21st March, observes that the decision of the Native State of Bhavanagar to prohibit traffic in intoxicating liquor is a policy that may well be imitated by other Governments. The drink evil is steadily increasing as may be seen from the steady increase in the excise revenue of all Governments. However much the Government may desire to discourage the use of intoxicating liquor, they do not do anything to stop it as they are afraid that their revenue may suffer.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 22nd Mar. 1919.

Plea for popular control of Travancore finances.

96. The leading article in the *Malayali*, of the 22nd March, urges that the Popular Assembly and the Travancore Legislative Council should be allowed power to discuss the budget and suggest modifications. As it is, the people have no control whatever over the income or expenditure of the State and in this respect, Travancore is far behind British India. The article expresses the fear that the coming reform of the Travancore Legislative Council may be a reproduction of the Minto-Morley reform which will be far out of date for the present conditions of Travancore.

ERRATUM.

Report No. 12.

Page 488, paragraph 114, line 9 *for* 'also a prevail' *read* 'also prevail.'

[Issued, the 3rd April 1919.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 14 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 5th April 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

India and the League of Nations.

1. *New India*, of the 29th March, observes:—"What we had said before seems to be coming true. The League seems to be growing into a White Man's Limited Company for exploiting the coloured races. Because Japan had the pluck and strength to defeat the autocracy of the Russian Tsar, it could not be denied a place in the League of Nations. But one coloured race in a Federation of uncoloured races is always at a disadvantage. . . The voice of the one Asiatic nation, in face of the phalanx of White Nations arrayed against it, is not likely to carry weight. But it is interesting to watch the play of selfish interests camouflaged under high-sounding phrases in the politics of the world. What chance will India have at the hands of such politicians and statesmen?" — New India, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

The situation in Egypt.

2. Under the heading "Suppression of Egypt—the official story", the *Nationalist*, for week ending 30th March, after quoting the statement in Parliament as telegraphed makes the following short and cryptic remarks:—"India can well understand. We need make no comment whatsoever." — Nationalist, Madras, 30th Mar. 1919.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

The Indian Arms Act.

3. The *West Coast Bulletin*, for the week ending 28th March, has the following:—"*Red Guard* writes:—The Government of India have issued a communiqué wherein they state that the stigma of racial bar underlying the Arms Act will be entirely abolished The announcement though welcome, is rather belated and thereby it loses all its charm. It is not even graceful, coming as it does in the wake of the repressive measures forged at the instigation of the Rowlatt Committee. Repression *cum* conciliation is a policy which is adored by perplexed minds, and taking things as a whole, I am very much afraid if clearness and common sense have not deserted the 'tin gods of Olympia.' Anyhow, the Government deserve a meed of praise even for this belated action and I don't like to withhold it from them." — West Coast Bulletin, Cochin, 28th Mar. 1919.

Post-prandial views on Indian reforms.

4. The *Nationalist*, for the week ending 30th March, remarks:—"The Maharaja of Bikanir gave it straight to the impostors. He said that the activities of the Indo-British Association singularly disguised its avowed aim, namely, promoting the unity and advancement of the Indian peoples. The association's real hostility to the policy of His Majesty's Government was revealed in almost every phase of its activity. He sounded a note of warning that if the counsels of the opponents of reform were followed feelings of bitter disappointment and grievous wrong would be dominant throughout India. Nobody could gauge the full force of that dissatisfaction but obviously in comparison with it the recent unrest would seem small. The threat alleged to be contained in this harmless statement of the Maharaja has roused the ire of Anglo-India, and one paper has called him to order in the name of his relationship with the Government of India as a Feudatory Chief. What straw will not a drowning man catch?" — Nationalist, Madras, 30th Mar. 1919.

The Delhi outrage.

5. The *Hindu*, of the 1st April, says:—"The lamentable incident shows how cheap Indian lives are held in this country and that the executive, including the magistracy, is so ruthless in the exaction of obedience to its orders by the people, that it is prepared to cause the destruction of human lives to enforce obedience. . . If they had been cattle instead of being human beings, the Magistrate and the Military could not have acted with more inhumanity and callous cruelty than they did. It is said that brickbats were thrown in all directions by the crowd, but no injuries were — Hindu, Madras, 1st April 1919.

caused to the police, the Magistrate or the Military by any act of violence on the part of the people. They were a crowd of unarmed people absolutely powerless and incapable of doing harm in the presence of the military force. . . The order to fire upon the crowd who had primarily assembled only to persuade the shopkeepers to close their shops and subsequently demanded the release of the two men who had been arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned is an act of barbarous cruelty, and it is to be hoped that the authors of the outrage will be brought to account for their misdeeds. Far from this deplorable occurrence showing the impolicy of the Satyagraha or passive resistance movement, it stengthens the need for it."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 1st April 1919.

Writing under the heading 'A true Irony of Fate', *New India*, of the 1st April, observes:—"The question for citizens is: Are we to obey the King-Emperor's laws, even when harsh, or to obey Mr. Gandhi's orders, forced upon quiet citizens by a mob parading the streets? Are Satyagrahis to force us to walk, because they object to our driving, or to compel us to leave our business because they choose that we shall be idle. Mr. Gandhi would certainly disapprove of the proceedings at Delhi, but if one lets out a torrent of water, who is responsible for the mischief it causes?"

JUSTICE, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

The Government of India and Political Extremists.

6. In concluding an article under the heading "Mr. Jinnah follows Mr. Sarma" *Justice*, of the 2nd April, observes:—"Here are some of His Excellency the Viceroy's and the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill's chickens coming home to roost. Some of the occurrences at the War Conference last year verged on the undignified. The present writer cannot help thinking that the Government of India went out of their way to placate politicians of the stamp of Mr. Jinnah. Any one with any experience of India ought to have known that politicians of that description are not placated except by unconditional surrender. And now here is the aftermath. In their attempts to placate the Extremists in India the Government of India have gone to extraordinary lengths, and God alone knows what expiation they will have to perform before they get out of the resulting mess in which their inverteberate policy has landed them"

COCHIN ARGUS, Cochin, 29th Mar. 1919.

The *Cochin Argus*, for the week ending 29th March, says:—"Speaking in London a few weeks ago, Lord Willingdon unequivocally remarked, in short, that there had been too great a tendency to try to make terms with the Extremist in the past. Unfortunately, there is only too much evidence in support of this plain, unvarnished indictment. We have seen Extremist leaders, including the avowed and unreserved opponents of the barest idea of a continuance of British rule, invited to the innermost confidences of the Government. We have seen such men permitted, with impunity, to flaunt constituted authority to its very face. We have seen such men invited and treated as the privileged and honoured guests of the Empire. More than all, it is only too apparent that this tendency to go on yielding, step by step, to the aggressive clamour of extremism is threatening to resolve itself into a stereotyped policy. In connexion, for instance, with what is known as the Rowlatt legislation, the Government has made concessions, dictated, it is only too evident, more by a desire to placate extremist opinion and less, to a corresponding extent, by a consideration of the paramount interests of India and the Empire. No doubt, we shall be told that these concessions were demanded by the vast body of moderate opinion throughout the country, but the view we prefer to take is that, in the present condition of affairs, opinion is not to be judged exclusively by the mouth from which it proceeds. The voice may be the voice of the moderate, but it is the duty of the responsible arbiters of India's destinies to examine the clamour itself in order to find out exactly what is its brand."

III.—LEGISLATION.

UNITED INDIA AND INDIAN STATES, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

7. Writing under the heading "the Rowlatt Bills—Lest we forget"! *United India and Indian States*, for the week ending 2nd April, says:—"The Indo-British Association will have a new stick to hit the Indian dog with: the gift of the bureaucracy to the people of India is a Dead Sea fruit which cannot

mean life. So argue many political persons in this country—and though we only believe that the worst sin of the central Government is a spirit of excessive caution and an undue deference to the illiberal persuasions of local governments, we certainly take it that the new legislation is not incapable of producing the effect above mentioned. If so, it will be most unfortunate, and it will be an irony of fate that Lord Chelmsford must also be another exponent of the 'Jam and Cane' policy. The jam is still to come, however. Meanwhile, our opposition to the Government policy has been expressed in a most unequivocal manner. It is a matter of satisfaction to us that Moderate and Extremist combined to resist this fresh onslaught on the already slender liberties of British Indian subjects. . . . But we have a duty in the future. The opposition to this Bill must not sleep for a moment. . . In what way shall opposition to these Bills continue? By passive resistance? But that is for the few who are spiritually so developed that the result itself of an Act is immaterial: the Act is done for its own sake."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Vartakamitran, Tanjore, 6th Mar. 1919.

Coolies in Ceylon.

8. Observing that the restrictions in regard to indentured labourers appear to have been removed by the Local Government, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 6th March, comments as follows:—This shows how much regard the Government have for the people, in so far as they have not published the reforms that have been effected with reference to the complaint that the coolies in Ceylon are treated like beasts. The Government of Madras may have confidence in the reforms introduced by the Government of Ceylon. But is it not the people that should be satisfied as to whether the liberty and economic condition of the coolies are safeguarded thereby? It is not proper for the Government of Madras to have secretly approved the arrangements made by the Government of Ceylon in consultation with the planters of that place. A law is being enacted in Ceylon for the appointment of the Labour Advisory Board there to control emigration. The object of this law seems to be that the Government, the planters and the agents of estates should jointly govern the labourers. Until the objects and the conditions of such co-operation are not published for the information of the coolies and the public, there will be room for strong suspicion and discontent. The Governments of Ceylon and Madras should deeply consider over this matter and do the needful.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

The condition of Egypt.

9. Referring to the news received that martial law has been declared in Egypt, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th March, says:—The present political tension in Egypt is due to the demand of the nationalists there for Home Rule. These appear to have asked for permission to go to England to lay their case before the British public and started an agitation with this end in view. But they received the very same reply from the authorities there, as we received from the officials here when we sought a similar permission. What wonder then in the nationalists of Egypt getting as discontented and enraged at this reply as was the case with us here? The ministers there are said to have resigned their places, because their request to place the condition of Egypt before the British public was also negatived, and joined the nationalists. This is a good example to show that, if the authorities do not pay due heed to the demand of the people from the very beginning, it will gain strength gradually leading to discontent and even the moderates joining the nationalists. Of the countries that are in a miserable plight in the matter of attaining Home Rule, Ireland, Egypt and India stand foremost. It is a world-known fact that there were riots and bloodshed in Ireland in connexion with political agitation, and in Egypt æroplanes, machine-guns and troops had to be requisitioned. But we are sure such events will never occur in India, for the Indians have no confidence in physical force, but rely only upon soul-force.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 31st March, reproduces a leaderette of *New India* of the 27th idem on this subject which concludes with the remark that the methods of Britain in dealing with its Dependencies and Protectorates have not been consistent with her principles.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

The Indians in British East Africa.

10. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th March, takes exception to Lord Chelmsford not having received the Indian leaders from British East Africa, who have come all the way to lay their grievances before the Viceroy here and, referring to the reply given to them by Sir Thomas Holland that their appeal will be considered by the Government with sympathy, observes:—This is a formal reply given on many occasions. We should urge on the Government of India that they should not stop with this reply. The Indians in British East Africa do not demand Home Rule. All that they demand is that they should be

given equal treatment with the Europeans, and that there should be no differences on the score of colour. As the condition of the Indians in East Africa will evoke the sympathy of the people here, we hope the Government of India will take such action in the matter as to avoid the necessity of an agitation being started here on behalf of the Indians in East Africa as was done before on behalf of those in South Africa.

11. In a leader under this heading, which reproduces the ideas in an article in *New India* of the 29th March, entitled "Immigration and the League, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 31st idem, supports the claim of Japan in the League of Nations for equal privileges, in matters of immigration, with the other nations forming the League and, condemning the reported opposition of the League to this claim, refers in passing to the condition of Indian immigration into South Africa, and demands the same kind of privileges for Indians immigrating into the colonies and other British possessions, if the claim of Japan is to be granted.

Japan and the League.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

12. Referring to the report about the establishment of the Soviet Government in Austria and of its intention to make an alliance with the Russian Bolshevik Government and to other questions now before the Peace Conference, the *Andrapatrika*, of the 28th March. writes in its leader :—. . . At a time when it is hoped that the proceedings of the Peace Conference would soon come to a close and that peace would be established in the world, the attempt on the part of Hungary to break the armistice terms cannot but cause anxiety to anyone. . . The number of complicated questions with which the Conference has to deal is increasing by and by such as the attitude of Germany in respect of Danzig, coupled with her threat to leave the Peace Conference alone, the differences between China and Japan regarding Kiochaw, and the question of immigration on which the views of Canada and Australia reveal their selfishness. . . Till now, the allies have been very kind to Germany and are willing to admit her to the League of Nations. But should she be so unreasonable as to change her behaviour, it is certain that her destruction would be complete in the next war.

New difficulties.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras. 28th Mar. 1919.

13. Referring to the proclamation of martial law in Egypt, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th March, observes that there is no wonder in Egypt demanding the right of self-determination, when it is being granted to all small nations. The paper sees no reason why passports should be refused to the Egyptian Nationalists, even admitting their demands to be improper, while the South African Nationalists claiming a republic, independent of the British Empire, are freely allowed to proceed to England. Observing that any unrest may be put down with a little bit of tact, it concludes that the British Empire will be the home of freedom, much stronger than now, if she puts into practice in her dependent dominions those high ideals which she had proclaimed during the war.

Martial law in Egypt.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

14. Referring to the draft rules of the League of Nations, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st March, observes:— . . . Many people are expressing their disappointment after the publication of the draft rules of the League. The *Nation* says: "This is not a League of all nations, but only supports the unification of the Victorious Allied powers." Such liberal-minded men as Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson will do well to afford no room for such criticisms and to secure for the League a foundation which will help in the establishment of permanent peace in the world!

The League of Nations.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

A correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 29th March, writes about the League of Nations and about the need for it to discourage the commercial spirit of the present age. He expresses views much to the same effect as those noticed in a leader under this heading from the *Kistnapatrika* of the 22nd February in the report for the week ending 1st March 1919.

The League of Nations.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 29th Mar. 1919.

15. Referring to the statement of Mr. Cecil Harmsworth in the House of Commons about the future administration of Egypt, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd April, remarks:—

Egypt and political reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

. . . If, in the name of responsible public opinion, the memorials of political bodies are to be rejected, the results of the inquiry cannot be satisfactory. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

A strange news.

16. Referring to the Reuter's cable about the declaration of war by the new Soviet Government of Hungary on Servia and some other countries, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd April, says:—. . . The news, if true, will be received with disappointment by all those who are very eagerly expecting the speedy conclusion of peace. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

Mr. B. C. Pal's tour in the Andhradesa.

17. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd April, publishes in Telugu the speech of Mr. B. C. Pal at Guntūr on the 'Present situation and the political reforms.' In the course of his speech, Mr. Pal observed that the announcement of 20th August 1917 was not the outcome of the generosity of either the British Government or Mr. Montagu or anybody else, that it was the effect of the intolerable position created by Indian unrest and that it was also an expedient move to obtain the help of this country in men and money for the war, since it would be impossible to get help from a people who are not satisfied. Referring to the Rowlatt Bill, he said that it had been passed into law in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the representatives of the Indian people and that it had caused a national awakening. He dealt with the present labour unrest in England and observed that the new Imperial economic policy in view of the payment of the enormous interest on the Imperial war debt would entail on us economic dependence in addition to the political.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

The resignation of Mr. Jinnah.

18. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd April, publishes in Telugu the letter of Mr. M. A. Jinnah to His Excellency the Viceroy, resigning his seat in the Imperial Legislative Council.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 29th Mar. 1919.

Revolution in Egypt.

19. Referring in an editorial note under this heading to the proclamation of Martial Law in Egypt, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 29th March, remarks:—. . . The people tried to revolt and the Police and the Military came and saved the situation, and Martial Law has been proclaimed. It is safe for both sides that the authorities should give up repressive measures and try to satisfy the wishes of the people by conciliatory measures.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(*a*) *Police.*

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

Rowdies.

20. Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 27th March, refers to a correspondent's letter in the *Madras Mail*, regarding the arrest of some innocent *Sourashtras* in certain affrays between them and some habitual rowdies near the Hospital ground in Choolai about a week ago, and requests the Commissioner of Police to inquire into the matter, to punish the guilty and to protect the innocent.

(*d*) *Education.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th Mar. 1919.

National education.

21. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th March, reproduces in Tamil a lecture said to have been delivered by Mr. B. C. Pal on this subject at Madura on the 13th idem.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

National education.

The *Dravidan*, of the 29th March, accuses the promoters of the national education movement of making a show of taking the non-Brahmans with them for getting money from all people and warns the non-Brahmans not to be led away by these and be duped.

SAMADARSI, Trivandram, 29th Mar. 1919.

Education in India.

22. In an article under the heading 'Education in India', the *Samadarsi*, of the 29th March, points out by reference to statistics that she is behind England, America, Japan and the Native States in India in the matter of education, and says:—The statistics given above will enable one to understand that education is in a most deplorable condition in India, and it is this pitiable condition that helps to push her backwards, without any status, from the ranks of other nations.

(*h*) *Railways.*

Railway administration.

23. In commenting upon the report on the administration of railways in India, the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 17th March, observes that on the whole though the administration of railways in India has been a very lucrative concern, during the year under review, it cannot but be asserted that it has been quite unsatisfactory as far as the convenience of the travelling public was concerned.

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 17th Mar. 1919.

(*j*) *Salt and Abkāri.*

The prohibition of liquor.

24. Referring to the news that the Maharaja of Bhavanagar has taken steps to prohibit the use of liquor in his State, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 28th March, writes:—The very authorities, who are not prepared to grant *Swaraj* to India according to President Wilson's principle of self-determination, feel concerned for popular liberty in the matter of prohibiting the use of liquor! The Government would restrict individual liberty by passing the Rowlatt Bills; but it thinks that it would be a great hardship to deprive the people of their right to drink! Is this a characteristic of reform in a civilized Government? . . . Although the British Government might think it impossible to follow the example of Mysore and Bhavanagar in this respect, we hope the other Native States at least will wipe out the drink habit from their territories.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 28th Mar. 1919.

(*k*) *General.*

Expenditure on the Rowlatt Committee.

25. Referring to the expenditure of Rs. 87,020 incurred in connexion with this committee exclusive of the voyage expenses of the President from England to Bombay the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th March, remarks:—The fundamental rights of man are forfeited in India at such a heavy expenditure from the Indian exchequer. It is in a way proper to incur an expenditure to secure liberty; but we are spending our money in lakhs to lose it!

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

Exodus to the hills.

26. Characterizing the annual exodus of the Madras Government to the hills as one of their bad practices, in which they freely spend the public money unnecessarily year after year, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th March, observes:—In spite of the repeated requests of the Indians that this practice should be given up, the Government are indifferent in the matter. The people without getting disheartened at the Government thus disregarding public opinion, should continue to hold meetings in different places and protest against the exodus to the hills. We wish that the residents of Madras will work with great zeal in this matter.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

Indian trade.

27. Referring to the present condition of Indian trade, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th March, observes:—The Government of India are indifferent in regard to our trade and industries, and this makes us doubt whether the few industries that exist at present will last long. Some industries took a deep root during the war and withstood foreign competition. We are afraid whether these also will deteriorate for want of encouragement. In the interests of Indian industries, it is essential that our tariff rates should be completely revised. Otherwise all the raw products of our country will be taken away by foreigners and brought back and sold to us in the shape of manufactuted articles. Our trade and industries will not thrive and we will be doomed to be in a helpless state for ever.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

The three speeches.

28. Referring to the speeches recently delivered in London on the occasion of a dinner given to Lord Sinha, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th March, observes:—We trust that the speeches will be productive of good results to the country. Every word spoken by Lord Sinha is perfectly true. The Indians are opposing the Rowlatt Bills with great vigour. Most of the poisonous items in these Bills have been removed. If the system of administration is reformed, the Indians will get more strength to combat such cruel laws. So they are more intent on the administrative reforms

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

which are essential to the country, than the Rowlatt Bills which have appeared for the time being like the passing clouds.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 25th March, reproduces the sentiments of the *Justice*, of the 24th idem under the heading 'Post prandial views on Indian reforms' making adverse criticisms on the views expressed by the Maharaja of Bikanir, Lord Sinha and Mr. Montagu.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

The three speeches.

Expressing its gratitude to Mr. Montagu for his having stated, beyond doubt, in his speech at the dinner given to Lord Sinha, the aim of the British Government in regard to the administration of India, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th March, makes the following observations among others:—Mr. Montagu has spoken to the effect that the good work of the Civil Servants is the sole cause for the glorious shaping of India. Perhaps he has forgotten his having himself spoken in 1917 condemning in harsh terms the actions of these Civil Servants. Mr. Montagu has stated that the Indians are not right in finding fault with the British for delaying the grant of administrative responsibility to them, that the latter should wait until the British see how the Indians exercise the right granted to them and give them liberty, and that the British have the right to grant liberty slowly after such an examination. The Indians have been undergoing administrative training under the British for a long time. When will the British say heartily that the Indians have got the necessary qualification? We are of opinion that the complaint of the Indians about the delay in this matter by the British is but just.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

The Viceroy's speech.

29. Remarking that the concluding speech of the Viceroy at the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council is agreeable in tone and somewhat conciliatory in character, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th March, observes:—The Viceroy requested the members to obliterate from their minds all thoughts of differences which cropped up in connexion with the Rowlatt Bills Though it may be easy for the Government to forget them, it is not easy for the people to do so.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

India and Home Rule.

30. Condemning the agitation of the people of South Africa for securing at republican form of government without any connexion whatever with Great Britain, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th March, observes:—The British Government should no treat lightly the influence of those who rise in agitation to get a republican form of government and the evil consequences likely to ensue from such agitation. We trust the British Government will realise even now that, if they do not satisfactorily fulfil India's wishes at a time when great Britain is being pressed for the grant of a republican form of government by Ireland on the one side and by South Africa on the other, they will have to suffer the consequences later on.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

The Tramway strike.

31. Adverting to the proceedings of a public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on the 23rd March 1919, to express the sympathies of the public with the Tramway workmen, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th idem refers to the hardships caused to the public by this strike and remarks:—The public will have to suffer further hardships, if hereafter at least, the Madras Corporation and the Local Government do not interfere in this matter and bring about a settlement.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the statement of Mr. Molony at a recent meeting of the Madras Corporation that the Corporation should not interfere in the affairs of the Tramway Company, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th March, observes:—Though the Tramway Company is a private body, still it works for the benefit of the public. Is it not necessary then for the Corporation to interfere in its affairs with a view to remedy the hardships of the public? If Mr. Molony is sincerely of this view, where is the necessity for his interviewing Sir Clemant Simpson? The terms proposed by the Tramway Company will not practically benefit the workmen. They are not for returning to work unless their grievances are redressed. Will the Company hereafter at least cast away their stubbornness and come forward to relieve the hardship caused to the public?

The *Desabhaktan* in its issue of the 26th March, writes again on this subject as follows:—Though it is six months since Mr. Justice Rowlatt left India, the Government of India are not in a position to state how much money has been spent for his voyage expenses. It is stated that there are diligent bureaucrats under this Government! There is no limit to the money spent for ruling the Indians keeping them under subjection. Should we point out that the dependant position of India is the cause for there being none to question about this? DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

32. Remarking that there are no political prisoners in the Philippine Islands, as there are in India and other countries, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th March, invites the attention of the officials in India and the British statesmen to an extract from the *Philippine Review*, in which this is accounted for by the fact that the Philippinos have a government suitable to them and they will soon have complete freedom, while countries subject to Europeans are governed by force on political and economic grounds, and the observation is made that the happiness of the Philippinos will improve further as America is conducting herself selflessly and magnanimously while the other countries will become the abode of political discontent, revolution and disturbance, and that the present condition of the Philippine Islands as compared with that of the eastern countries makes untenable the argument of the Europeans that the main object of their settling in the east is to uplift the countries therein from their backward state. SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

The Philippines and India.

33. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th March, writes:—For some months past there has been in India no place where there have been no strikes. There will be no hope for the redress of the grievances of the labourers, if at least hereafter the Government of India do not enact a Factory Law. Though the enemies of India and the Anglo-Indians may attribute strikes to political agitation, impartial people cannot but realise the true cause thereof. DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

Labour in India.

Remarking that the officials in England are not apparently well aware of the hardships and grievances of the labourers in India the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 27th March, observes:—Strikes among labourers of all classes have of late become very common in India, and no wise person will attribute such strikes to political agitators. Dearth of material and lack of convenience account for these strikes and the Government cannot ignore this fact. It is but proper for the Government of India to modify the Indian Factories Act in accordance with the views and systems of the westerns. HINDU NESAN, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

34. In its leader under this heading the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th March, makes the following observations among others:—We hoped that by the partition of Bengal the bureaucrats would have acquired the good sense to know that they should not act contrary to the views of the popular leaders:—They do not appear to have acquired it yet. Perhaps Lord Chelmsford is determined to create unrest in the country by enacting the Rowlatt Law, even as Lord Curzon converted a peaceful country into a restless one by dividing Bengal. It is the actions of the bureaucrats that lead to agitation, unrest and disturbance in India. Probably the bureaucrats have forgotten the experience they obtained by the partition of Bengal. The moderate party was then strong in India. The bureaucrats had their secret support. We are bound to impress on the bureaucrats that the party of the moderates has now waned, that only a few old men are wedded to it and that the nationalist party is strong from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. None resorted to *Satyagraha* movement at the time of the partition of Bengal, while now many among the Indians are resolved to take part in it. Mr. Sastri and a few other moderates are attempting to make *Satyagraha* vow a failure. There is none to follow the leader of this small party. The Viceroy should not be carried away by their words appearing in the newspapers. Mr. Gandhi is not a man of words but one of action. There are crores of people in India who support his actions. We trust that the Viceroy will note this and act accordingly. DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

Partition of Bengal and the Rowlatt Law.

35. The *Dravidan*, of the 27th March, again refers to this subject and condemning the policy of fasting recommended by Mr. Gandhi, on the ground that it is purely a DRAVIDAN, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

Passive resistance movement.

religious observance and cannot develop soul force, warns the people not to be led away by the enticing words of some who advocate this movement.

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919; DRAVIDAN, DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 21st Mar. 1919.

Passive resistance movement.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th March, publish the proceedings of a public meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 18th idem to welcome Mr. Gandhi and to reaffirm that the only weapon left to fight out the Rowlatt Law is passive resistance, while the *Dravidan*, the *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 21st idem, publish the proceedings of a public meeting held in the same connexion on the Madras Beach on the 20th idem.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras. 28th Mar. 1919.

Passive resistance movement.

A correspondent to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th March, points out that it is the Indians who are suffering much on account of the absence of united opposition on their part to such Acts as the Arms Act, the Press Act and the Defence of India Act at the time these were passed, and that, if such an opposition had then been raised by means of passive resistance, India would have changed into a self-governing country and the people would have been happy, and observing that, if the Indians agree without any opposition to the Rowlatt Law which has taken away even the shred of liberty they possessed, other countries will mock at them, and that their descendants will think low of them, exhorts the readers of the *Desabhaktan* to wake up from their sleep and adopt the policy of passive resistance as they have no other means left.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

The *Satyagraha* day.

36. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th March, exhorts the people to observe Sunday, the 6th April 1919, as a fasting day and follow the instructions of Mr. Gandhi in the matter and, observing that immeasurable are the benefits that will result from a fast, adds that the time is near when one can see the old India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th Mar. 1919.

Are we fit for *swaraj*?

37. The article under this heading, which appeared in the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th March, and was abstracted in paragraph 41 of Report No. 12, is continued in the issue of the same paper, dated the 25th idem, wherein the writer refutes the argument of those, who decry the fitness of the Indians for Home Rule on the ground of their receiving the support of another country, by pointing out that England has not helped India alone with capital and that an enormous amount of money has also been drained from India within the last 159 years and adds:—Seeing that other arguments fail, the Englishmen and Anglo-Indians want us to be patient saying that the secrets of Home Rule can be learnt only gradually. But our reply to this is that, if anything is to be learnt from the very beginning, we cannot acquire the knowledge of our ancestors even in a life-time. Then again no one has defined what is the exact capacity that is required for Home Rule, nor is it possible to do it. If complete fitness for Home Rule is to be the criterion for a grant of the same, no country can satisfy this test. The history of America is a good certificate for the capacity of the British in ruling over other countries. Even after learning a bitter lesson in this matter, it does not strike our rulers as far as India is concerned. If India did not follow the example of America, it is because she is intensely loyal to her King and also knows that he is not responsible for the foolish acts of those between him and the people The story that the country was in a chaotic condition during the time of the Muhammadans is partly an exaggeration. So the argument that the people will not be happy if the Government of the country is left in their hands is a false one. Even the excuse that the majority of the Indians are illiterate cannot hold water, as it is the Government that are responsible for this state of affairs and again there is no connexion between literacy and Home Rule, for we are not in a worse condition in this respect than many countries were when they acquired Home Rule.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

This article is continued in the issue of the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th March, wherein the writer lays stress upon the fact that what the Indians want is not to drive away the British from India, but only to secure self-government on the lines of the colonies and, remarking that they are bound to be friendly to England and render her all help as long as their dignity and patriotism are not at stake, affirms that there is no ground whatever for doubting the capacity of the Indians to have Home Rule and that it is not fair on the part of the Englishmen to delay its grant any longer.

38. Reproducing the sentiments expressed in an article under this heading in *New India* of the 24th March, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th March, observes:—It creates fear in one to peruse the list of Muslim papers penalised under the Press Act. This shows how much liberty the Press enjoys in India. If the newspapers are to be conducted only in accordance with the views and wishes of the Government, what advantage can be derived from them? Why should so much money and energy be wasted on their publication. Men of noble views express their opinions on political matters in the newspapers. If the Government take into consideration the views thus published and act in conformity with public opinion, everybody will be benefited. If, on the other hand, they should get enraged and begin to gag the public, the people too get enraged. What else but rage will rage beget?

The Muslim press.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

39. In its leader the *Dravidan*, of the 26th March, reproduces the comments appearing in an article of the *Justice* of the 25th idem under this heading.

Labour unrest in Madras.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

40. Observing that historians and others state that India was prosperous in ancient times whereas she is in an impoverished condition at present, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th March, comments as follows:—The reason for the ancient prosperity of India and her present poverty is that the Indian villages were then in a good condition, whereas now they are in a ruined state. Now labourers from villages go to towns, enter service as coolies in the factories of the western capitalists and suffer degradation. On account of their excessive wealth, the western capitalists have now begun to besiege even villages. There are railways and telegraphs to help them. It is not known whether the western capitalists would hereafter atttempt to monopolise even agriculture. Some companies have already taken to certain branches of agriculture. While the western capitalists are thus robbing us of our industrial resources, the capitalists of our country are keeping quiet. We need not dilate upon the grievances of the labourers from villages who do coolie work in towns. Long hours of work and low wages are the causes of their hardship. Pangs of hunger make the labourers lose their honour. In Madras alone there are more than a lakh of labourers who work under western capitalists. Some benefactors, who have realised their true condition, organise out of mercy associations for these labourers and endeavour to redress their grievances. The white capitalists are attempting to dissolve such associations. Even the bureaucrats are supporting them secretly. The interview of Lord Pentland with Mr. Wadia and the non-interference of the Government during the closure of the Buckingham and Carnatic mills and the present strike among the tramway workmen, bear testimony to our statement. The leading men in villages should impress upon the labourers there by means of handbills and lectures the hardships suffered by our labourers in foreign countries such as Natal and Fiji and under the western capitalists even in India.

Villages and labourers.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

41. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th March, contains the following:—As Lord Willingdon will arrive at Madras on the 10th April 1919, it is a pity that Sir Alexander Cardew will be Governor of Madras only for twelve days!! It is unfortunate that he is not to continue long!!!

Stray notes.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

India has given birth to and sent to the battlefield in Europe many warriors like Subadar Major Imam-ud-din who is reported to have captured one of the Turkish generals, 68 Turkish officers, and 1,500 Turkish sepoys with very little assistance. In spite of this, the Indians have not been given high appointments in the army. We remind the British that it is the Indian heroes that saved their honour in the war which was waged for the last four and a half years.

It is understood that some retail-dealers created unrest in Bombay yesterday, and this is said to be due to the partiality of the Director of Civil Supplies in the supply of foodstuffs to the merchants. We trust the Director of Civil Supplies in Madras will note this carefully.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

Lord Sinha's reply to Lord Sydenham.

42. Referring to certain observations said to have been made by Lord Sinha in reply to an interpellation by Lord Sydenham in the House of Lords in connexion with the riots in Katarpur in India, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 27th March, observes:—Till now there was none in the House of Lords to reply to the irrelevant remarks of Lord Sydenham. It is, indeed, a great nuisance to him that one possessing a good knowledge and experience of Indian affairs is now in the House. It will be hard for him any longer to misrepresent Indian affairs as he liked and create prejudices in the minds of the Englishmen. The utility of conferring administrative powers on an Indian well-versed in Indian affairs becomes patent by incidents like the above.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

Bikanir's advocacy.

43. Referring to the attack of the Anglo-Indian papers in India, on the Maharaja of Bikanir for his having recenty refuted the view that the British have undertaken the administration of India for protecting the interests of others, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 27th March, observes:—It is usual for the English to extol Native Princes in India for their capacity, moderation and other good characteristics, and one of such rulers is the Maharaja of Bikanir. The moment he said that India should not be a field for exploitation by others, it provoked the wrath of the Englishmen. Should Indian rulers be devoid of patriotism? In this connexion the *Madras Times* doubts whether it is proper for native rulers to be one-sided in their views on administrative matters connected with British India. Native rulers may make liberal contributions in the interests of British India; they can even sacrifice the lives of their subjects; but they cannot express their sincere opinion that primary importance should be given to the interests of India.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 26th, 27th, 28th & 29th Mar. 1919.

The administration of Lord Pentland.

44. The *Swadesamitran* reviews the administration of Lord Pentland in the following strain in its issues of the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th March:—It was in an anxious period that Lord Pentland stepped in as the Governor of Madras. Sir Arthur Lawley with highly retrograde views and his official colleagues, to whom were entrusted the work of giving effect to the Minto-Morely reforms, made the disadvantages of the scheme loom larger here than the advantages. The people were, therefore, anxiously expecting a change for the better under the regime of a broad-minded and sympathetic Governor. The words of Lord Pentland in the first session of the Legislative Council after he took charge, that he deemed the members to be his colleagues, made them expect many reforms during his term. Though the people soon found that he would not, like Lord Carmichael, openly move with the people and ascertain their grievances, they still hoped for many months that he would not adopt the views of the officials in administrative matters. But these hopes began to wane gradually and from 1915 it was clear that he was definitely against the aspirations of the Indians. He began to express very narrow views both in the Legislative Council and in public speeches. It often looked as if he considered himself and the British Government to have a separate responsibility in the matter of safe-guarding the interests of the English officials and merchants that have come to India to make money. His view was that the Indians would not be fit either now or in the immediate future for having any reforms either in their political condition or in the administrative methods, and he curbed by means of repressive measures, the agitation started by the people and their leaders to obtain such reforms, even more forcibly than was the case with other provinces. Even the decision of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, that this retrograde policy should be changed, did not alter his views. He obeyed their orders only as a matter of duty and agreed to curtail repression and conduct the inquiry connected with the reforms only as a matter of unavoidable necessity. Further he gave undue indulgence for the counter-agitation started by the officials and English merchants. When some among the people tried, at the instigation of these, to accentuate the caste differences and create a split among classes, he evinced his sympathy and support for them in many ways.

There was nothing wrong in our people having formed a favourable impression of Lord Pentland as soon as he came here, for his past history justified

it. And again we believe his assurance, in replying to the addresses presented to him, that he wished to ascertain the wants and grievances of the people and help the progress of the country as much as possible, did reflect his attitude then. This is the attitude of almost every Governor when he comes to India. But the moment they reach here, they get into the hands of officials and adopt their views and the principles followed by them traditionally. It is only liberal minded and impartial men like Lord Ripon and those like Lord Curzon, who thought he was unequalled, that can control the official class. Though it is natural for other mediocre statesmen to yield to the influence of the officials, it is indeed regrettable that one, who was Private Secretary to Lord Ripon and who was in the Cabinet with Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, that granted self-government to the Boers of South Africa, should have got into the hands of the officials. His refusal to permit the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar in 1915 to bring forward a Bill to amend a barbarous regulation of 1816 authorising village officials to put certain classes of offenders in stocks, is one instance of his having failed to remove even the serious defects in the administration. Though it was then stated that the Government themselves would introduce a similiar Bill within six months, nothing has been done yet. The result of this is that nearly 1,400 persons belonging to the depressed classes undergo this kind of punishment every year, and the Government of Lord Pentland would not support an attempt of the Indian members to uplift these classes. Looking again at the way in which his Government discharged their duty of helping the agriculturists, who form the majority of the population here, to live happily, we cannot say that they took an interest in the masses, as they profess. In the resettlement of certain districts before the advent of Lord Pentland, the land assessment was increased only from 12½ to 15 per cent. But in the districts resettled during his regimé, the assessment has been increased to 33 per cent. The contention of the Government is that, as the price of paddy has increased, the agriculturist should proportionately raise the amount of the kist paid by him. But they do not note that the majority of the agriculturists have no paddy to sell. And again there is no rule that the Government should collect an enhanced tax even from those that amass money by selling paddy. The aim of the Government should be to allow money to accumulate in the hands of the subjects, as this will be available to the former at a nick. If, on the other hand, an enhanced tax is levied on the ground that the people are accumulating money, the Government will be inclined to spend the amount so collected in unnecessary ways, and it is the opinion of many that our Government have been spending like this. It is on account of this that the Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao moved a resolution that a committee should be appointed to conduct an open inquiry about the expenditure incurred by the Government and this was supported even by many European members. But it was approved by the majority with the word 'open' omitted, in spite of the opposition of the Government, which proves that many Europeans and Indians think that all the expenses incurred by the Government are not necessary ones. What leads to such expenditure is only the fact of their having much money in their hands, by collecting as taxes from the people more than what is required. So if the Government would leave the profits made by the agriculturists on account of high prices in their own hands, instead of collecting a portion thereof, they can not only avoid unnecessary expenditure, but such profits will also be useful to them at a critical juncture, as was proved in the case of the large amounts collected during the period of the war. Even in the case of the resettlement of the Cheyyar and other taluks of the North Arcot district, Lord Pentland's Government directed the assessment to be increased by 20 per cent, while the Settlement Officer recommended an increase of only 18¾ per cent and, though the Government assured that the reclassification of tanks would bring down the actual increase to below 20 per cent, this reclassification increased it to 25 per cent. The majority of the agriculturists in this taluk pay less than Rs. 30 as kist and many of them even less than Rs. 10. How can these earn any money on account of the high prices? So, instead of reaping an advantage from the increase in prices, they have only to suffer the hardship of a resettlement. The rule that the Government should, during settlements, calculate the expenditure of the agriculturist item by item and collect as kist only a half of what remains after deducting such expenditure from the total income, was not observed in the time

of Lord Pentland and the system that obtained was to calculate the expenditure on a rough estimate. Considering all these things, it is clear that Lord Pentland never made any attempt to improve the condition of the depressed classes or to make the life of the agriculturists happy.

When the Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao moved a resolution in the Legislative Council that provision should be made for hostels for the children of the depressed classes, Lord Pentland said that the Government had not undertaken this responsibility till then and that they would consider about rendering assistance, if anyone else would start such hostels. If it is objectionable to undertake a new responsibility, a government will have always to move in the same groove, without progressing in accordance with the times. If the Government opens hostels and conducts them, no religion will be taught there compulsorily. If hostels are to be started by private people with the aid of Government, it is only the missionaries that will do so, and this will lead to the children of the depressed classes being taught Christianity. To avoid this evil, what if hostels are started for depressed classes and all people admitted to them that wish to enter them? How can Lord Pentland be said to have a sympathy for these classes, when he refused to take a step which has been taken in a Native State? A resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. A S. Krishna Rao in 1915 that municipalities should be empowered to introduce compulsory elementary education within their jurisdiction, elicited the strange reply from the Director of Public Instruction that, as the head of the Government had changed, he had been asked to oppose the resolution. So the administration of this country is conducted only in accordance with the opinions held from time to time by those in power and not in accordance with the wishes and needs of the people or any settled principles. Laws have already been passed in Bombay, the Punjab, United Provinces and other places giving this power to municipalities. But Lord Pentland would not even give permission to introduce a Bill on this subject in the Legislative Council. His attitude regarding the establishment of village panchayats which question was often raised during his term, is another instance to prove his indifference. The disinclination of the authorities in this matter seems to be due to their impression that the establishment of the panchayats will lead to the development of a political spirit among the people. Lord Pentland was on the Cabinet with Lord Morley, when the latter wrote about getting the villages under control and, instead of trying to give effect to that recommendation when an opportunity occurred, he has been echoing the views of the official class. Another instance of the Government not having cared for public opinion is their attitude towards the indigenous systems of medicine. When many experts in western medicine have spoken well of the Ayurvedic system, it indicates only the ignorance of Lord Pentland that he should have stated that the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine cannot be systems in the proper sense of the word. If it were so, why do this Government wink at Native States like Travancore encouraging such systems? The views of the officials are as hard to alter as the streaks of a tiger. But the regrettable feature of it is only that a Liberal come from England should have fallen in with those views.

Another feature of his regimé was that he used very freely the power vested in him of disallowing any question proposed to be asked or resolution proposed to be brought up before the Legislative Council and made it impossible for the people to ascertain many administrative details by means of such questions and for an open discussion to take place in the Council about the grievances of the people and the acts of certain officials. In this country where the general belief is that it is the duty of the king to have impartial justice rendered, the representatives of the king would only be securing the stability of the British rule by taking prompt notice of the misdeeds of the officials and apprising the people of the action taken by them in such cases. But we have to say that the view of Lord Pentland in this matter was that it was one of his duties always to shield the officials under him from any attack. The case of Mr. Wells, who was reported to have insulted one for having spat out when he was cleaning his teeth, and of the toll-gate contractor in Trichinopoly, who was kept in a custody on a charge of theft, for having prevented a friend of the Collector from passing the toll-gate without payment, may be quoted as instances in point. A question about the

former incident was disallowed, because the member who gave notice of it could not vouchsafe for the accuracy of the report which appeared in the papers and a question about the latter event elicited the reply that the Government had taken the necessary action. The public are still unaware of the true version regarding the first incident or of the action taken by the Government in the second. Is it not the duty of the Government to prevent the recurrence of such incidents? Unless we know what action they have taken, how can we be sure that they have done the right thing? What is the use of the right of interpellation granted to the popular representatives, if they cannot ascertain facts by means of such interpellations? Coming to the resolutions, according to the existing system, the Executive Council meets before the session of the Legislative Council and decides the fate of the resolutions to be moved. All the members of the Executive Council are bound to abide by this decision, as also the official members of the Legislative Council. So all the speeches delivered by the Indian members on these resolutions are in vain, and their opinion is hardly acted upon. Thus, of the 845 resolutions moved in the time of Lord Pentland, only 70 were accepted by the Government and many of even these had completely lost their original form when they were accepted. Another important matter is the view of Lord Pentland in the matter of the right of the members of the Council to criticise the budget. Before the introduction of the Minto-Morley reforms, the members had the right to make general observations on the administration, while the budget was being considered, and the reforms conferred on the members the additional right of criticising the different items in the budget individually. It was clearly stated by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson that the new right did not supplant but coexisted with the old one. But our Lord Pentland gave a contrary interpretation to the rule and laid down that the members could speak only on a particular item in the budget but not generally on the administration, and it is on this principle that the budget discussion has been carried on in the local council for the last two years. It is for the purpose of securing the representation of some important classes, which may not secure a representative in the Legislative Council through election, that Lord Morley gave the Governor the power of nomination in respect of some non-official seats. But Lord Pentland has systematically been utilising this power for strengthening the side of the Government. The nomination of Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai and Rev. Aelen may be quoted as instances in point. Every one is aware of the way in which Lord Pentland conducted himself in dealing with the Home Rule movement and the discussion of the reforms. The action taken by him against *New India*, his internment of Mrs. Besant and others, his speech at Ootacamund condemning the ideals of the people and G.O. No. 559 about students are all of recent occurrence, as also the unnecessary action taken upon an ordinary man, Krishnaswami Sarma of Conjeeveram, and the attack upon the *Desabhaktan* He did not listen to public opinion that district boards should be permitted to lay their railways, as his views expressed at Ootacamund were proved to be wrong ones by the announcement made in Parliament about reforms by the Secretary of State for India, it shows that his opinion in the matter of political reforms has been a retrograde one. It was during Lord Pentland's time that the non-Brahman party came into existence, creating a disunion among the people, and many zamindars intimated their opinions about reforms against those of the public. It is not known how far he paid attention to the complaint that some of his officials sympathised with these movements, which were prejudicial to the unity of the people. He might have thought that the people were not fit to have special privileges in administrative matters. If so, he did not make any effort to make them fit for them at least in the future. He has, however, done some good things. The credit for having started a college for women will rest with him. He ordered the opening of a college in the Ceded Districts. He started a separate college for the Muhammadans in the city, and he has helped liberally the opening of hostels for students in different places. All these are really beneficial acts. Still we cannot forget that he failed to utilise to the fullest extent the great opportunity afforded him and seek the progress of the people.

The *Desabhaktan*, declaring, in its issue of the 27th March, that this Presidency has not until now seen a Governor of the type of Lord Pentland and praying to God that it may not be blessed with one such again, remarks in its

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th & 29th Mar. 1919.

issue of the 29th idem that, as the present system of Government is conducted only by the official class and is not responsible to the people and as, according to it, the Executive and Legislative Councils only carry out the wishes of the Governor, who has also certain special powers, Lord Pentland should be taken to be wholly responsible for the good or bad features of his administration and says:—It was Lord Carmichael that became the Governor of Madras after Sir Arthur Lawley and he won the appreciation of the people within the short period that he was here. But he was transferred to Bengal as the ill-luck of this Province would have it and we learn that Lord Pentland was the cause of it. It appears Lord Pentland was first appointed the Governor of Bengal and, as he was afraid of getting into Bengal on account of the anarchist tendency therein, he was sent to Madras and Lord Carmichael transferred in his place. This is itself sufficient evidence of the nature of Lord Pentland. His wonderful acts have strengthened the nationalist agitation here and made this Presidency beat even Bengal in this respect. The very fact of Lord Pentland having been afraid to get into Bengal made many people presume in the very beginning that he lacked mental strength and this view was confirmed by subsequent events. His personality indicated that he lacked strength of body, while his administration has proved that he lacked strength of mind. In the beginning, he seems to have evinced some interest in educational matters; but even this waned subsequently. The only good feature of his administration is that, though he had not the capacity of governing the people with sympathy, he was unceasing in his efforts to render sufficient help to our King Emperor by collecting money for the war. He teased such papers as could preach righteousness to the people. During his regime, there was a split among the people of this Presidency and the wicked non-Brahman movement was started and spread venom everywhere. The deeds of some of the followers of this movement in the Spur Tank did not receive any attention from Lord Pentland. The '*Mail*, *Justice* and the *Dravidan* enjoyed complete freedom in his time and the statements in these papers, aiming at creating class hatred, did not perhaps catch the eye of one who brought trouble to *New India* and the *Desabhaktan*. His having permitted associations favourable to the *Justice* party to see Mr. Montagu, during his visit to Madras, and prevented in the beginning the Madras Presidency Association from seeing him and such other actions indicate the impartial nature of his administration! He conducted it without attaching much importance to the wishes of the public. He made it a business to negative the resolutions moved by the elected members in the Legislative Council. The pertinacity with which Lord Pentland conducted the Park Fair, in spite of the unanimous opposition of the Corporation to it, is sufficient evidence to prove that he did not conduct the administration in accordance with the wishes of the public. In his time, the poor committed looting in many places owing to famine and he did not try to secure sufficient foodstuffs for them. In view of the looting, the Police at Conjeeveram fired on the public and even in Madura the Police committed this excess, which caused even some loss of life. Lord Pentland was not inclined to conduct an inquiry into the unjust conduct of the Police. It was during his time that labourers started many associations to represent their grievances constitutionally, and he did not give them any support. At the time of his departure, the Tramway men are shedding tears and he is leaving without having done anything in a matter, which causes indescribable hardship to the people. No one can deny that Lord Pentland's regimé synchronised with a critical period. It is at such a period that the authorities should evince wisdom and love and a capacity to understand and act upon the popular aim. Our Lord Pentland did not possess any of these three qualities. Even when the cry of war was in the air everywhere, he did not give up the exodus to the hills or the habit of decrying the Home Rule movement from the hills. Governors should not leave the Presidency towns during critical periods. But it was when Lord Pentland was on the hills that the *Emden* threw shells on the city and there was looting. In fine, Lord Pentland's Government can be said to be contrary to the British system. It is the bad luck of this Presidency that Lord Pentland, a Britisher and a Liberal as he is, should have conducted the administration against the righteous principles of the British. But we are bound to feel grateful to him, as his actions led to the spread of patriotism in the country.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 28th March, also refers to the hopes raised in the minds of the people by the antecedents of Lord Pentland and the statements made by him soon after his arrival here and observes :—We began to suspect gradually that he would not be a man of broad views and eventually we came to feel that, instead of favouring the aspirations of Indians as expected by us, he would be doing a service if he refrained from actively working against them. Certain incidents showed that he shared the prejudices usually harboured by the official class. The view that the Englishmen have come to India only to protect the interests of the poor people here was most predominant in his regimé. The wrong notion held sway that the officials, coming here from a long distance and having no experience whatever of India and no idea of the attitude of the Indians, have a better knowledge than the Indians themselves of what should be done to secure the welfare of this country. On account of this, the words of the Indian representatives and the arguments advanced by them were not heeded by the Government of Lord Pentland. We are sorry we cannot point to any benefits conferred on us during his administration. It cannot be said that he had no opportunity of doing good to us. If so, he could have expressed his intention at least in words, for which there were numerous occasions. If he had real love for the Indians, he would not have flouted public opinion as he did, and as was patent from the scant attention paid by his Government to the various representations made by the popular representatives in the Legislative Council.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 27th, 28th and 29th March, and the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 28th, 29th and 31st idem, reproduce in Tamil the review of Lord Pentland's administration by the *Hindu*.

DESABHAKTAN and SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 27th, 28th & 29th Mar. 1919, and HINDU NESAN, Madras, 28th, 29th & 31st Mar. 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 31st March, however reproduces the comments of the *Justice* of the 28th idem on the subject which takes a different view of the administration of Lord Pentland and, remarking that, while he has endeared himself to the people of this Presidency by his sympathy for them and the interest evinced by him in all matters concerning their health and welfare, finds fault with Lord Pentland in having been too weak in dealing with the Home Rule movement and having been guided too much by his Brahman councillors.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

The future commercial position.

45. Referring to an observation said to have been made by the Viceroy at a recent session of the Imperial Legislative Council that the enormous wealth and perseverance of the Anglo-Indians have raised India to her present position, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 27th February, remarks that India was wealthy and civilized and had its own trade and industries even before the advent of the European merchants in this country and that according to history the economic condition of England prior to the 19th century was not very advanced, and that the civilization and industries of Europe were not then in a flourishing condition, and adds :—Without considering all these, it is not proper to say that the economic condition of India has improved through the capital and the efforts of the Anglo-Indian merchants. Though the wealth of India was going out immensely ever since the time of Alexander on account of invasions by various nations, her economic condition was not seriously affected, nor were her industries injured. Her political and religious ties were not loosened. Will it be proper then to glorify the present when all these are out of joint? Those who read the Hon'ble Mr. Madan Mohan Malavya's note of dissent to the report of the Industries Commission, will clearly see how, through the Anglo-Indian community, Indian industries and trade have declined, and the industrial and literary eminence of India has become tarnished. However, the Viceroy need not be blamed for his wrong impression as his personal experience about India is only short. While the economic condition of India is thus considered to be deplorable even while there is equality in matters of trade between the Europeans and the Indians, nothing need be said about the industrial and trading facilities the Indians will have in future when Provincial Governors will, on their appointment, be entrusted by the British

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 27th Feb. 1919.

Government and the Parliament with the responsibility of protecting the interests of the Anglo-Indian merchants. Further, facilities are given to these merchants to remind the Governors of their responsibility, when they apprehend that their interests are at stake. The Indians now demand liberty only for the improvement of agriculture, industries and the trade of the country and for the spread of general and industrial education among the people in general. The Anglo-Indian merchants think that if facilities in these directions are afforded to the Indians, their own interests will suffer and are making strong counter agitation in India and England. The bureaucrats too are supporting their cause. How can the Viceroy who lives amidst them learn the truth? So, it is essential that the Indians should try to safeguard their own interests even as the Anglo-Indian merchants do.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 6th Mar. 1919.

Mines in Mysore.

46. Referring to the action of the Mysore Darbar in having refused to renew the mining licences which were hitherto being given to foreign capitalists and reproducing the opinion of the *Statesman* that this action is prejudicial to the interests of the European capitalists who had spent enormous sums of money on improving these mines, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 6th March, observes:—Are the European capitalists who want to enjoy permanently the privilege granted to them for a time for want of convenience, just in their contention? It has become the practice of these capitalists to claim permanent rights where temporary privileges have been allowed. This is our own experience. Whether just or unjust there is no limit to the avarice of these people.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 6th Mar. 1919.

The position of India in the League of Nations.

47. Remarking that it is only those countries which have complete self-government that can send representatives to this League, the *Virtakamitran*, of the 6th March, observes:—According to this provision, some representatives will be allowed for the British Empire on the whole inclusive of the self-governing colonies to attend to the economic and other interests of the Empire. As colonies such as Canada, Australia and South Africa have the right of self-government, there is room for their sharing the responsibility of the Empire, sending their representatives and guarding their own countries. As India has not this right, there is no possibility for her to send her own representatives. But England may be pleased to appoint a representative for her. He may be an Indian too However, he will have to act only in accordance with the views of the other representatives from England and cannot safeguard the interests of India like the representatives of the British colonies. Therefore, if it is thought that India's liberty and advancement should be secured in the League of Nations, it will be highly creditable for Britain to grant self-government to India without any further hesitation. All nations in the world think that the progress of the world lies in the development of trade, and peace which is the indispensable means of securing this development is desired by all. It cannot be definitely stated whether the League of Nations will be useful to check the future mercantile competition and to guard the economic condition of countries large or small, possessing or not possessing the right of self-determination. But it is certain that there will be an increase of products, natural and artificial, and that the world will be full of facilities for living happily. While the countries which have the right of self-determination are working hard in this direction, it is not just that India alone should depend upon England for everything.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 6th Mar. 1919.

The Imperial war debt.

48. Adverting to the suggestion of Mr. Watt, the Minister of Australia, about the appointment of a commission which will take over the debt incurred by England, Australia, Canada, India and other portions of the Empire in connexion with war, which will have representatives on it from each of these countries in proportion to the debt incurred by it or its population and which will have the power of converting the Imperial debt into general stock bonds and determining what proportion of the common debt each country should bear, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 6th March, remarks:—If such a Commission should be appointed and the war debt taken over by it, there is no doubt that the rate of interest on the debt thus undertaken will be very low. It is but just that each country should clear the debt it has

incurred. But the power of dividing the debt among the several countries in proportion to their population or increased facilities, should not be delegated to this commission, as by this big countries will have to undertake the debts of small countries like Australia and suffer thereby.

Lord Willingdon.

49. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th March, reproduces in Tamil an extract from the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* on a reference made by Lord Willingdon in London to the moderates and the extremists, which contains the following observations among others:—Like Sir William Vincent, Lord Willingdon too thinks of treating the moderates as an agreeable wife and the extremists as a disagreeable one. Yes, it is but natural that he should entertain anger and hatred towards the extremists, for it is only the extremists that constantly agitate for the acquisition of liberty for India. If liberty is granted, will not the authority of the bureaucrats come to an end? Though Lord Pentland adopted an undesirable administrative policy, he never openly declared like Lord Willingdon that he hated the extremists. It is a fact known to the world that he who lives with two wives will never have happiness. So how Lord Willingdon is going to spend his time in the Madras Presidency with his two wives remains to be seen

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, in bidding forewell to Lord Pentland in its issue of the 27th March, expresses a hope that as Lord Willingdon has the experience of the appreciation of the people of Bombay on the eve of his departure therefrom, he will, before coming to Madras, settle his views as to how he should conduct himself here.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

Referring, in its (*Desabhaktan*) issue of the 28th March, to a statement said to have been made by Lord Willingdon in a speech delivered by him at a dinner in England on the 17th idem that the Europeans in India should have a spirit of co-operation and confidence, the same paper thanks him for his good advice but asks whether he sought this co-operation at the War Conference held at Bombay last year and whether he spoke with confidence in the popular leaders then.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

Lord Willingdon.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th March, refers to a statement of Lord Willingdon that he is going to conduct the administration by trusting the people and seeking their co-operation and says:—He will have occasion to prove the truth of this statement the moment he lands in India. The popular opinion is against the exodus to the hills. Will he act on the opinion of the people and stop it? When he says that his policy will be to confide in the people, why should he have attacked the nationalists some days back? If he pats only the moderates, who are a minority of the population, will it indicate his confidence in the people?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

The European Association.

50. The *Dravidan*, of the 28th March, reproduces, in Tamil, the leader of *Justice* of the 27th idem, appreciating the views expressed by Mr. Welby at a recent meeting of the European Association regarding the reforms.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

The Foodstuffs Conference.

51. Commenting upon the proceedings of this Conference on the same lines as *New India* of the 26th March, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 29th idem, regrets that the Conference failed to consider about increasing the production of foodstuffs as one of the effective remedies for the present situation, and, thanking the Collectors of certain districts for having allowed cultivation in tank beds and postponed the repairing of irrigation channels so as to allow cultivation for a second time, requests the Government to consult with the Collectors and agriculturists and devise means for increasing the production of articles of food, even though the Conference has not suggested it.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

Ship-building in India.

52. Remarking that the ship *Ganges*, referred to by Lord Jellicoe in his reply to the welcome address presented by the Bombay Municipality, was built by one J. P. Wadia and was compared by the *Bombay Courier* to a fort on account of its strong build and the skill used in its construction, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 29th March, writes:—It is regrettable that the name of Jamsetji Wadia, who was one of the most skilful Indian architects in those days, should have fallen into oblivion. If Indian industries thrive, it will not be possible for people of other countries to

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

take money from India by means of trade. Ship-building is one of the many important industries of India that have perished either for want of encouragement or on account of lack of interest.

DESABHAKTAN, & SWADESAMITRAN. Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

The *Satyagraha* vow.

53. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th March, publish a Tamil rendering of an appeal made to the people by the Secretaries of the *Satyagraha* Committee under the heading 'war' exhorting them to join Mr. Gandhi in observing the *Satyagraha* vow and getting rid of the Rowlatt Law. This appeal is published in the *Hindu* of the 1st April 1919.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th March, reproduces a communication appearing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, in which a High Court Vakil refers to the opposition of the moderates to this vow and observes as follows among other things:—If the British Parliament or the British public curtail the reforms because we are enthusiastic about them, they should be devoid of manly qualities, and the reforms granted to us by such people will be of no use. I do not think the British have become so deteriorated as not to respect those that are honorably struggling for liberty. If it is pointed out the British that *Satyagraha* consists only in suffering hardships and making sacrifices to secure a high ideal, the grant of the reforms will surely become an easy affair. What are after all these reforms going to be? After the announcement of Lord Chelmsford that the position of the Indian Civil Service officials would be safeguarded and that many facilities would be afforded to them even the grant of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms *in toto* will not secure us liberty. When the administration of the country is not to be in our hands, what does it matter how many members there are in the Legislative Council. The important point to be considered will be the type of men that will enter this Council. Let soul force shine in the country first. Then we shall consider about increasing its wealth.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

The system of Government in India.

54. Quoting an order said to have been passed by a Police officer in Hyderabad refusing permission to the local Home Rule league to conduct a procession for the purpose of condemning the Rowlatt Law, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th March, expresses a doubt whether the time has come for the disappearance of the irresponsible system of Government obtaining in India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

Mr. Gandhi's tour to the south.

55. In a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st March, remarks that the people of this Presidency had not a correct idea of *Satyagraha* before Mr. Gandhi came here and, dwelling at length upon his tour to the south, makes the following observations among others:—Two reasons might have led a large number of people to sign the *Satyagraha* pledge in the beginning. One is the personality of Mr. Gandhi and, the other the boundless confidence which the Indians have in him. Do not even the bureaucrats, who do not pay heed to public opinion, listen to his views with respect? Another important reason for it is their feeling of disgust at the passing of the Rowlatt Bills, which are capable of taking away the fundamental rights of men. All those who really wish for liberty cannot but join the *Satyagraha* movement. Though the people did not volunteer to join the movement in such large numbers, after their eyes were opened by Mr. Gandhi to the duties to be discharged by them, those who have ventured to take the vow have done so only after understanding well their duties and the dangers to which they are subject. So we can announce to the world, on behalf of the people of this province, that those who have taken the vow will not flinch from undergoing the hardships that may result therefrom.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

Mr. Jinnah's resignation.

56. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st March, welcomes the news of the resignation, by Mr. Jinnah, of his membership of the Imperial Legislative Council and, quoting a portion of his letter to the Viceroy to the effect that he could not with any sense of self-respect remain in a Legislative Council, which did not care for the attitude of the people, and that a Government, which had, in times of peace, enacted a law in opposition to the exhortations of the popular representatives, could not be called a civilized government, hopes that he would not, like Mr. Sarma, withdraw his resignation.

57. Adverting to the reasons assigned by the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma for his withdrawal of the resignation of the membership of the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st March, characterises them as lame ones and adds :—It is really a matter for pity that these trivial reasons did not suggest themselves to him in the beginning. It is certain that, as long as such persons continue to be members of the Imperial Legislative Council, the country will not progress. Perhaps Mr. Sarma has not read in any English book that one should think twice before one acts. Shame! Shame !!

The Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma's withdrawal of his resignation.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

58. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st March, publishes an article on this subject from the pen of a correspondent, who thinks that no good will result from the report of Mr. Lancaster on the extension of Madras and that it will only sleep in the archives of the Government, like many other useless reports, as the Government are not going to give effect to his recommendations now and the Corporation has no funds to do so, and suggests the desirability of utilizing a number of open spaces, reserved by the Government in the city, for building purposes and of the acquisition by the Government of the extensive compounds, in the possession of Englishmen and Missionaries, for being sold to the ordinary people to build upon.

The extension of Madras.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

59. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th March, writes :—. . . What the new Rowlatt Act has done is that it has done away with the right of appeal. From beginning to end, it is an Act whose object is to do away with the existing state of things. Ordinary Courts, ordinary Magistrates, Judges and High Court Judges will not do. No need of witnesses and pleaders. My good friend, leave alone witnesses and pleaders ; even the accused does not fare better for nothing will take place in his presence. . . There is no appeal. The record in these cases is not public. Everything is secret. There is no system of granting public copies on application. I have given you the sum and substance of what is otherwise a big volume. It is all a reign of the Police. Those who investigate into the crime are the Police ; those who bring the charge are the Police ; those who give evidence are the Police ; those who establish the guilt are the Police ; those who recommend punishment are the Police ; and those who pay occasional visits to the convict after his release,—if he is so fortunate as to get release at any time—are the Police. If he once falls into their hands, that very day may be taken to be the last day of his life. He cannot drive out of his mind the scare of red-turbans till he dies. You can have an idea of the drastic nature of these Bills from the fact that even such an unfailing supporter of the Government as Mr. Shafi has opposed this Act. . . Then, what is to be done ? Our personal liberty has been already made nominal. We should not bear arms, attend meetings, produce books, write to newspapers, and go to foreign countries. We are already over head and ears under these restrictions. We have already the Arms Act, the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, and many other similar Acts. The central jewel for this necklace has been now secured. . .

Vikata Bharati.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

60. In its leader under this heading the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th March, refers to the Labour problem in England, and observes that from the speech of Mr. Bonar Law it threatens to assume a serious turn, and that the authorities there are trying to save the situation by conciliatory methods and not by repression. The article contrasts this attitude of the British Government with that of the Government of India, and cites the apathy of the Madras Government with regard to the present tramway workmen's strike as an instance in point. Finally, it commends the introduction of self-government as the only means of establishing good relations between the rulers and the ruled in this country.

The labour problem in England.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

61. Referring to the Select Committee's report for the amendment of the Village Courts Act, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th March, observes that it is not satisfactory for the most part. It objects to the coexistence of the jurisdiction of the village munsif's court and that of the panchayat court ; and also to the provision dispensing with the full recording of evidence in cases brought before

The Madras Village Courts Acts.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

village courts, as such a procedure may tend to the miscarriage of justice. For the efficiency of village courts, it suggests the passing of a rule requiring that District Munsifs' Courts should not take cognizance of cases which it is competent for village courts to try. . . It remarks that it would be well, if provisions relating to the compromise, withdrawal and dismissal of criminal cases are incorporated in this Act, and requests the Government to alter the recommendations of the Select Committee in accordance with the public opinion.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

Educated men and health.

62. Referring to the remark of the Hon'ble Mr. Ironside in the Imperial Legislative Council that educated Indians, neglecting as they do the problem of health, cannot complain of any inadequate provision in the Budget for the improvement of public health, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th March, writes under this heading:— . . . Sir N. Chandravarkar has given a good reply to this charge in this week's Indian Social Reformer. . . The condition of public health in England was very unsatisfactory before the introduction of self-government, as the helplessness of the British people when there was cholera among them in 1850 would show. . . It appears that a member of the Reforms Committee has told Sir Chandravarkar that the opinion now prevailing in England is that the people will not be inclined to carry out minor reforms, unless they have the assurance of receiving the higher ones.

Sir Chandravarkar asks: what justice is it to introduce a different principle in India?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

Places of pilgrimage.

63. Referring to the Government communiqué on the arrangements to be made for the convenience of pilgrims at well-known places of pilgrimage, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th March, regrets that no mention has been made in it of the sacred places in the Andhra country and requests the Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, a member of the Select Committee, to see to this matter.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

The speech of Lord Willingdon.

64. Referring to the speech of Lord Willingdon at a farewell entertainment given to him by the Indian Social Club in London, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th March, while appreciating the sentiments expressed by him on the occasion, disapproves of the manner in which he condemned at a previous meeting the extremists who really hold views similar to those of his Lordship with the difference that they insist on a more rapid pace of progress, and requests him to help on the success of the Reforms Scheme by giving up such prejudices and by governing the people according to their wishes.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

The close.

65. Reviewing in its leader under this heading the administration of Lord Pentland, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 29th March, observes:— . . . Personally, Lord Pentland is an amiable gentleman. . . But the people are apt to judge officials by the results of their administration rather than by their personal virtues. . . When the announcement of Lord Pentland as the Governor-designate of Madras was made of Lord Pentland, the disciple of the late Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman who declared that good government could never be a substitute for self-government, very high hopes were entertained of him by the Madras public, only to give place to suspicion and anxiety with the advent of repressive measures against prominent men hardly a few months after he assumed the charge of his office. By and by, he became so unpopular that the news of the extension of his office was received with keen disappointment by the public. . . Strictly speaking, the fault lies in the very system of our present administrative machinery and not in the individuals at its helm. It is wrong, therefore, to hold Lord Pentland personally responsible for all the defects of his administration. These defects cannot be set right, until and unless the system of administration is changed. . . Although there might not be much in the form of administrative changes which they could do, provincial Governors like Lord Carmichael and Lord Willingdon managed to win the applause of the public by their pleasing and sympathetic words and by their tact in using repressive measures. Lord Pentland lacks this tactful tongue. He is straight forward and outspoken as his concluding speech in the Ootacamund session of the Legislative Council on the

Empire day would show. He said he would resort to repression and did resort to it. He made a correct forecast of the future ; the reforms have certainly fallen far short of the expectations of the people, and we have now got the Rowlatt Acts which threaten to destroy personal freedom. Instead of holding out false hopes, it is better in the interests of both the rulers and the ruled to speak the plain truth. We are at a loss to understand wherein the difference lies between the orders of Lord Pentland and the Rowlatt Bills of Lord Chelmsford who is famous as a man of liberal principles. The policy of 'divide and rule' has been continuing for a long time past in one form or other. In the time of Lord Pentland, we had it in the form of the anti-Brahman movement the effects of which are being felt by us even to-day. With others like Sir William Vincent and Lord Willingdon, it takes the form of 'rallying the moderates.'. Incidents such as, the internment of Mrs. Besant, the Madura disturbance, the fanning of Brahman-non-Brahman differences, the Civil Service memorandum, the casting vote deciding a critical case and the forfeiture of the *Desabhaktan* security not to speak of the Madras City Municipal Bill and the celebration of the Park Fair festivals against the wishes of the public, have all tended to make the administration of Lord Pentland unpopular. His outspoken speeches have only added fuel to the fire. . . Had he used a little tact, there would have been praise instead of blame for him in several instances . . As for the fate of resolutions and amendments moved by the non-official members, though we admit the correctness of the estimate made by the *Hindu*, we are bound to say that failure in such cases is in no way peculiar to the Madras Council, but common to all Legislative Councils including the Viceroy's as the recent history of the Rowlatt Bills would show, and that there can be no improvement in the present state of affairs, until the Government is made responsible to the people. . . Those who frankly disclose the views of the bureaucracy will do much good to the country in a way, by rousing up the higher aspirations which may be lying dormant in the people and by awakening their national life. Lord Curzon helped in the spread of this national spirit all over the country. The popularity of the Home Rule movement and the announcement of 20th August 1917, may be ascribed with certainty to the administration of Lord Pentland in a large measure. To him who is going away, leaving behind him such good results, not only the citizens of the Madras Presidency but the whole of India should be grateful.

66. In its leader under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 23rd March, writes with reference to the Satyagraha movement of Mr. Gandhi :— . . . Since words such as Satyagraha, passive resistance, etc., are not to be met with in the Hindu scriptures, we should like to use the more familiar expression "Brahma Bala" (soul-power). . . Even ten resolute men will be sufficient for this great sacrifice. The powers of one lakh of soul-units are concentrated in Mahatma Gandhi. He alone will be quite enough. . . The intensity of soul-force in a boy like Prahlada could produce the unknowable *Narasimha*. Spiritual power has not known failure at any time in any place. . . Similarly, spiritual power is the only weapon which should be used to curb the strength of arbitrary power when it does not yield to argument and when all other attempts have failed. But its employment on every trivial occasion would be ridiculous and deprives it of its efficacy. . . On the 18th instant, one paper was published against and almost in condemnation of this movement of spiritual power. . . Why should these people indulge in such uncalled for expression of views? The day of their leadership ceased then and there. . .

The movement of soul-power.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 23rd Mar. 1919.

67. In the course of a letter under this heading a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th March, observes :—. . . I shall be thankful to any one of the Honourable Members, who can give an instance where the popular side has ever before triumphed in the Legislative Councils in political matters of a keenly controversial nature. Having entangled themselves in Councils which cannot grant the wishes of the people, our members will ask some questions and carry on some discussion. The result of all this is that we are having dangerous laws passed by our own countrymen with their own hands. This is like pricking our eye with our own

The resignation of Mr. Sarma.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

fingers. If Mr. Sarma had saved his own self-respect and the honour of the Andhras by sticking to his resignation, it would have been more praiseworthy.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

Exodus to the Nilgiri bills.

68. Referring to a correspondent's letter in the *Madras Mail* regarding the present system of selection of clerks for duty in Ootacamund in the summer, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 26th March, observes that the allegations in the letter about the partiality of Registrars in the matter of selection should be inquired into by the Under Secretaries and the Secretaries concerned, and that if they are found to be true, the undesirable system which is a source of so much discontent should be mended.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

Condemnation of the Nationalists.

69. Referring to the article on "the Indian Political condition" published in the *Round Table* (*Quarterly*) received in this month, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st March, observes in its leader under this heading, that the supporters of the Montagu scheme, especially the *Round Table* party are not hesitating to misrepresent the opinions of the people of this country to the British public like the Sydenham party, that Mr. Tilak has tried to undo these misrepresentations to some extent, and that the matters would be fully set right after the arrival of the Congress deputation in England, for which passports have already been procured by Mr. Kelkar. The paper exhorts the people to work resolutely for the grant of reforms meanwhile.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

Mr. Jinnah's heroic action.

70. Referring to the letter of Mr. Jinnah to His Excellency the Viceroy, resigning his seat in the Imperial Legislative Council the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st March, remarks:— . . . Under such circumstances, it ill-becomes any self-respecting representative of the people to remain on the Council.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 26th Mar. 1919.

Changes in the Arms Act.

71. Referring to the Government communiqué on the Arms Act, the *Desabhimani*, of the 26th March, observes in its leader under this heading:— . . . This intolerable racial distinction which has been an insult to the self-respect of the people of India and called forth their indignation, has been now removed. . . Since the business of making rules to regulate the grant of licences has been left to Provincial Governments, it is feared that an arbitrary Government like the Madras Government may pass such rules as will undo the little advantage contemplated by the present changes. We, therefore, request Provincial Governments to bear in mind the circumstances that have led to the present amendment and the discontent prevailing among the people in the past with regard to the Act, while framing the rules. Some of the regulations lead us to suspect that the proposed changes cannot be of much use. The responsibility of deciding the good character of applicants has been entrusted to District Collectors. It is doubtful whether they can discharge this duty properly and with a just mind. If they cannot, the old state will not change in the least, and the discontent of the people also will remain the same.

Before closing this subject, we have to express our disapproval of a statement in the communiqué to the effect that an unrestricted issue of licences to bear rifles will increase crimes and create unrest in the country, leading to an additional establishment of armed police men. . . To say that in India there would be a disorder which is unheard of in countries where arms are granted without any restrictions will only show distrust in Indians. This is altogether unfair.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 29th Mar. 1919.

Miscellaneous news.

72. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 29th March, writes:—. . . The arbitrary Government yielding to the demon of prestige and defying the public opinion have passed a law to punish Indians. All Indians are carrying on agitation and are ready to take the Satyagraha pledge. . . The atmosphere is resounding with Satyagraha. Readers! Agitate and follow Satyagraha. Offer your lives to uphold the honour of your mother-land. Proclaim to the world that you are the sons of India. May victory be yours! Vande Mataram.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

Farewell to Lord and Lady Pentland.

73. Referring to the departure of Lord Pentland, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 29th March, observes that many of His Excellency's acts endear him to the citizens of this Presidency, and that the many farewell entertainments given

in his honour bear testimony to his popularity, and wishes him and Lady Pentland a hearty good-bye.

74. Referring to the meeting held on the beach on the 29th ultimo to protest against the exodus of the Madras Government to the Hills, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 31st March, observes that this protest has been made in vain for many years past, and that if the present one is to be successful, the only effective way lies in the Honourable Members observing passive resistance by not attending the Council meetings at Ootacamund.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

The journey to the hills.

75. Referring under this heading to the letter of an Anantapur correspondent published in the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 24th March, complaining that no notice has been taken by the Brahman District Collector of Anantapur on his petitions asking for protection against his son, another correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 31st March, writes from Anantapur:—. . . He must immediately represent his difficulties to the local officers and not to Collectors and Police Superintendents. . . Though the present Collector is a Brahman, he does not favour Brahmans. He is impartial, and loves them both equally well

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

Complaint against a son.

76. In the course of a letter under this heading, two correspondents to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th March, observe that the Government are realizing 18 per cent profit on the capital invested on Delta Irrigation projects at the already increased water-rate of Rs. 5 per acre, and that in the event of their raising this rate to Rs. 6-4-0 as they propose to do, it is only Satyagraha under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi that would save the ryots. Thus, they appeal to all ryots to come forward and do their duty now by taking the Satyagraha pledge offered by Mr. Gandhi.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 28th Mar. 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement of Mahatma Gandhi.

77. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 29th March, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the Seventh Kistna District Ryots' Conference held at Tadepalligudem on 26th March 1919, and the resolutions passed thereat.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

The Seventh Kistna District Ryots' Conference.

78. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st March, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the meetings held on 29th March 1919 and 30th March 1919 to protest against the Government going to the Hills and to support the Satyagraha movement, respectively, summaries of the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed thereat.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

Beach meetings.

79. Referring to the statement of Mr. Bridgeman in the House of Commons, regarding withdrawal of licences for the import of cotton cloth in view of the increasing Japanese competition with Lancashire, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd April, writes under this heading:—. . . Many foreigners, not to speak of the Japanese alone, have freely exported their goods to India and killed her industries thereby. The people have been long asking for the imposition of duties on foreign articles, but in vain. But the British authorities are very keen about the protection of their trade when there is only a little pressure felt from Japanese competition. This instance will do to show the difference between the two countries. Speaking in the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, Diwan Bahadur P. Tyagaraya Chetti said that India should have complete commercial independence consistently with the interests of the Empire, and that we could not improve our industries without having in our hands the power to regulate duties. . . There is no doubt that Mr. Chetti's view commands the respect of all people. But he will do well to understand that the attainment of self-government is absolutely necessary for complete commercial independence.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

Japanese trade competition.

80. Continuing his review of Sir John Woodroffe's book 'Is India civilized' a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 29th March, observes:—. . . Sir John Woodroffe says that in the good old days when dishonesty was not so rampant as now, Christianity also was preached with good motives and that later on it was used as an instrument for conquering foreign countries and handling the conquered people as puppets. . .

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam 29th Mar. 1919.

Is India civilised?

The result of this influence of the manners, customs and habits of the conquering race over the conquered people is the annihilation of the national culture of the latter. To prevent such a calamity, Sir John Woodroffe emphasises that it is the duty of the people of India to work for ther ivival of their national culture. On the other hand, Mr. Archer advises us to be more ambitious. If we act up to his advice, the Hindu spiritual culture is bound to be destroyed to the triumph of 'gilded savagery'; and commodities like the English motor-cars and Scotch whisky will command an unlimited sale, and fill the pockets of preachers of civilization like Mr. Archer. . .

RAVI, Cocanada, 27th Mar. 1919.

The temporary District Munsif's Court at Cocanada.

81. With reference to the establishment of a temporary District Munsif's Court at Cocanada. a correspondent to the *Ravi*, of the 27th March, requests the High Court to grant permanently one Temporary Munsif's Court to every district, which would be touring in the district, stopping at such centres where there may be heavy work. He observes that his proposal will do away with the inconvenience caused to parties by having to attend courts far away from their places.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 28th Mar 1919.

The remission of land tax in South Kanara.

82. Referring to the memorial submitted by the landholders of South Kanara regarding the failure of crops in their district and praying for the remission of the land tax, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 28th March, writes:—Despite the repeated assurances given by the authorities that due remission will be granted, and the hopes raised among the people thereby, Government have at last granted remission only to 63 out of the 799 villages in the district. We cannot understand on what data or in what proportion this has been decided. Further, the arrears of this year have to be paid along with the tax for the next year. Mr. K. Sadashiva Rao who is a *Satyagrahi* in an article which he has sent to us, has very ably pointed out the efforts of the District Association in connexion with the remission, and the difficulties that beset constitutional agitation and the impossibility of coming out triumphant at the end, and proved how the supreme weapon of Mahatma Gandhi is the only resource left to the people. Our opinion is that if this type of bureaucracy should continue in future, not only this but every channel of political agitation in India will finally turn towards *Satyagraha*.

KERALEEYABHIMANI, Mavilikkara, 12th Mar. 1919.

Passive resistance in British India.

83. In the course of a leader under the heading "Passive Resistance in British India", the *Keraleeyabhimani*, of the 12th March, points out that indescribable agitation in connexion with passive resistance against the sedition law is now going on in British India and that Mr. Gandhi's followers throughout the country are increasing in number day by day, and observes that if no satisfactory settlement of the question is made, Mr. Gandhi is certain to have an immense following of more than twenty million people. It is of opinion that true passive resistance is certainly an effective instrument for the achievement of great objects, that passive resistance is neither disloyalty nor sedition, and that passive resisters of Mr. Gandhi's type are absolutely necessary for the salvation of all countries and communities, and says that it has only to point out that it is the duty of the rulers to see that the prestige and purity of a country are not destroyed by making passive resistance necessary.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 19th Mar. 1919.

Food shortage.

84. The *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 19th March, invites the attention of the authorities concerned and the Police to the possibility of food riots taking place in the interior parts of the Malabar district.

MARGADARSI, Calicut, 12th Mar. 1919.

In an article dealing with food shortage and distress in Malabar, the *Margadarsi*, of the 21st March, suggests that municipal councils and local boards should buy and stock rice in sufficient quantities, and with the help of local committees distribute it to people according to their needs, special provision being made for the poor, and that relief works should be provided for those who are in distress for want of work.

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 17th Mar. 1919.

The prices problem.

85. The *Lokaprakasam*, of the 17th March, has a leading article in English and Malayalam on the 'Prices problem'. Referring to some speeches on the subject made in the

last Legislative Council the article says:—"Unlike well-established Indian rice merchants, Messrs. Best & Co. of Madras seem to have taken kindly to the system of licensed control by the Director of Civil Supplies and as a consequence they have been enjoying all privileges bordering on virtual monopoly to the detriment of Indian merchants. Instead of a profit of As. 8 per bag on imported rice and the controlled rate of Rs. 11-11-6, this European company is reported to have been retailing a bag for nearly Rs. 12-7-6! Rice superior to that retailed by them at 4 measures, is now being sold by others at more than 4 measures, and these latter Indian merchants are quite willing to continue to do the same if they are given licences."

Referring to the conference convened by the Government, the article says that a few leading merchants only are reported to have been invited. "If the large body of merchants, who have an intimate knowledge of the problem should be kept out, exploiters assisted by the Director of Civil Supplies can carry the day, and the consumer, instead of being victualled, will be victimised more than ever. It would be a ridiculous folly if the Government contemplate licensing the retailers, as we find from the experience of the hopeless muddle created in the kerosene oil trade. Wide publicity of the recommendations of the conference, before they are accepted by the Government, will be of great help to the generality of the public for correcting any flagrant blunders. With regard to kerosene oil, matters are a little different. Unless the Oil Companies had strong Government assistance to control prices, the solitary course left open to them would be to sell it at the port of importation to the highest bidder which will lead to the worst state of affairs imaginable."

The food problem.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 28th Mar. 1919.

The *Manorama*, of the 28th March, is surprised that the authorities that fixed the price of rice at Rs. 13-8-0 per bag, are themselves selling rice now in their depots at Rs. 16 and Rs. 16-4-0 per bag, for the benefit of the poor, and that this state of affairs has arisen after, and in spite of, the holding of the Special Conference at the Government House, Madras. The article invites the attention of the Government of India to the necessity of effectively prohibiting, as far as possible, all exportation of food grains out of India.

Looting in Calicut.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 26th Mar. 1919.

86. Anent the terrible looting that recently took place at Calicut, the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 26th March, recommends that the merchants who persisted in selling rice at rates far above those prescribed by the authorities should be traced out, charged, tried and severely punished, as these merchants were really responsible for the looting.

False weights and measures.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 26th Mar. 1919.

87. A correspondent writing in the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 26th March, urges the need for constant vigilance of the authorities and police to prevent the use of false measures by retail-dealers, which intensifies the distress consequent on high prices.

Standardisation of weights and measures.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 21st Mar. 1919.

88. A correspondent writing in the *Manorama*, of the 21st March, refers to the confusion and trouble arising from the use of different weights and measures in different provinces of India and in different parts of the same province and urges the advisability of standardisation.

Agriculture and co-operation.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 28th Mar. 1919.

89. In an article under the heading 'Agriculture and co-operation', a correspondent in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 28th March, refers to the poverty of the ryots as one of the chief obstacles to agricultural progress in the land. The prime object of co-operation and the first object of Co-operative Societies should be to relieve the ryots from poverty and debt. The correspondent invites the attention of the Government of India and the authorities of the Co-operative Credit Societies to the remark of the *Capital* that 'State banks' should be started by the Government to help these Co-operative Societies, and if the banks are in want of money the Government should help them by temporarily transferring to them the reserve funds in Government treasuries. If the condition of the ryots improves agriculture, and with it the prosperity of the whole land, will improve. In India especially where 66 per cent of the population are agriculturists the adoption of

this recommendation is very necessary particularly in view of the present pitiable condition of the country.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 28th Mar. 1919.

Egypt and India.

90. A note in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 28th March, draws a comparison between Egypt and India. The people of Egypt are like the people of India passing their days under British administration without the enjoyment of freedom and in discontent. Egypt has an ancient history of civilisation like that of India. . . There is a Home Rule party in Egypt which is not satisfied with the policy followed by Great Britain in dethroning the Khedive and setting up a new Sultan. This Home Rule party in Egypt like the Home Rule party in India has earned the displeasure of the authorities. The Government seem to have decided on deporting some of the leaders of the movement. "The League of Nations and the Peace Conference on one side, harassing laws for the imposition of deportation, etc., on the other—this is the present state of affairs."

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

An Islamic deputation.

91. The *Quami Report*, of the 24th March, writes:—We understand that a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen on behalf of the Muslim League will proceed to England, viz.:—

(1) Hazrat Moulana Abdul Bari Farangi Mahalli,
(2) Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari of Delhi,
(3) The Hon'ble Mr. Yakoob Hasan Sahib of Madras,
(4) Moulvi Hasrat Mohani,
(5) Mr. Ghulam Ahmed Bhuqari, Barrister,
(6) Mr. Muhammad Ali,
(7) Mr. S. Quraishi,
(8) Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi.

The editor observes: We hope that when this deputation reaches England, it will make matters clear to His Majesty that His loyal Muhammadan subjects in India are exceedingly perturbed and are anxiously anticipating His Majesty's sympathy and support in maintaining the dignity and independence of their religious Khalifate and the inviolability of these Holy Places.

The object of the Muhammadans has not been secured by the explanation offered by the Secretary of State for India, in reply to the Muslim League. Their aim is that His Majesty's Parliament in its foreign policy should pay due regard to Islamic matters and not accept any responsibility calculated to affect them (adversely).

The Secretary of State for India has already made a definite promise that the Government positively will decline to interfere with the question of the Khalifate and will stand by what it has said regarding the question of the protection of the Holy Places as well. But the Muhammadans are perfectly right in doubting that Mr. Balfour, and Lord Robert Cecil will not be able to arrange details of this matter, from a Muhammadan religious point of view, and that the assistance, that will be rendered by Lord Sinha or Mr. Basu and Sahibzadu Aftab Ahmad Khan, will not be at all sufficient.

The writer suggests that if a committee consisting of the Right Hon'ble Saiyid Amir Ali and Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim be formed and the latter be consulted by Mr. Balfour, Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Montagu and an international scheme be drawn up in consultation with them for the preservation of the dignity and independence of the Holy Places, Parliament will be saved much trouble hereafter.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 23rd Mar. 1919.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 23rd March, publishes *in extenso* an account written by the editor himself of the proceedings of the great meeting of the Mussalmans of Bombay convened on the 19th idem to consider the question of the Islamic Khalifate, and that of the Holy Places.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 26th March, publishes Moulvi Abdul Bari Sahib's letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, on the question of the Khalifate, and other Islamic questions.

92. The *Mushiri-i-Dakhan*, of the 26th March, referring to the announcement of the reduction in passage rates by sea and to the silence with reference to enhanced railway fares, remarks :—The same inconvenience experienced by home-going passengers owing to increased fares has been and is still being felt by passengers on Indian railways. The worldly principle that preference should be given to the rich in the removal of their difficulties while no attention is paid to the sufferings and anxieties of the poor and middle classes, is simply astounding. People going home are nearly all persons of high position who are able to put up with even excessively high fares, but Indian railway passengers are so poor that the slightest rise in rates is beyond their means, and, therefore, they are more deserving of consideration than the well-to-do above referred to.

MUSHIRI-I-DAKHAN, Hyderabad, 26th Mar. 1919.

Reduction in passage rates by home-going steamers, while in India enhanced railway fares are as high as ever.

93. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 27th March, publishes the last portion of Moulana Abdul Bari Sahib's letter to His Excellency the Viceroy.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

Moulvi Abdul Bari Sahib's letter to His Excellency the Viceroy.

III.—LEGISLATION.

94. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th March, publishes in Tamil a summary of the proceedings of a public meeting held at Tuticorin on the 11th idem for protesting against the Rowlatt Law and advocating passive resistance, while the *Desabhaktan*, of the same date, publishes a gist of the proceedings of a similar meeting held at Salem on the 17th idem.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th Mar. 1919.

Rowlatt Law and passive resistance.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 20th March, publishes the proceedings of a meeting held at Tanjore on the 18th idem in which Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal delivered a lecture advocating resort to passive resistance with regard to the Rowlatt Law, while the *Swadesamitran* and *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th March, publish the proceedings of a public meeting on the Madras Beach on the 23rd idem in which he again delivered a lecture on this subject.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 20th March, contain an account to the effect that, as a protest against the Rowlatt Law in Bombay, the share markets were closed, notices were posted in different parts of the city urging the people to withhold payment of taxes, and to resist the orders of the 'tyrannical' Government.

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th March, publishes in Tamil a letter written by Mr. Joseph of Madura protesting against this legislation and strongly advocating resort to passive resistance.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th Mar. 1919.

95. A correspondent to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th March, appeals to the people in general and to those in Kumbakōnam in particular to oppose the Rowlatt Law, in the following terms:—Look at the Government. They have imposed a cruel law upon you. We should not keep quiet even for a moment. Do not be afraid of anything. If we go to prison now, we will attain salvation. The British law aims at killing us. We should root it out.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

Remarking that the statement of Mr. Fisher in Parliament, that only too members of the Imperial Legislative Council supported a resolution moved therein in September last that the Government of India should postpone their taking into consideration the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, gives room for the presumption that matters have been so arranged as to prevent the British public, until the law is passed completely, from understanding the fact that the Indians have taken to *Satyagraha* as the only means of opposing this law, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th March, says:—Strange indeed is the conduct of the Government of India in having obtained the consent of the Secretary of State, by giving one-sided reasons, for introducing this law and then rushed it through, without giving any time, being aware all the time that only one-sided information about the law has been reaching England; and stranger still is the attitude of our moderates in the Council which gave room for this conduct of the Government from the beginning. These

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

moderates get excited when they are told that their action in September last has brought about this evil. Cannot they direct at least a portion of this feeling against the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, who are patting them on their back, and boldly agitate against the law in the same spirit in which they opposed it in the Council, even though they may not join the *Satyagraha* camp? Who will not condemn their action in merely sending some telegrams which will never reach London and obstructing Mr. Gandhi and the new agitation, ignoring the way in which the privileges of the people are being curtailed?

The same paper reverts to this subject in its issue of the 31st March, and observes:—Both the moderates and the nationalists agree in their view of the Rowlatt Law and in wishing to get rid of it by constitutional means. But they differ in the nature of this means. The moderates think that it is only holding meetings and cabling resolutions that constitute such means, while the nationalists view that only resorting to the *Satyagraha* vow and teaching a lesson to the Government by suffering is the proper means. The *Satyagraha* movement was adopted till now in other countries and it was easy for us to applaud it, without taking part in it ourselves. But we should now practise it, if we are to appreciate it and the moderates are against it. But is there room to expect that their cry will be heard by any one? When, as already stated, information does not seem to have reached England about the opposition of the Indian members to this law from the very beginning and of the meetings held and resolutions passed therein, how can we believe that a repetition of this process will prove more useful? That is why the nationalists have taken to *Satyagraha*, as they feel sure that they can accomplish their object thereby, as is proved by the history of the world. It therefore behoves every Indian to keep the fast prescribed by Mr. Gandhi and help to remove the fetters of the Rowlatt Law.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 6th Mar. 1919.

The two Bills.

96. Adverting to the Rowlatt Bill and the Excess Profits Duty Bill, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 6th March, observes:—What is the reason for these two Bills being introduced together at present? The Rowlatt Bill is intended for preventing the growth of anarchism in the country and the other Bill for preventing excessive profits being made. These two Bills have repression as their object. It is but necessary that anarchism should be put down. But when repressive measures are adopted, it is proper that the causes leading to anarchism should be investigated. It is only the economic weakness of the country that has, during the last twenty years, given rise to anarchism. If anarchism has to be put down, the poverty of the people should be relieved, and for this the industries and the trade of the country should develop. But where is the capital for starting trade when there is no means for pacifying hunger itself? If the economic condition of the country should improve, income from foreign trade should increase. And to check this there is the Excess Profits Duty Bill. If we consider the economic progress of such countries as England, Germany, America and Japan which have advanced considerably, it is found that the development of trade has been the cause thereof. But in India there are many obstacles to this development. Though the constitution and aim of the Government are just, the agents who conduct it being at variance, the aim of the Government and the efforts of the people do not turn out fruitful. British Government exists in India for the development of British trade. This Government was first established here only by the British merchants. Though the British Government assumed the administration of India to put down the cruelty of certain chartered companies and establish peace in the country, the standpoint of trade still prevails as the Government was first established with that object. The Viceroy has clearly described the help which the officials have till now rendered to the British merchants and the privileges which will be hereafter granted to them. He has consoled them saying that what has hitherto been considered a help will, under paragraph 344 of the Reform Scheme, become a privilege. In the interests of British industries and trade, cotton duty and super-tax have been levied, and Acts such as the Factories Act and the Indian Company's Restriction Act have been enacted in India as safeguards. Though several reasons have, from time to time, been assigned for the provision of these safeguards, the anxiety of the English industrialists is the main cause. When the

Excess Profits Duty Bill was introduced last year, Sir William Meyer, the then Finance Member, said that, as it was understood that enemies had come in the vicinity of India, an unforeseen responsibility had cropped up, that the merchants who had earned unexpected profits on account of the war should make good the 450 lakhs of pounds required for meeting this emergency and that this would not be levied if the war should end suddenly. Sir William Meyer himself has, in pointing out the necessity for this law now when the war is ended, said that funds are needed for disbanding the armies and for giving pensions to those injured in the war and their families. He has stated that it will be in force only for one year, and that the operation of the Act during the next year will be considered later. But those who come to India never return. This is our personal experience for the last some centuries If in these days when there is a craving for industries and a demand for trade, the Government should, besides desisting from rendering help, attempt to take away even the little that exists, they will be paving the way not only for the decline of trade but also for the ruin of the indigenous industries. If anarchism is to be put down, instead of enacting repressive measures, the economic condition of the country should be improved by industrial institutions being helped with funds and trade facilities afforded to the people.

The Rowlatt Bills and after.

97. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd April, refers to the letter of Mr. C. F. Andrews on the Rowlatt Bills and observes:— . . . The above lines have been written by an Englishman who has regard for English traditions. The Rowlatt Bills have caused disgust to every right-minded person. . . The world knows well that Mr. Gandhi would not use his *Satyagraha* on ordinary occasions. Extraordinary measures of opposition will have to be adopted under extraordinary circumstances. There cannot happen to a country a greater calamity than a menace to the birth-rights of its people. . . The reason why the people of India love and respect the British Government, though they have not been accorded the rights of self-government, is the fairness of British justice. Though the Defence of India Act has jeopardised this position, the people have put up with it in the belief that it was a war-measure. But the inflictment on the people of an Act which violates the fundamental principles of law at the present time when anarchy has disappeared and peace prevails has deeply stirred the country from one end to the other. The agitation against the partition of Bengal is nothing when compared with the unrest caused by this legislation. . . The Rowlatt Bills blow up all the hopes which the Reform Scheme has raised. . . The recent outburst of official highhandedness at Delhi, which looks like a foretaste of the effects of the Rowlatt Bills, has only strengthened the determination of the people all the more. Some citizens had gone to the Railway station to exhort the vendors there to close their stalls in accordance with the programme for the observance of *Satyagraha*, and we gather from the version of Doctor Abdul Rahiman, that the stationmaster and soldiers beat them and arrested them, that it had led to the gathering of a crowd demanding their release, and that the efforts of the crowd having been made futile by the display of machine-guns, fire was opened upon it immediately. Doctor Abdur Rahiman says that there was absolutely no occasion for the opening of fire which was done without the orders of the Magistrate. . . About sixty people are reported to have been wounded. . . After the Madura disturbance, it has been once more practically demonstrated at Delhi how cheaply the lives of Indians are held. However trivial the cause for anger may be, it is leading to the unfortunate opening fire on the people. It is thus becoming more and more obvious day by day that the sooner the control over the law, justice and police passes into the hands of the people, the better will it be for the country. . . The *Indian Social Reformer* which does not approve of *Satyagraha* writes thus on the observance of the fast recommended by Mr. Gandhi. . . If every one realises the secret of Mr. Gandhi's observance, there will be no room for the ascendency of arbitrary power nor for the yielding of unwilling obedience.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

98. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 28th March, writes:—His Excellency the Viceroy in his final address at the recent session of the Imperial Council made some observations in respect of the Rowlatt Bills which show that His

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 28th Mar. 1919.

Excellency has a generous heart, and that he does not approve of these measures at heart. His Excellency's speech makes it evident that his pure heart shrinks from these unjust measures. But he had nevertheless to support them since the bureaucracy was bent on passing them.

KANTHEERVA, Mangalore, 1st Apl. 1919.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill and *Satyagraha*

99. The *Kantheerva*, of the 1st April, writes:—According to the Rowlatt Bill even such patriotic words as "our country was a very fertile country in the past and was the very home of many a science" might be construed as sedition and such a seditionist might have to remain in prison without trial to the end of his days. This might spread all over the country like venom and put down the manliness and enterprise of the Indians and make them so lifeless as to wipe out the very name of the Indian nation. It might give rise to indescribable calamities and every person that is born in India which was considered a holy land till now might be deemed ill-fated. Mahatma Gandhi, after considering these calamitous consequences, has taken the lead in marring the influence of the Rowlatt Bill by means of *Satyagraha*. The paper next gives details of the observance of the *Satyagraha* day proposed by Gandhi.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 25th Mar. 1919.

The Sedition Bills.

100. The *Manorama*, of the 25th March, in the course of its leading article on the Rowlatt Bills and Passive Resistance, expresses great regret that the efforts of Indian leaders in the Imperial Legislative Council to break the chain of the sedition law and to preserve freedom, failed after all and the final issue was unfavourable to Indians. Though Indians stood united against the introduction of this law, the Government were not moved to desist from pressing for the passing of the Bills. The mind of India is agitated about what to do next. Referring to the Passive Resistance movement, started by Mr. Gandhi, the article observes that the late Mr. Gokhale, if alive, would have been the first to support Mr. Gandhi. As it is, Mr. Gandhi is now without the support of many Indian leaders. He is however not discouraged in the least. May all thsre endeavours result in the law being thrown out by the British Parliament.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 26th Mar. 1919.

"Very wrong in many ways," says a note in the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 26th March, was the policy adopted by the Government of India and the Government Members of the Imperial Legislative Council in passing the Rowlatt Bills in the teeth of united opposition from the non-official members and the people of India generally.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

The Press Act.

101. Referring to a list of the Muslim papers which were subjected to the operation of this Act, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th March, writes:—The Press Act is gagging all Indians alike without any partiality. If the people are subjected to such unnecessary restrictions, is it not natural for them to begin to hate the authorities besides getting discontented with and enraged at them. The Mussalmans have all along been very obedient since the advent of the British administration in India. There were even occasions when these Mussalmans considered that Home Rule was not necessary for this country. What made such a docile people get enraged and discontented at present? It is nothing but the iniquitous acts of the bureaucracy.

MALABAR ISLAM, Cochin, 29th Mar. 1919.

The Press Act.

Referring to a list recently published by newspapers which were dealt with under the Press Act of 1910, the *Malabar Islam*, of the 29th March, points out that it is the Moslem papers that have suffered most under the Act, and observes that from the interesting leader appearing in the *Independent* published at Lahore it may clearly be inferred that the Act is prejudicial to the prosperity and prestige of a civilised country.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

The Arms Act.

102. Adverting to the amendment of this Act, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th March, observes:—Though even now only people with certain prescribed qualifications can carry arms, the distinction between the whites and the Indians has been completely removed. We are bound to express our gratitude to the Government of India for having come forward to make this reform. If this reform had been introduced earlier, how much of the anxiety of the Indians would have diminished?

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 27th March, reproduces the sentiments of a leaderette on this subject from the *Hindu* of the 24th idem.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

A note in the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 26th March, observes that the amendments recently introduced in the Arms Act may be considered to have softened the severity of the old Act.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 26th Mar. 1919.

The Arms Act.

A note in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 28th March, observes that the provisions of the new law to be shortly introduced do not betray any suspicion of the people as did the old Arms Act which was introduced shortly after the mutiny of 1857. It further asks whether it was the fear of any possible evil consequences of these amendments, that made the Government keep silent over the matter, until after the sedition law was passed?

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 28th Mar. 1919.

103. In commenting on the Madras City Municipal Bill, *Margadarsi*, of the 28th March, points out that there is difference of opinion as to whether the Bill in question really helps or retards reform, dilates upon its advantages, e.g., extension of franchise, increase of elected majority, and appointment of Standing Committees, and upon its disadvantages, e.g., appointment of a Commissioner by Government, which is quite contrary to the spirit of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, the cutting off of resources, and the imposition of increased house-tax instead of assessing the unearned increments on landed property, and observes that at a special meeting of the Madras Corporation it has been pointed out that it is prejudicial to municipal administration.

MARGADARSI, Calicut, 28th Mar. 1919.

The Madras City Municipal Bill.

104. In a leading article under the heading 'The lawless law,' the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 31st March, writes in English as follows:—The inevitable has come to pass. The Rowlatt Bill has been passed, and according to telegrams received it has received the assent of the Viceroy also. The 'lawless law' or, in the words of the Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjea, 'the most objectionable, the most indefensible and the most *anti-British*' Rowlatt Bill has at last been passed despite, strong, persistent and emphatic protest from all classes and sections of the Indian community, the like of which has not been seen in recent years. The struggle in the Council lasted for two days and nights last week, and the valiant Indian champions of liberty and justice, fought toughly and bravely every inch of ground, before yielding under the pressure of the solid and stolid Anglo-Indian *bloc* The Hon'ble Messrs. Patel and Khaparde had, we are told, 53 and 70 amendments respectively to their credit, and with the unstinted support of the Hon'ble Messrs. Sarma, Chanda, Jinnah, Sapru, Sastri and Banerjea, harassed and heckled the Government phalanx. But as the non-officials were in a minority, they had to encounter the inevitable defeat from the statutory majority of the official block. At the same time it must also be said to their credit that their defeat in the defence of liberty is, however, more glorious and more enviable than the success of their opponents in creating a standing menace to liberty. With all their readiness to pass the Bill in the teeth of bitter opposition and public discontent, none of the Government members could ever dare to try to disprove the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's facts and figures quoted in the Council from Government reports themselves, which amply demonstrated that the ordinary law proved more powerful in sedition cases than in others. Though it was said for the Government that they would see that the Act was not abused, we know full well of the experience in the Midnapore case, the Musalmanpara bomb case and the Sindubala case. The experience of the Press Act, passed under similar circumstances, also is too well known to us. If the Government were really anxious to make us believe what they say; what was there to prevent them from expunging sections 124-A and 153-A, Indian Penal Code, from the category of the scheduled offences? The retention of these there, coupled with their refusal to define the terms 'revolutionary or anarchical' has left, despite Government's promises, a positive feeling of distrust in the public mind. They therefore greatly fear that the Act would be applied to cases of ordinary political agitation which, as Mr. Sastri observed, was likely to arise on the proposed partition of Turkey, and the apprehended whittling down of reforms. However, it is a bit consoling to be assured by Sir William Vincent that that would not be the case. The Government have heard even from the most moderate members that the measure would evoke furious indignation and unparalleled agitation throughout the country. The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea and Mr. Sastri have

LOKAPR Trichur, 31st Mar. 1919.

The lawless law.

warned the Government in the open Council of the consequences. The Madras Moderates even headed by the ex-Executive Councillor Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, declare that a continuous agitation will have to be maintained till the Act is repealed. Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of passive resistance, has unfuried his banner, and has already started work with his large following of *Satyagrahis*, to fight this constitutional battle to its bitterest end. The atmosphere is surcharged with the power of passive resistance, and the indications of a violent agitation by moderates and nationalists, combined are not wanting. The inevitable result of that would be the rekindling of the dying flames of revolutionary activities, and the very object for which the Act is intended will be frustrated. We regret we are quite unable to discover a particle of wisdom in this attempt of the Government, and so hope against hope that at least the Crown, before whom the case now stands, will yet see the rational view of things and veto this measure. We deeply regret that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's name, so honourably associated with a beneficent scheme of reforms that is destined to mark an epoch in the history of India, will go down as the head of the Government that embarked upon such a harsh and repressive legislation.

IV.—Native States.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 27th Mar. 1919.

The Mysore Government and the food-problem.

105. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th March, commends the action of the Mysore Government in undertaking to sell food-stuffs to its subjects at cheap prices, prepared to bear any loss accruing therefrom and to improve agriculture by executing irrigation works.

Desabhimani, Guntur, 26th Mar. 1919.

Prohibition of liquor traffic.

106. Referring to the intention of the Maharaja of Bhavnagar to prohibit drinking in his State by legislation, the *Desabhimani*, of the 26th March, appeals to the British Government to follow his example, since indifference on their part out of consideration of public revenues from liquor traffic is not proper.

Kerala Bharathi, Kottayam, 25th Mar. 1919.

Autocratic Diwans of Native States.

107. The *Kerala Bharathi*, of the 25th March, writing on the subject of 'Mysore administration' refers to the reflections of *Madras Mail*, on the administration of Mysore by the late Diwan, and dilates on the danger attendent on leaving the destinies of Native States, even temporarily, in the hands of autocratic Diwans, and suggests that the only safeguard against this danger is to entrust the administration, as in England, to a Cabinet responsible to the people, or at least to an Executive Council as in British India.

Kerala Bharathi, Kottayam, 28th Mar. 1919.

Travancore agitation for equality of civic rights.

108. The leading article in the *Kerala Bharathi*, of the 28th March, asks whether the perpetuation of the disabilities of twenty-six lakhs of people in Travancore, consisting of Christians, Muhammadans, Ezhuvas and other depressed classes, does not mean that they are to be trampled under foot by the remaining nine lakhs of privileged people. and observes that thoughtful people should consider how long the boldness of the Darbar can continue to support the perpetuation of such disabilities and how long the boiling blood of the twenty-six lakhs of citizens will put up with such injustice.

Samadarsi, Trivandrum, 29th Mar. 1919.

Liquor traffic in Bhavanagar.

109. A correspondent in the *Samadarsi*, of the 29th March, speaks in eulogistic terms of the action of the Raja of Bhavanagar in prohibiting liquor traffic in his State, and hopes that other Native States will follow this laudable example. If a Travancorean becomes a drunkard, the community loses one man and the Darbar gains one rupee!

Errata.

Report No. 9.

Page 317, paragraph 41, line 35, *omit* 'for.'

Report No. 10.

Page 351, paragraph 16, line 17, *for* 'plantation' *read* 'plantations.'
" 356 " 28 " 18, *for* 'feeling' *read* 'a feeling.'
" 356 " 28 " 20, *for* 'is not proper' *read* 'it is not proper.'

[Issued, the 9th April 1919.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 15 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 12th April 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

India and the International Labour Parliament.

1. In a leader under the heading "World Labour", *New India*, of the 5th April, remarks:—"Everything is for the white lord of creation; the universe exists for the sake of the white man. NEW INDIA, Madras, 5th April 1919.

"One thing is clear. The League of Nations, the Parliament of Labour are to benefit the white races only. The white man's burden is to press more heavily than ever on the coloured races."

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

The Rowlatt Sedition Committee's Report.

2. In an article in the *Indian Review* for March under the heading "Sedition and Anarchism in India", Professor S. C. Ray writes:—"The Report of the Rowlatt Sedition Committee is replete with passages which prove *primâ facie* that repression has preceded and is the cause of anarchism. . . The suggestion that their aim was to overthrow the 'established government' of this country appears to me to be a pure fiction. Their efforts were directed not against 'established government' but against its methods and against individual agents of government. Overthrowing the *methods* of government is not synonymous with overthrowing the government itself. . . The European community in the preservation of these vested interests—which I repeat are economic and racial—have not felt the slightest compunction in rousing the bitter feelings of the Indians. By their insults and rudeness, by their imperious and over-bearing attitude, by their assertion of racial superiority and reminder of Indian inferiority in all their relations with Indians, by their encroachment upon the civilisation and traditions of India, and lastly by the desecration of our sacred rights and sentiments—they have goaded a few people—happily not all—to desperate remedies because all other remedies had failed. The situation has been accentuated by Government sitting with folded hands and looking listlessly upon the situation, unwilling or unable to repair the wrong which the people suffered at the hands of their European fellow-subjects. The Anglo-Indian press fanned the flame by their cowardly, mean and scurrilous attacks upon Indians for their 'aspirations' to a position of equality in an Empire of justice." INDIAN REVIEW, Madras, March 1919.

Mrs. Besant and Indian politics.

3. Writing under the heading "Mrs. Besant's somersault" the *West Coast Spectator*, of the 5th April, observes:—"What we have all along anticipated has come to pass. Mrs. Besant has entirely revised her political views, thrown Mr. Gandhi overboard, divested Mr. Tilak of the title she had conferred upon him, diverted her artillery from the Secretariat to her erstwhile friends and followers, and now she is at the very congenial game of slinging mud at her adversaries. She is now more moderate than the Moderate and completely revised her methods of agitation. The passive resistance movement does not count her as supporter; on the other hand she has entered the lists against it and is settling the old scores with Mr. Gandhi. . . To our mind Mrs. Besant is the most discredited politician now living in this country, and we are sincerely sorry for those Simple Simons who have readily joined her fold. Let those Extremist—Moderates who have joined the new organisation trade on their own account, but let them beware how they carry on business under the name and style of Moderates. It is a thousand pities that our politicians have not yet found out Mrs. Besant in her true colours." WEST COAST SPECTATOR, Calicut, 5th April 1919.

The arrest of Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

4. *New India*, of the 10th April, states:—"Mahatma Gandhi's arrest is a momentous event. On the eve of political reforms, when the country ought to have been quietly discussing or even strenuously agitating on the subject of widening our political enfranchisement, it will be convulsing, and from the Himalayas will sweep down to Cape Comorin the spirit of resentment and anger. The few *Satyagrahis* may control that spirit; a few more, like Theosophists and others, may see in the event the finger of Providence; but the vast mass of our Indian population will NEW INDIA, Madras, 10th April 1919.

express their anger and irritation, and we only hope there will be no breach of public peace anywhere. If anything untoward happens in spite of Mahatma's farewell message, we cannot help blaming the Government."

Hindu, Madras, 10th April 1919.

Writing on this subject, the *Hindu*, of the 10th April, remarks:—"By restricting the action of their leader, the Government lay themselves open to the criticism that they are really seeking to throttle, by the abuse of the Defence of India Act, a most legitimate form of constitutional agitation by resorting to unfair means. The use of the Defence of India Act in the case of Mr. Gandhi by the Government, instead of recourse to the law which he offended, gives us a foretaste of how the re-incarnation of that Act in a more obnoxious shape under another name will be utilized by the executive in the country; and we would ask our countrymen to ponder over the question whether their patriotic instincts allow them to sit idle while the Rowlatt Act is in the Statute Book. The country has unmistakably expressed its opinion on the matter; it is now left to the leaders to do their duty."

Hindu, Madras, 11th April 1919.

Coercion and co-operation.

5. The *Hindu*, of the 11th April, writes:—"'*India*' in the light of recent events at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar might have added to the list of coercive weapons that of the blood-bath which is apparently Sir Michael O'Dwyer's remedy for all diseases of the body politic. The accounts so far received of the emuetes at Lahore and Amritsar do not err on the side of clearness but we seem to note the same readiness to take the worst for granted that at Delhi turned a crowd of peaceful demonstrators into a revolutionary mob. It is a lesson in Governmental methods that the clique that is now all agog for 'co-operation' with Government would do well to mark and inwardly digest. Coercion and co-operation make ill-assorted bed-fellows. It stands to reason therefore that the only reply to coercion is, in the word *India*, for educated India to go on strike; in other words to refuse to co-operate with a Government that tolerates methods more fitted for an enemy country under military occupation than for a peaceful land."

III.—Legislation.

Hindu, Madras, 7th April 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and the passive resistance.

6. In concluding a leader under the heading 'The *Satyagraha* Day' the *Hindu*, of the 7th April, says:—"The absolute spontaneity of the movement, its vast scale, the tremendous enthusiasm which it has aroused, the unimpeachable sincerity and honesty of purpose of those who took part in it—and no attempt was made to misrepresent the nature of the legislation—all these unmistakably show the intensity of feeling in the country in respect of the obnoxious measures passed by the official members of the Legislative Council in the teeth of non-official opposition. If the Government of India make any pretence of responding to public opinion in the country, then they could not, consistent with such a view of their rule, allow these measures to remain in the Statute Book any longer. Similarly, if the Royal veto is of any useful purpose, then, in the opinion of the people of this country, His Majesty's Government would find no more justifiable use for it than in regard to this most ill-advised piece of legislation."

Justice, Madras, 7th April 1919.

Justice, of the 7th April, writes:—"Yesterday was *Satyagraha* day. There is great advantage in choosing a Sunday for the observance of *Satyagraha* day for on that day all Government offices and European establishments are closed, and that adds to the impressiveness of the *Satyagraha* demonstration. We are not in a position to say how many people starved yesterday. Judging by the appearance of some of the Brahmans who joined in the *Bhajana* procession we do not think that they had been starving. Quite a large number of Indian shops were closed, not mainly out of deference to *Satyagraha* ideals, but being influenced by the *Asatyagraha* methods. . . Now, the closing of shops on a Sunday is not in itself a calamitous procedure. . . But the success of the *Satyagrahis* in getting a large number of shops closed yesterday even though it was accomplished by *Asatyagraha* methods will give a wrong impression. The whole object of the passive resisters in adopting the present ineffectual method of passive resistance is to impress on the Government that a large majority of the people of this country are with them. Well, a casual observer of things in Madras yesterday would probably have come to the conclusion that the large majority of the citizens of Madras were passive resisters."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Indians in East Africa.

7. Adverting to the deputation of the Indians in East Africa having been received by Sir Thomas Holland, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st April, says:—The Governor-General is administering this country in place of our King-Emperor and therefore it is necessary that he should bestow the same attention upon the interests of the Indians as His Majesty. The Indians in East Africa are undergoing several hardships though they are British subjects. Why should not the Viceroy himself receive the deputation that came to represent the grievances of these Indians? The discontent among them is growing day by day. Their life is stunted, as they are subjected to many hardships politically and economically. Their representations to the Government of East Africa and the Colonial Secretary have been in vain. The condition of the Indians in East Africa is also telling upon the feelings of the Indians here. The former have been helping the spread of British power in East Africa from the middle of the nineteenth century, and a Proclamation was issued by the late Queen Victoria in 1888 asking the Imperial British East African Company to grant mercantile privileges to the British Indians also. This proclamation has shared the fate of the Queen's proclamation to India. Indian troops have risked their life in averting the danger threatened there by Germany. Though they have striven for the benefit of that country in several ways, they are in this degraded condition. It is strange that, though larger in numbers than the whites in the colony, the Indians should be treated like this. Every adult Indian there has to pay a capitation tax of £1 a year. There is not one Indian on the Local Legislative Council and this Council is passing many laws which afflict the Indians. These are not sufficiently represented even in the local bodies, nor in the commissions of enquiry appointed from time to time. Which Indian will not be provoked to learn that his brethren in East Africa have no privileges even in social matters? Why do not the whites there realise that the wounding of the religious feelings of the Indians may lead to serious harm? Do they take the Indians to be men or beasts? We trust that Lord Chelmsford will, hereafter at least, devise means, without delay, to redress the grievances of the Indians in East Africa.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 1st April 1919.

Indian women in the Fiji Islands.

8. Referring to a letter written to the *Times of India* by Mr. C. F. Andrews on the condition of women in the Fiji Islands, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd April, remarks that its contents would make even uncivilized people tremble and adds:—As a result of the agitation of the people of Bombay to prevent Indian women in the Colonies taking to horrible practices, the Government of India inquired into the matter and made some settlement. Still, according to the present arrangement, the last batch of Indian women residing in the quarters of the indentured labourers in these Islands will obtain their freedom only in November 1921. So they have to remain till then in the deplorable condition in which they were hitherto. Our dear sisters that have gone to these Islands as indentured labourers are the beloved daughters of mother Bharata, and are to bring forth children who are to seek the future glory of India and these are compelled to lose their chastity. Mr. Andrews writes that an indentured woman labourer there has at times to be the wife of six or seven labourers. Are those who extract work from these labourers wild tribes or savages? No civilized nation will give room to such disgraceful practices.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

War indemnity from Germany.

9. Remarking that it will be possible to curb the influence of the Bolsheviks and establish peace in Europe only if the terms of the peace are soon settled, the *Swadesamitran*, of

Swadesamitran, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

the 3rd April, says:—The representatives of the Allies have not yet fixed the amount of the war indemnity. It is under contemplation to collect from Germany 80 million pounds in this respect. If it is decided to collect any indemnity from Germany, we would be right in urging that India too should get a share of it in proportion to the help rendered by her in the war.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

Again war.

10. The *Dravidan*, of the 3rd April, condemns in strong terms the action of the 'Soviet' Government in Hungary who are said to have begun to wage war with Servia and the countries adjoining it.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

The League of Nations.

11. Referring to the amendment adopted by the League of Nations Commission that the League cannot interfere with internal affairs of a country excepting the enemy territories to be held under a mandate the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd April, observes that for the establishment of permanent peace in the world, the Peace Conference should extend the right of self-determination equally to all nations, that to deny it to members of the allied countries is contrary to the principles laid down by President Wilson, and that in case the League does not interfere with the internal affairs of the allied countries on such extraordinary occasions as the prevalence of strong popular unrest threatening the peace and order of any country, the world is bound to be disturbed again. The article further remarks that there is no use in the Peace Conference shutting its eyes to the position of dependent countries, and concludes with a suggestion that the League should reserve for itself the full power of applying the principle of self-determination to any people when a crisis demands it, since the reconstruction of the world, which it sets about, would, otherwise, be meaningless.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

Discontent of the Colonies.

12. Referring to the demands of the British Colonies for the formation of a separate cabinet for the consideration of Imperial questions, and the advocacy of Imperial Preference by Lord Milner the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd April, remarks:— . . . But what is the position of India? While all the other parts of the Empire enjoy commercial independence, India cannot have the same benefit. It is, therefore, quite clear that her economic condition will become still worse, if she cannot secure soon the status of the colonies.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 5th April 1919.

War.

13. In its leader under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 5th April, refers to the proceedings of the Peace Conference and observes that the differences which seem to have arisen among the Allies themselves according to the latest utterances of President Wilson, the Labour unrest in England, the Irish problem still unsolved, the attempts of a section of the South Africans to become independent of the British Empire, the discontent in Egypt, the leaguing of the Hungarian Government with Russian Bolsheviks, the revolution in Germany which has been accentuated by the fresh terms imposed upon her during the armistice, the threats of the Germans to reject any terms in the case of the non-removal of the restrictions laid on their commerce, and the likelihood of the spread of Bolshevism to Asia through Chinese agents, all these circumstances make it difficult to say how the armistice may end. The paper then says:—When one half of Europe is immersed in anarchy, and when heroism has not yet been made to promote strong mutual good-will among the Allies, who can say that the Peace Conference will be an immediate success? . . . As complained of by the French press, the proceedings of the Peace Conference are being conducted with the utmost secrecy and suspicion. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The stamping out of sedition.

14. Referring to a statement in the *Philippines Review* that the American Congress will grant the Philippinoes the sort of free Government which they all desire, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 9th April, observes under this heading:— . . . It is thus clear that the Americans will shortly accord the right of self-determination to the people of the Philippine Islands. That there should be not a single individual in that country imprisoned or interned for sedition; though the people want complete independence, of all American connexion, may look strange to the authorities in India. But the chief reason for this desirable condition is that the

Americans have respected and sympathised with the aspirations of the people under their charge and trusted them. In that country, aspirations for freedom have not been sought to be put down by repression. The history of the Philippine Islands teaches that the most important way of stamping out sedition lies in granting the wishes of the people and not in passing such coercive measures as the Rowlatt Bills.

15. Referring to the formation of a Select Committee to inquire into the grievances of Indians in South Africa, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 9th April, remarks under this heading:— . . . Whatever temporary relief may be afforded, these troubles cannot be permanently removed, as long as India is not granted self-government.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The bad lot of Indians in South Africa.

16. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th and 9th April, publishes in Telugu accounts of the celebration of the *Satyagraha* day at several places in this Presidency as well as in other Provinces.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th & 9th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* day.

17. A correspondent to the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 8th April, writes:— "Mr. Hewlaw (sic) writes that the Germans being the real cause of the war they should indemnify the other parties for the losses sustained by them. It is easy enough to say so, but it is difficult to make Germany indemnify the whole world. It is equally difficult to make an estimate of the losses. How can we estimate the value of the lives lost in the war? How about the sufferings of those who received injuries? How can the entire responsibility for this war be fixed on Germany, when it requires two parties to start a fight? Are not the Servians who murdered Prince Ferdinand and his consort also responsible? Are not those nations that abetted the murderers equally responsible? Are not those others who acted high-handedly in the war, as also those who remained indifferent without attempting to bring the war to an end, also responsible? How to apportion the responsibility among the different parties concerned in this war? If, without considering all these facts the promoters of the Peace Conference declare that Germany alone should pay the losses, will honest people in the world call them just?"

(In a footnote the editor of the paper expresses his general approval of the ideas contained in the above communication.)

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 8th April 1919.

The responsibility for the war.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(*a*) *Police.*

18. Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 2nd April, questions the propriety of the attitude of the Police Commissioner in not taking action against those rikshaw men who carry two passengers in one carriage contrary to the rule laid down about the matter.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

Rikshaws.

(*d*) *Education.*

19. The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 10th March, publishes an article on this subject from the pen of a correspondent in which the following observations find place among others:—The reason for the Hindus having forgotten their industries and become ruined is the absence of religious instruction in schools belonging to either the Government or private bodies. Though the Government base their present system on the principle of religious neutrality, how can this principle be affected prejudicially, if the important doctrines common to all religions are taught in schools? Christianity is being taught even to non-Christians in schools run by Missionaries, and the Government do not condemn this. Why cannot the Hindu religion be then taught in schools under the management of Hindus?

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 10th Mar. 1919.

The present day education.

20. Referring to the reply given by Sir James Meston on behalf of Government that the Primary Education Bill introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council was meaningless and that teachers could not be had in sufficient numbers, the *Manorama*, of the 1st April, says:—

MANORAMA, Calicut, 1st April 1919.

The attitude of the Government towards primary education.

Whose is the responsibility to increase the number of teachers? Leaving this aside, if Sir James Meston had only called for a return of the number of applications for undergoing training that are received every year in the offices of the Sub-Assistant Inspectors of Schools he would certainly not have put forth this plea for not accepting the Bill. We can only regret that such matters, as the Government do not intend to consider for the time being, turn out to be meaningless, however urgent they may be to us.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

Female education.

21. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 31st March, in publishing a list of successful female candidates at the University examinations held in 1916–17 and in contrasting the salaries fixed for male and female teachers in Assam and other places, observes that the rate of pay drawn by women teachers is higher than that received by men.

The editor suggests the advisability of paying substantial emoluments both to male and female teachers in order that they may live in comfort, undisturbed by financial worries.

(*e*) *Local and Municipal.*

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

The Tenali Municipality.

22. Referring to the election of the Municipal Chairman of Tenali, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 2nd April, objects to it on the strength of the provision of the Municipal Act, invalidating a chairman's election for want of sufficient difference in the number of votes secured by the rival candidates concerned, and remarks:— . . . If the Government do not set aside the election as they did in a similar case of Srirangam, unrest is bound to increase among the non-Brahmans of Tenali, who have already been dissatisfied with the recent election of a Brahman President of the Tenali Taluk Board. At present, three nominated seats are vacant in this Municipal Council. We request the Government to nominate to these seats able and independent non-Brahmans who will not be the dupes of the Brahmans, such as are already on the Council.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

The Bellary Municipal Ratepayers' memorial.

23. Referring to the memorial presented on 22nd December 1918 by the rate-payers in Bellary Municipality requesting the Government to disallow the resolution passed by their Municipal Council, providing an allowance of Rs. 100 to the Chairman for the maintenance of a motor-car by him, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 2nd April, remarks:— . . . In these circumstances, it is altogether improper for the Government to sanction Rs. 100 to the Chairman as motor-car allowance. . .

(*h*) *Railways.*

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st April 1919.

The Madura Railway station.

24. Adverting to the hardships suffered by the passengers crossing the overbridge at the Madura Railway station, on account of the absence of a covering therefor, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st April, regrets that the cry raised by the people about this has not been heeded by the Railway officials and, referring to the Local Government having informed the municipality of Madura, which gave a notice to the South Indian Railway authorities to remedy this grievance, that it has no power to issue such a notice and that it should appeal to the Viceroy, observes:—Neither the people nor the Local Government have the power to bring about the removal of a grievance affecting thousands of persons and the subject has to be taken before the Governor-General at Delhi or Simla. Even he may say that he cannot interfere with the Railway Company and the grievance of the people will then remain unremedied. This position is really surprising. Though this particular affair is not a very important one generally, the people have to learn an important lesson from this.

(*k*) *General.*

KALIYUGAVARTAMANI, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

An advice to foreigners in India.

25. The *Kaliyugavartamani*, of the 8th March, invites the attention of the Europeans in India to the fact that the country is not as divided now as it was before, that the Muhammadans have joined the Hindus and even the Eurasians are beginning to realise that they are Indians and addresses them

in the following strain:—You are aware that the present condition of India is causing much anxiety to the British ministers, who feel that there are obstacles in the way of their giving effect to their natural desire to secure the welfare of the people. You will see, if you lay your hands upon your heart, that the greatest of these obstacles emanates from you. Do you not realise that the announcement of the 20th August 1917 is not a new boon conferred upon the country? Has not England made a name for being foremost in securing liberty for all the races in the world? Where are the British that held that taxation without representation was tantamount to robbery? These, who spent an immense amount of money in doing away with slavery, support the Indenture Labour system, which is no better than slavery. Does it indicate improvement or retrogression? As soon as your kingdom became wide and coloured races came under your control, all your good qualities seem to have left you. Is it not true that the British Empire has been benefited much by this land of Bharata? Can you conscientiously say that you have not treated the people of this land with contempt? Did you sincerely try to move freely with the Indians and become one with them? When it is your duty to spread elementary education among the masses, you not only neglected it, but now find fault with the Indians for the very fact. The ordinary people identify the Europeans with the officials. They are under the impression that it is the Europeans that are responsible for the hard lot of the Indians in South Africa and the subjection of Indian women to a life of debauchery in the Fiji islands. It may be the masses have no sympathy for the so-called educated classes, who pose to be leaders. But they think all the same that it is the detestable western civilisation that is responsible for having made them foreigners in their own land and rendered it impossible for them to work sincerely for the country. Therefore, while the dumb millions have a little distrust in the leaders of the country, they have a greater distrust of the Europeans. The only way in which you can remove this distrust is by moving with the people freely in a friendly spirit.

The Imperial budget for 1919-20.

26. The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 10th March, remarks that no Indian, having the interests of his country at heart, will be satisfied with the budget prepared by Sir James Meston for 1919-20 and, taking exception to the major portion of the income during the year having been earmarked for being spent on the Military and the Railways, adds:—When the British have been considering, even before the end of the war, about the steps to be taken in connexion with their education, industries, etc., it is entirely against the interests of India that half of the Indian revenues should be wasted for increasing the army in the interests of the Empire, without being spent for improving education, sanitation, etc., here. India has already given enormous amounts of money to England as gift and loan. So it is not reasonable that her revenues should be utilised in excess for affairs connected with the welfare of the world, when her people are suffering from the effects of famine. It is because sufficient expenditure has not been incurred on improving the irrigational facilities in the country, that there has been a fall in production in many places, and no explanation is offered by the authorities for this. Sir James Meston preaches economy to the people in view of the war. But instead of advising the people, he would do well to see that the Government avoid expenditure on unnecessary items and refrain from getting officials from the west on high salaries, when capable and responsible Indians are available here in sufficiently large numbers.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 10th Mar. 1919.

The *Vartakamitran*, of the 13th March, characterises the budget as an unsympathetic one and observes:—The raising of the taxable minimum for purposes of income-tax is indeed a magnanimous act. But this is only a small bait for tackling a big fish, as, against the loss of revenue on this account, the Government are making an income of about six million pounds by the excess profits tax. It is incompatible with the present condition of India that half of her revenues should be utilised for the military, and it is tantamount to robbing Peter and paying Paul. Credit was given to the Commander-in-Chief for having framed his budget economically, with due deference to the needs of the country. We do not know what amount of money he would require, if left to himself.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 13th Mar. 1919.

When peace is sought to be established throughout the world by the Peace Conference and even European countries are urged to adopt the important principle laid down by President Wilson, that no country should maintain a larger army than is quite necessary for it, where is the need for incurring an excessive military expenditure in India alone? It is not a wise policy to starve the items indispensable for improving the economic condition of this country, such as education, industries, sanitation, etc., and fatten the military. Just as Sir James Meston says that the present day military equipments mean money, the improvement of education, etc., also mean money. When more than four lakhs of pounds are not available for improvement of irrigation, owing to the present stress of funds, what help can be expected for education, etc.? When, against four lakhs for irrigational facilities, 240 lakhs are provided for railways in the same year, should not the need for this disparity be clearly pointed out? Permission has also been sought to raise a new victory loan of ten million pounds. We do not know whether there is any limit to the burden that will be imposed on the economic resources of India. It is a world-known fact that these resources are scanty and it is this that makes foreign capitalists come and carry on industries here. This is admitted even by the Viceroy. Experience shows that if, instead of improving the ruined economic resources of the country and deriving an advantage therefrom, the burden thereon is increased gradually, it will lead to the whole structure coming down and causing irreparable loss. We would warn the Government and the Finance Member that it is the worst folly to deplete the resources of a country.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karraikudi, 17th Mar. 1919.

The *Vaisyamitran* reverts to this subject, in its issue of the 17th March, and pointing to an argument of the *Times* that sufficient steps are being taken even now to guard against the activities of the newly formed Central Asiatic association, says:—Taking this argument for granted, can the races of Central Asia, who cannot lay claim to much civilisation, crush the strength of an army raised in a civilised country? When the country is in a fallen condition, having contributed its funds for the war and other expenses, in the shape of gifts and loans, is it desirable to utilise half its revenues for the Military? Even if the argument of those who support the policy of the Government be taken, should not Mesopotamia and other countries, which have now come under British control, go shares in this expenditure?

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 17th Mar. 1919.

The *satyagraha* vow.

27. Remarking that the argument of the moderates that the *satyagraha* vow in relation to the Rowlatt law will endanger the reforms, is a useless one, especially at this juncture when the people are suffering for want of liberty of action, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 17th March, attributes the opposition of the moderates to their diffidence in their own principles and adds that the manifesto issued by them in this matter indicates that they want to strengthen the hands of the officials.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 24th March, observes that all those who take this vow to get rid of the Rowlatt law are righteous persons, who do not mean any trouble to the people or the Government but are prepared to suffer for their country and adds:—This land of Bharata has been the abode of men famed for their truth, patience and renunciation. It is because we have forgotton that we are renowned for the above three virtues that we are treated with contempt by many. We should follow our righteous principles at least hereafter and, if we do, there is nothing that we cannot achieve. The vow taken by Mr. Gandhi, the embodiment of truth, patience and renunciation, cannot go in vain. If we strive to establish truth and justice, the former will secure for us eternity and the latter victory.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 17th Mar. 1919.

The Legislative Council and the vernaculars.

28. Referring to the action of Lord Pentland in having prevented the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar from speaking in Tamil in the Legislative Council, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 17th March, also observes that there is no rule laying down that the proceedings of the Legislative Council should be conducted in any particular language and that, if these proceedings are conducted in the vernaculars, it would help the public to understand them, and

remarks that this incident may be taken to be one of the several instances in which Lord Pentland restricted the liberty of the public and the members of the Council.

29. The *Vartakamitran*, of the 13th March, publishes a long article on this subject, from the pen of a correspondent, who, remarking that the Indian Civil Servants, who profess to have a better knowledge of India than the Indians themselves, are at sea to find means for averting famine in the country, observes that the appointment of the Directors of Civil Supplies and the control of the traffic and sale of foodstuffs, have not proved useful in any way and adds:—The price fixed by the Director of Civil Supplies, Madras, for rice exported from certain districts is Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 more than what obtained in those districts before the present system of control was introduced. In districts like Tanjore, paddy sells openly at Rs. 3-8-0 to Rs. 4 per kalam on the thrashing floor itself. Can the merchants and mill-owners afford to purchase at this price and sell for that fixed by the Director? The fixing of prices without noting the condition of the districts and the prices obtaining and facilities available therein, lands the people in great misery. When the price of paddy has risen, the prices of other articles also have gone up. While the rise in prices is due in part to the paucity of foodstuffs, it is also due to the fear of the people, which impels them to purchase commodities at any price and therefore to bid high. This fear is again due to the inadequacy of the steps taken by the Government in this matter. Why should the Government, which promised to supply rice from Burma to meet the requirements of this country, lag behind now? If they had themselves purchased rice in Burma, and distributed it to the different provinces, famine would not have begun here. Did not the Government render pecuniary aid and avert a famine of wheat in England? Why cannot they follow the same system here? The moment the Government anticipated that there would be a famine, they should have calculated the stock of foodstuffs and the prospective produce in the country and arranged to meet the deficit in each province and district. Though the country is ruined, the officials ear-mark half of the revenues to meet the expenditure on the Military for guarding these ruined tracts and are not inclined to spend even half of this half for the benefit of the people in times of famine! When the people are wailing on account of famine, will their half-starved stomachs be filled by the announcement that rice is coming from Burma, that six hundred thousand tons of wheat are being purchased in Australia for the Indians and that twenty-four million pounds have been set apart for the improvement of railways next year? The restriction imposed on the export of grains from this Presidency by the Local Government in consequence of the produce here being less than what is required, has been cancelled by the Government of India, on account of the appearance of famine in Bombay. How can then prices be expected to go down here? It will not do to make a delay in the supply of foodstuffs, as is done in the matter of granting reforms. Governments exist only to secure the happy life of the people and not merely to exercise power, even though the people may be dying of starvation. So it is the duty of the Government now to retain in the country all the foodstuffs produced therein and bringing the required quantity even from other places, allow them to be distributed in the country without any restriction whatever. Both the Imperial and Provincial Governments should revise their budgets for 1919-20 and set apart more than half of their revenues for being spent to relieve the distress caused by famine, which will remove such evils as anarchism from the country. Otherwise, the famine will become more intense and lead to unrest and increase of mortality. Who will be responsible for this before God?

The food situation.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 13th Mar. 1919.

The *Pandiya Nesan*, of the 22nd March, attributes the rise of prices here also to the prevailing prices in other countries and, urging the necessity of preventing the prices in other countries from affecting the condition here, observes:—It is suggested that the prices of foodstuffs may be fixed at the producing centres, so as to relieve the present situation. But will it not be openly causing a loss to the agriculturists, if the prices of grains alone are controlled, without those of the materials required for producing them being curtailed? Further, should not

PANDIYA NESAN, Madura, 22nd Mar. 1919.

the prices of other articles necessarily required by the agriculturist be also curtailed? Is it fair to expect him to sell his articles cheap and pay more for those required by him? It is a point to be noted that the export of oil cakes and cattle tell upon the cost of producing foodstuffs here and so this should be stopped. Another important reason for the rise in prices is the settlement done by the Government once in thirty years, as can be seen from the fact that there is generally a rise in prices soon after a settlement. The Government increase the assessment on the ground that prices have risen and that the agriculturist should make a larger profit and the latter increases the prices to pay the higher kist. Prices once raised on account of an increase in assessment never come down and hence cause serious hardship to landholders.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th Mar. 1919.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's lectures.

30. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th March, publishes in Tamil a lecture delivered by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal at the Madras Beach on the 24th idem on 'India's work in England', while the *Swadesamitran* of the same date also publishes this lecture along with two other lectures delivered by him at Kumbakōnam and Madras on the 22nd and 25th idem on 'India's political situation' and the 'Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance', respectively.

DESABHAKTAN Madras, 26th Mar. 1919.

A Muslim public meeting at Kuttanallur.

31. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th March, publishes the resolutions of a Muslim public meeting held at Kuttanallur on the 21st idem, of which one condemns the Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan Sahib regarding the registration of Muslim marriages and divorces, one requests the Government to cancel the Rowlatt Law, and one prays for the confiscation of a book entitled 'The eye of love' and for action being taken against its author, as it contains some sentiments disparaging to the Islamic faith.

DESABHAKTAN & HINDU NESAN, Madras, 26th & 27th Mar. 1919.

The passive resistance movement.

32. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th and the 27th March, respectively, publish in Tamil a lecture delivered by Mr. Gandhi at Tanjore on the 24th idem on the *Satyagraha* vow, while the *Desabhaktan* publishes in its issues of the 27th and the 31st idem the lectures delivered by him on the same subject at Trichinopoly and Madura on the 25th and the 26th idem, respectively.

SWADESAMITRAN, DESABHAKTAN, & HINDU NESAN, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 31st March, publishes in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 30th idem to request the Secretary of State to exercise the Crown's power of veto in the case of the Rowlatt Bills, and to exhort the people to observe a fast on the 6th April 1919, as also the message of Mr. Gandhi read at the meeting. The *Desabhaktan* of the same date publishes the proceedings and the message independently, while the *Hindu Nesan* of the same date publishes the proceedings alone.

DESABHAKTAN, SWADESAMITRAN, HINDU NESAN, & DRAVIDAN, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

The exodus to the hills.

33. The *Desabhaktan*, the *Swadesamitran*, the *Hindu Nesan* and *Dravidan*, of the 31st March, publish the proceedings of a public meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 29th idem to protest against the Government moving to the hills.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 2nd April 1919.

Famine and exodus to the hills.

The *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 2nd April, speaks in eulogistic terms of the solicitude shown by the Governor of Bombay for the famine-stricken people in that Presidency. The paper then refers to the famine prevailing in this Presidency and to the oft-repeated prayers of the people to the Government to give up their exodus to the hills, and hopes that the new Governor Lord Willingdon, whose recent speech in England has created among the people the hope that his administration will be highly beneficial to them, will heartily respect the opinion of the people of this Presidency, by giving up the hill exodus this year.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st April 1919.

The meeting of the Madras Legislative Council.

34. Adverting to the meeting of the local Legislative Council, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st April, observes:—This meeting will be presided over by Sir Alexander Cardew, the twelve-day Governor. He used to make much fuss as the first member of the Executive Council. It remains to be seen how he will

conduct himself now as Governor. Of the resolutions to be moved at this meeting, that of the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar suggesting that the first two paragraphs of the administration Report of the Government for 1917–18 should be deleted is an important one concerning the welfare of the public. These two paragraphs contain matter to which the public can take exception. The Government have made certain statements herein supporting one of the political parties in the city and condemning another and it is incongruous that this should find place in an Administration Report. The whole world knows that the Government of Madras are favouring one party and every one will admit that it was a folly on their part to have showed this favouritism even in their Administration Report.

35. Referring to the news that a machine-gun was brought into play to disperse a crowd at Delhi in connexion with the observance of the *Satyagraha* vow there and taking it to be a good omen that many, who had not taken the vow, also adopted the principle of *Satyagraha*, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 1st April, says :—The sight of lakhs of people dispersing after conducting a meeting calmly and passing resolutions without getting enraged by the authorities having caused loss of life among them by using a machine-gun can be seen only in this sanctified land. It indicates that the Indians still retain the control over their will and this strong race will never go down. Every Anglo-Indian should be ashamed of having thus brought about the killing of unarmed Indians, while the Indians should regret it. If one could be both an Indian and an Englishman, he should have mixed feelings of shame, and regret. But we feel it to the quick that Mrs. Annie Besant, who, though born and bred up as an English lady, poses to be an Indian, should have written justifying the shooting of the unarmed Indians. *New India*, of the 31st March, says that in all civilized countries brickbats should be answered only by guns. It is necessary that civilized countries should cause loss of life like this, let the Gods spare the uncivilized countries in the world from getting civilized!

The *Satyagraha* day at Delhi.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1st April 1919.

Referring to the incidents at Delhi, the *Dravidan*, of the 2nd April, attributes the loss of life at Delhi to the action of the *Satyagrahis* having compelled certain shopkeepers to close their shops, and refusing to disperse at the command of the Railway Police and the military who appeared on the scene, and observes :—The Rowlatt Law is intended only to punish seditionists and those who interfere with the public peace. But the *Satyagrahis*, who raise a cry against this law, seem to be intent only upon disturbing the peace of the Government and causing misery to the public. We hate this. Who are responsible for the deaths caused in Delhi? The *Satyagraha* vow may be harmless for all appearances and perhaps it may suit Mr. Gandhi. But linking it with religion and inducing people, who cannot discriminate between true and false religious principles, to take to it, will only lead to serious harm.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

36. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 1st April, reproduce in Tamil the full letter of the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, addressed to the Viceroy while tendering his resignation. The *Dravidan*, of the 1st April, makes fun of the resignation of the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma as an act of passive resistance and says :—But how long did the gentleman remain firm? He immediately withdrew it. The *Satyagrahis* will only fast but will never give up their appointments. To resign at first and then withdraw the resignation on the pretext that this or that man advised to that effect, is splendid indeed! We learn that Mr. Jinnah also has resigned his membership. Would people possessing a sense of responsibility and wisdom attach any value to such resignations.

The resignation of some members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

DESABHAKTAN, & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1st April 1919.

37. Remarking that Lord Pentland did not fail to demonstrate his administrative capacity even on the eve of his retiring from his appointment, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd April, refers to his having disallowed the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar suggesting the formation of a Committee to inquire into the condition of labourers emigrating from Madras to Malay States and other

His Excellency Lord Pentland.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

places, after including it in the agenda, and says:—We are really surprised at the ground adduced for the rejection, that matters under correspondence between the Local Government and the Viceroy or the Secretary of State should not be introduced in this Council without the consent of the Governor. What is the reason for Lord Pentland suddenly cancelling the consent which he originally gave to the resolution? Did he come to know only later that the matter was under correspondence with the superior authorities?

Ravi, Cocanada, 3rd April 1919.

His Excellency Lord Pentland.

Reviewing in its leader under this heading, the administration of Lord Pentland, the *Ravi*, of the 3rd April, appreciates the keen interest taken by His Lordship in such matters of public usefulness as education, sanitation and agriculture, observes that his departure would be regretted by many, and wishes him good-bye.

Kerala Bharathi, Kottayam, 1st April 1919.

Lord Pentland.

The leading article in the *Kerala Bharathi*, of the 1st April, deprecates judgment of Lord Pentland's administration on party lines or based merely on the opposition of the Home Rule politicians, and contains an appreciation of Lord and Lady Pentland's perseverance and excellence of character which secured the whole-hearted co-operation of the Presidency to find men and money for the war and for war charities and relief measures. The Presidency will also remember with gratitude His Lordship's endeavours to advance sanitation and public health, industries and education.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 31st Mar. 191

Lord Pentland's retirement.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 31st March, has a leader on the marginally-noted subject in which it observes:—What monuments of his rule has Lord Pendland left? There are tens of thousands, nay hundreds of thousands of tongues to answer this question. Graves full of hopes and sepulchres filled with aspirations. If there are certain eyes unable to see these things, the sad and disappointed Muslims can perceive them with discerning vision; to wit—the lifeless form of the Usmania College, the crushed seed of the scheme for the Islamia College, the omission of the principle of separate Muslim representation from the Municipal Act.

The subversion of the rights of purdah ladies by the granting of women's suffrage.

A Muslim headmistress has been appointed in the Hobart Zenana School and a Muhammadan college has been opened in the Madrasa-i-Azam. Such favours are like unto the sprinkling of salt on the open wounds of disappointment (adding insult to injury—Tr.). The Hobart School was a charitable institution which the Government has taken under its wing, and filled with non-Muslim girls. The Muslim headmistress has no moral control over her co-religionists. The Muhammadan College is an Islamic educational institution only in name, in the management of which Muslim leaders have neither part nor lot.

Then the question of the Vice-Chancellorship of the University has left an indelible impression on the minds of the Muhammadans.

Lord Pentland, in order to please himself, disappointed the hopes of hundreds of thousand and deprived of his right a Muhammadan, who is not only the pride of the community, but who was an independent-minded member of the Royal Commission, and is a learned Judge of the High Court. But instead of appointing a Muslim in accordance with practice and custom, Lord Pentland extended the precedent he had established.

The affair of a Muhammadan member to Executive Council is still fresh in the minds of the Muhammadans. Lord Pentland did not like the idea of appointing a Muhammadan but allowed the old system to continue. Again in the same year instead of appointing a Muhammadan Sheriff, he extended the tenure of the office of his former nominee, whom he appreciated.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

England and India.

38. Remarking that the Philippine Islands have progressed very much only as result of self-government having been granted to them, the ***Desabhaktan***, of the 2nd April, observes:—These islands have demonstrated that it is not repressive laws but administrative reforms that reduce the number of political offenders. Though India has been under British Government for the last one century and a half and has advanced in several directions, time has not yet come for her being granted freedom. As

the bureaucrats have great love for India, they are ready to grant her what they can, and what they can grant without hesitation are only repressive laws, as the grant of these will not make them lose their power! America is pleased to give self-government to countries under her, while England is pleased to enact repressive laws. This is the only difference between these two countries!

The Indian Medical Service.

39. In a leader on this subject the *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd April, writes:— The Indian Medical Service used to be referred to as the army reserve and the members of it will be called away for military service if war breaks out. And it appears that the Government recently considered whether only the members of the Indian Medical Service should be set apart as the military reserve and whether the civil branch consisting mostly of Indians can be relied upon as such reserve. When many Indians communicated their readiness to take up military duty, an inquiry was merely made as to how many among them were prepared to go to the field and how many wished to remain in India alone, but nothing was said about those who were prepared to take up service outside India. Thus, writes Doctor Nayar in the *Justice*, has the opportunity of knowing whether the Indians can be relied upon as the army reserve, not been availed of? As most of the members of the Indian Medical Service were sent away on military duty during the time of war, it became a necessity to appoint Indians belonging to the Indian Civil Medical Service as the chief medical officers of districts. It will be clear from the reputation won by Messrs. Ranga Achariyar and Lakshmanaperumal Pillai that management by the Indians is very efficient. Thus, whatever may be said as regards the usefulness or otherwise of the Indians as the army reserve, their capability to be in medical charge of districts has been proved by experience. We trust the Government will take steps to reform the present system under which they have to hold only posts carrying a low pay.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

Europeans and Anglo-Indians alone are taken into the lower ranks of medical service in regiments consisting of European soldiers. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim has stated in his minute of dissent that these Europeans and Anglo-Indians who are trained at the cost of Government are not eligible for registering themselves as 'doctors' in London, while those who undergo training in Indian Medical Colleges at their own cost are qualified to do so. Thus, posts which persons of higher qualifications cannot get are being secured by men with lesser qualifications, and the reason for this is that the former class of men are Indians by birth.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 3rd April, publish in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held in Madras, on the 2nd idem, to protest against the personnel and the method of investigation of the Medical Services Reorganization Committee.

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

Referring to this public meeting, the *Dravidan*, of the 3rd April, observes:— Differences are made in Government service between Englishmen and Indians, who have obtained efficiency in the English system of medicine, by preference being given to the former. This is the case even when both have passed the same examination in medicine. It is understood that the Director-General of Medical Services and his assistant have shown these differences in the medical service attached to the Military Department, and we have to hold them responsible for this.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

Political prisoners.

40. In dwelling at length on the hardships said to be suffered by the political prisoners in the Hazaribag jail the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd April, observes:—The Government should at least hereafter seek, without delay, the means of putting an end to the pitiable condition of these prisoners, for the Indians view the hardships of political prisoners as their own. Newspapers appreciate the generous treatment given by the allies to the German prisoners of war. While so, is there none to question such cruel deeds in India which is under the British Government?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

France and India.

41. Referring to a telegraphic news from Paris that the Chamber of Deputies has, in spite of the opposition of the Government, abolished the Luxury Tax, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd April, remarks:—The power which the assembly of popular representatives

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

in France has over the French Government is patent from this. But in our country the case is topsy-turvy. Popular representatives have no power whatever except that of nodding their heads to all the actions of the Government. They have not the power of pointing out errors therein and rectifying them. The Government can enact a law which the popular representatives unanimously object to. This may be seen in the case of the Rowlatt Law recently passed and from the proceedings of our Legislative Councils. There the power lies with the people, but here it is with the Government in which the influence of the bureaucrats who are foreigners greatly prevails.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

The present situation.

42. A correspondent contributes to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd April, an article containing some stray notes, in the course of which he alludes to the passing of the Rowlatt Bills, which he characterises as two blind bills, introduced to put an end to political agitation in this country, before the Reforms Bill is introduced into the House of Commons and pointing out that the strong opposition of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council was of no avail in the matter of these Bills, exhorts the Indians to sink all party differences among them at least hereafter and, following a single leader, resort to passive resistance. The correspondent then referring to the departure of Lord Pentland institutes a comparison between him and Lord Curzon, stating that, while the latter reformed the Corporation of Calcutta on very narrow lines and brought about the partition of Bengal the former passed the Madras City Municipal Bill on similar lines contrary to the views of the people and brought about the internment of Mrs. Besant and the forfeiture of *New India*, attempted to root out Home Rule agitation, forfeited the security of the *Desabhaktan* without the least mercy during the last days of his administration and declined to extend the term of the present Provincial Legislative Council.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th April 1919.

A curious appointment.

43. Referring to the appointment of Second Lieutenant Fairbairn Michael of the Anglo-Indian Force in Madras, as Deputy Collector of Madura, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th April, remarks:—This appointment is very curious. We do not know what special qualifications he has for this post. It may be that he has displayed his skill and heroism in military duties. But it passes our comprehension how these can help him to get this appointment. Will the Government clear our doubts in this matter?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 4th April 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 4th April, expresses almost the same sentiments on this subject.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th April 1919.

The currency difficulty.

44. Remarking that great hardship has now been caused to this country by the currency policy adopted by Sir William Meyer in consultation with the London financiers, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th April, observes:—While coins of smaller denominations than a rupee are available in large numbers in Madras, it appears that small coins can rarely be had in South Kanara and other mufassal districts, and people there have to pay a discount ranging from half an anna to two annas for getting change for a rupee. It is needless to say what hardship will be caused by this both to the Government and to the people. We hope that, hereafter at least, the authorities will bestow attention on this matter and effect the necessary reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

Economic inquiry.

45. In its leader under this heading, *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd April, refers to the report on the Special Settlement Officer's inquiry into the economic condition of ryots in the Tiruvannāmalai taluk of the North Arcot district and observes:— . . . If it is desired to ascertain the economic condition of ryots, a committee composed of officials and non-officials in equal proportion should be appointed to hold its inquiry in the wet and dry areas of every important district. The inquiry of a Settlement Officer cannot be satisfactory to the people. . . We are not in a position to say how far the villages and the families visited by the Settlement Officer represent the general condition of the people. Even his inquiry would show to some extent the backwardness of ryots. . . From the facts stated above, it will be seen that a big ryot owning 120 acres of land is obliged to sustain an annual loss of Rs. 300 and to run into debt for expenses on marriages, etc.,

which were excluded from consideration by the Settlement Officer. If this is the precarious condition of big ryots, it will be easy to imagine the miserable lot of small ryots. Once before, Mr. Gandhi, an eye-witness to the hardships endured by ryots, remarked that whatever be the figures in reports, he would not believe, even if God were to come and tell him that India was rolling in wealth. . . It is clear from the Settlement Officer's report that ryots from the biggest to the smallest are immersed in poverty and are too miserable to make their lives happy. . . These hard facts give the lie to the theory of prosperous India which is being spread all along. Poverty has been admitted in the Montagu Report to be the cause of epidemics and increased death-rate among the people. Then, what is the way to get rid of this national poverty? . . .

46. Referring under this heading to the Delhi disturbance, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd April, refers to the report of Swami Shraddhananda and praises him for the firm and peaceful manner in which he led the Delhi people. It says that he is a fit Lieutenant to Mr. Gandhi and that under the guidance of such leaders the people may be expected to conduct themselves with self-control and do their duty without resort to violence in future, though they might commit some mistakes in the beginning out of ignorance.

Swami Shraddhananda.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

47. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd April, approves of the proposal of Sir Claude Hill to have the College of Forestry in India and to train both the European and Indian Officers of the Forest Department in the same institution.

The Forest Department.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

48. Referring to the 6th of April which has been recommended for solemn observance by Mr. Gandhi, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th April, writes under this heading :—. . . Attempts may be made to irritate *Satyagrahis* to incite them into acts of violence and to discredit the *Satyagraha* movement. But it is the primary duty of all Indians to follow Mr. Gandhi without swerving from the path of truth and righteousness, however trying the circumstances may be. . . From Swami Sraddhananda's report, it will be seen that the allegations of violence on the part of the people are false.

The *Satyagraha* day.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th April 1919.

Referring to the Hon'ble Mr. Malaya's resignation of his membership in the Imperial Legislative Council and to the celebration of the *Satyagraha* day in Madras the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th April, observes it its leader under this heading :— . . . The resignation of Pandit Malavya reveals evil character of the Rowlatt Bills in its true colour. . . He is not a young man to be carried away by the excitement of the hour. A moderate well known for his farsightedness and discrimination, he is respected by all parties in the country alike. He is called the leader of the Imperial Council even by the official members. When such a member thinks fit to resign his office on account of the Rowlatt Bills, it is the primary duty of the Government to withdraw them. . . If any doubt is still entertained as to the great excitement produced by the Rowlatt Bills among the people, the successful celebration of the *Satyagraha* day which took place yesterday is enough to dispel it. . . Who can dare to say that all this enthusiasm is artificial. At whose orders will the people be ready to evince such a singleness of purpose? No sooner had they come to know the Rowlatt Bills which cut at the very root of the fundamental rights of the people, than the hearts of them all began to burn. The message of Mr. Gandhi has opened the flood-gates of humiliation pent up in their hearts. There was absolutely no occasion for disturbance during all this huge demonstration. . . The inaccuracy of the Associated Press version of the Delhi incident which was exposed by Swami Shraddhananda had to be publicly admitted by the correspondent himself. . . In view of the strong public excitement produced by the Rowlatt Bills in this country, the Secretary of State will be doing a great service to the British Empire by strengthening the bonds of love between the rulers and the ruled in such a crisis, if he advises His Majesty the Emperor to throw out these Bills.

The celebration of the *Satyagraha* day and a good news.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th April 1919.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th April 1919.

Satyagraha and the resignations of some village officers.

49. After referring under this heading to the spread of the *Satyagraha* movement and to the resignations of some village officers in the Surat district in Bombay, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th April, appeals to the Secretary of State and to His Majesty the Emperor to refrain from according their assent to the Rowlatt Bills which have created such a keen excitement among the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th April 1919.

Mahatma Gandhi.

50. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th April, publishes in Telugu the address presented to Mr. Gandhi at Bezwada on behalf of the ryots of the Kistna district, which contains among other statements:—. . . There is no end to our grievances. Many are the difficulties under which we are very badly suffering, such as the A and B classification, the imposition of penal rates, the appointment of officers to control the produce turned out by us, unsteady settlements, etc. . . Deltas which are of much use to ryots are neglected, and crores of rupees are being spent on railways which profit only merchants. If we agitate, the bureaucracy call us mischievous and if we remain quiet, they treat us as quite contented. We do not know what to do. . . If a Commissioner is appointed to inquire into the actual conditions, it will not be possible to find a ryot without debt. The prosperity of ryots is thus stunted, and immense grief is the lot of these people who form the backbone of the country. . .

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 30th Mar. 1919.

The movement of soul-power.

51. In its leader under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 30th March, exhorts all Indians to observe the 6th of April according to the instructions given by Mr. Gandhi, and observes that the day on which he took the *Satyagraha* vow coincides with the *Holi Pandagai*, and also with the day on which the demon Hiranyakasyapa threw his boy, Prahlada, into fire, the latter immersed all the while in spiritual devotion and coming out unscathed in the end, the soul-power in him taking the form of Narasimha to destroy Hiranyakasyapa, the embodiment of iniquity. It wishes that the people of India may succeed in their movement of soul-power on the 6th April as did Prahlada before.

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 1st April 1919.

Ourselves.

52. While setting forth its aims in its leader under this heading, the *Godavaripatrika* (newly started) of the 1st April, says:—. . . In accordance with the notion at present prevailing, a man is eligible for membership on the Municipal Council, the District Board, the Taluk Board or the Legislative Council, though he is a hopeless drunkard or debauchee. We seek to reform men addicted to such vices which are no less heinous than bribe-taking, and which should likewise entail a forfeiture of his appointment in Government service. . .

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 1st April 1919.

War and famine.

53. Under this heading the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 1st April, complains that it is becoming difficult to obtain change for rupee notes and coins, even on payment of a heavy discount, and requests the Government who are responsible for this state of things to issue paper notes for two-anna pieces, quarter-rupees and half-rupees, if they have not got a sufficient number of coins in stock.

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 1st April 1919.

What is to be done?

54. In its leader under this heading, the *Sudarsini*, of the 1st April, writes:—. . . The suit for libel brought by Mr. Tilak against Sir Valentine Chirol in England has been dismissed and Mr. Tilak has been directed to bear the cost of the defendant. . . Thus Indians are unable to get justice even in England. . . The Rowlatt Bill has been passed into law by the Imperial Legislative Council on the strength of official majority in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the non-official members. . . What is the duty of the people now? . . . There is no other way open to them than the observance of *Satyagraha* which is conducted by Mahatma Gandhi. . . The attitude of the Madras Council especially with reference to the Madras City Municipal Bill is equally discouraging. . .

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 1st April 1919.

Kerosene oil.

55. Under this heading, the *Sudarsini*, of the 1st April, writes:—. . . The kerosene oil trouble is becoming more and more intolerable. It is true that the quantity of oil

supplied is limited; but even that little is not being equally distributed among the people. . . We hear that great injustice is prevailing in the matter of this distribution. . . It is understood that a tin priced Rs. 3 is being secretly sold for Rs. 10 or even more. Cannot the Government put down the mischief done by these vendors and the partiality of officers exercising control over them? . . . When greedy merchants are robbing the people, is it just for the Government to remain indifferent in the matter? . . . Let the Government give up their control over this business, if they cannot manage it successfully; then, the situation will undoubtedly be better than what it is. . .

56. Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 5th April, refers to a petition presented by delta (lock?) superintendents praying for an increase in their salaries and appeals to the Government to give it their favourable consideration in view of the very low salaries of Rs. 10, Rs. 12 and Rs. 15 of these men, which would not be enough in these hard famine days to make both ends meet.

Lock superintendents.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 5th April 1919.

57. In the course of its leader under this heading, explaining the significance of the Sri Rama Navami festival, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th April, observes:— . . . When the western world was immersed in worldly enjoyments, saturated with the desire for foreign conquest, the great war came and turned their minds to the ideals of justice, righteousness, and freedom. Even now, its mind is dominated by the desire for wordly enjoyments. The rules of the League of Nations are characterised by a solicitude for self-interest. At such a critical juncture, Mahatma Gandhi holds up the banner of *Dharma* and preaches kindness not only to India but to the whole world. What country is better qualified to follow this *Dharma* than India which is dominated by religious spirit? . . . The discipline enjoined by him (Mr. Gandhi) has roused at one stroke the latent energies of the people. One extraordinary power could awaken in a moment the whole of India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from slumber. What all the political associations and speeches failed to accomplish, namely, the great national awakening without any distinction of caste and creed has been done by Mr. Gandhi's message alone. . .

Sri Rama Navami.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th April 1919.

58. Referring to the sale of proscribed literature in Bombay by Mr. Gandhi and his followers, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th April, says under this heading:— . . . Mr. Gandhi is not a man of words. Even now before any unrest spreads in the country, we request the Secretary of State to respect the wishes of the people and advise His Majesty the King Emperor to veto the Rowlatt Bills which have been so unanimously condemned by all parties in the country.

Action commenced.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th April 1919.

59. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th April, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the large meeting held on the evening of the 6th instant in connexion with the celebration of the *Satyagraha* day.

The *Satyagraha* day at Madras.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th April 1919.

60. Recommending under this heading to all Indians the observance of the *Satyagraha* day on the 6th of April as enjoined by Mr. Gandhi, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 5th April, writes:—There can be no honour, no security, no peace, no well-being to the people of India, as long as the Rowlatt Bills which have flagrantly outraged the honour of all the three hundred millions of them are not annulled. . . With the necklace of the Rowlatt Legislation on, how can we work for Home Rule? Let Home Rule be granted or not. As long as the Rowlatt Bills remain on the Statute Book it is meaningless and pernicious. . . The 6th of April is a day which will awaken the self-consciousness lying dormant in the nation. . .

Outraged honour!

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 5th April 1919.

61. Under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 5th April, reproduces in Telugu the report sent to *New India* by Swami Shraddhananda regarding the Delhi disturbance and his message exhorting his countrymen to observe the 6th April as a day of fast and prayer, and to send wires to His Majesty George V praying him to throw out the Rowlatt Bills.

The Delhi murders.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 5th April 1919.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 5th April 1919.

The untouchables and the Baroda State.

62. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 5th April, describes the arrangements made in the Baroda State for the uplifting of the depressed classes and concludes with the question :—When will the process of elevating the depressed classes be carried on in British India with the same amount of enthusiasm and resoluteness as is noticeable in the Baroda State ?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The awakening of the soul.

63. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 9th April, with reference to the *Satyagraha* movement of Mr. Gandhi, writes beginning with the quotation "The enemy of gods (Hiranyakasyapa ?) spoke in anger, defying his boy (Prahlada ?) who was absorbed in meditating on Narayana". . . The western Government (in India) have rushed through the Imperial Council the Rowlatt Bills in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of all the people of India, relying on the strength of their arms and their army. Last Sunday, those who had eyes could see the extraordinary excitement which was produced among the people in consequence of this action of the Government, and those who had ears could hear it. Though those who are deaf and blinded by power of office do not realize the popular force, the observance of *Satyagraha* throughout the country bears testimony to the great national awakening. . . The people of India very well know the instances of the triumph of soul power over arms acheived by their sages and devotees in the past. . . On the *Satyagraha* day, the people of India prayed to God as devoutly as did *Gajendra* (an elephant devotee mentioned in Bhagavata Purana) to liberate them from these cruel Rowlatt chains. . . The observance went on all well in Madras. It will be seen from the accounts published that even for the occurrence of small disturbances it was white people and not Indians that were responsible. The Government will have to decide who were responsible for the deaths in Delhi. The belief prevails among the people that the authorities at Delhi were unnecessarily hasty in opening fire on the crowd. Though it was against *Satyagraha* to force the sweetmeat vendors at the Railway station to close their stalls, it is clear that the conduct of the station-master was ill-considered and unjust. The authorities at other places deserve praise for causing no trouble to the people. . . Laws and physical force can be of no avail in crushing the soul-power now permeating the hearts of the people. May God give His Majesty George V the boldness and courage to veto the Rowlatt Bills which have been unanimously condemned by the people of India! The leader concludes with the text " I have lost all strength and hope. Life is disturbed in its abode in me. Tired in body, I am in agony. There is no other refuge for me now than you. O ! Thou ! the seat of all good come and save this poor creature ! "

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 4th April 1919.

The Delhi incident and its effect on the country.

64. Referring to the shooting incident at Delhi on the 30th March, last and after giving a version of the incident as stated by Dr. Abdul Rahman, Secretary of the *Satyagraha* Sabha of Delhi, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 4th April, writes :—The Government have passed laws opposed to the British principles of justice and are also ready to use machine guns to put down those that oppose them. The *Satyagrahis* may stand true to their principles, but when large concourses of people are concerned all of them cannot be expected to possess the same self-restraint as Mr. Gandhi. Popular excitement will bring about excitement in official circles, with the result that powder and shot will be used causing the death of the people. These evils have been working great harm in the western countries during the last five years and have now made their appearance in the Capital city of India. It is not possible to predict what the ultimate result of all this will be. Hindus and Muhammadans are united as one, and the attempts of Government to bring them under control by using force may not possibly prove effective. All the same, we deeply regret that our country has come to such a pass that the cordial relations prevailing between the Government and the people are being lost and the lofty principles of justice are being eclipsed.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 4th April 1919.

Writing on the same subject, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 4th April, remarks :—" From what we read in the columns of newspapers we find that the

Satyagrahis committed no acts inviting official interference. It is very discreditable that the local authorities at Delhi should have shown their valour by shooting the harmless and peaceful *Satayagrahis*. It is not unknown to the authorities at the top that the followers of Gandhi will never descend to the use of physical force and yet the officials at the lower rung of the ladder cause mischief and add to the troubles of the people. At one time in the past the word *Swadeshi* became synonymous with treason and *Vande Mataram*, a most objectionable cry. It is no wonder that the Indian bureaucrat with such traditions behind him should desire to use swords and guns against *Satyagarhis*. But those that knew that *satyagraha* consists in patiently putting up with every trouble will coolly bear the foolish acts of people like the Delhi authorities. Should not this be an eye-opener to the authorities?

65. Under this heading the *Samvad Abhyudaya*, of the 5th April, writes:— Owing to the rise of prices in India the poor are undergoing great hardships. Epidemics are raging equally with the other common diseases. There is no good feeling between the Government and the people. The ravages of famine are on the increase, the British traditions of justice are declining, constitutional methods are being weakened and autocratic acts have increased. The time for utilising railways, telegraphs and roads for the good of the people is gone, and the attention of the Government is now largely directed towards keeping the people under strict control. In this state of confusion people have little or no enthusiasm to devote themselves to agriculture, and are growing weak for want of food. Government say that they have done their duties properly, but, all the same, the people grumble at them. It looks as if these evils can be remedied only by the help of Providence and not by human efforts. Both the parties, the Government as well as the people, have lost their heads. It is said that God first destroys the brains of those whose ruin he wishes to bring about. We note with regret that such a misfortune has come over our country.

The poverty of India.

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 5th Apr. 1919.

66. Referring to the interesting speech delivered at the State Dinner in Baroda on the 24th ultimo by His Excellency, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 5th April, remarks:— His Excellency remarked that the Government of India had much to learn from the Native States and that if the former should copy some of the methods of the latter, British rule in India would improve very greatly. This is not a mere compliment, nor does it apply to all Native States equally. The remark applies to Mysore in a special degree. His Excellency the Viceroy will, when he visits our State in November next, have an opportunity of personally witnessing our democratic methods of administration. We have no doubt that he will be much pleased with all that would meet his eye here. But that is not enough. If the Viceroy is a statesman and a lover of democratic methods, if His Excellency is really anxious that the British connexion with India should last for all time to come, he must set to work to establish a Representative Assembly for British India and earn the sincere loyalty of the subject people. The Indians, both Hindus and Muhammadans, are a highly grateful people, and it is to the interest of the British that they should work to earn their goodwill. The Government of India do not possess the ability to know these things. . . Instead of trying to win the people over to their side, we note with regret that they have introduced un-British legislation into the country such as the Rowlatt Acts."

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at Baroda.

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 5th April 1919.

67. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 4th April, notes with warm approval the resignation tendered by the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah of his membership of the Imperial Legislative Council, and says that the Government having begun to swing the sword of *Duragraha* (foolish obstinacy) the people have no alternative but to ward off the blow and protect themselves by holding the shield of *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha*, it continues, is not a retaliatory measure as is believed by some petty-minded Anglo-Indian journalists, but is a spiritual weapon intended to put down the strength of the physical *Duragraha*.

Mr. Jinnah's resignation and *Satyagraha*.

Swadeshabhimani, Mangalore, 4th April 1919.

KANTHEERVA, Mangalore, 8th April 1919.

68. The *Kantheerva*, of the 8th April, in a leading article explains at great length the idea underlying the theory and practice of *Satyagraha* and concludes thus:—"This is the very first attempt of *Satyagraha* in India. To achieve success it requires deep forethought and thorough organization. No amount of self-sacrifice shown by the leaders of the movement will be found too much. During the days of the partition of Bengal the *Swadeshi* movement started by the Bengalis went out of the hands of the leaders and stands before us as a bitter example. Again the painful incidents that occurred at Delhi the other day make us fear that *Satyagraha* develops objectionable features when in the hands of the ignorant mob.

The *Satyagraha* movement in India.

KERALA KESARI, Ernakulam, Thulam-Vrischigom 1094 M.E. (October–December 1918).

69. In its leading article on "The Emperor of India and the British Empire", the *Kerala Kesari*, of Thulam-Vrischigom 1094 M.E. (October–December 1918), praises God and congratulates Great Britain for the victory of the allies, notes the whole-hearted co-operation of India in the cause of the Empire, and remarks that a century and a half ago India was under independent self-government, that on account of internal strife and dissensions she reached the climax of her ill-fortune and gradually came under foreign control, that in the midst of these troublous times circumstances drove her to the good fortune or misfortune of listening to the advice of western merchants and that this led to the domination of India by a power that came from over six thousand miles away, a nation altogether different from those of India in social customs, religion and civilization. The article endorses the opinion once expressed by the late Dadabai Naoroji that for the political advancement of a community or country the best means is to allow that community or country to exercise all political powers and privileges pertaining to that community or country. Democratic England will not deny this claim. India is impatiently waiting for the fulfilment of the declaration made by the Prime Minister. There is a false idea current that the grant of Home Rule to India will detract from the glory and prosperity of England. This is entirely false and is only the manifestation of the autocratic zeal of some selfish British officers. If India gets self-government Indians will be more loyal and more ready than ever to help Britain. This is evident from the part already played by India in the late war. Therefore in order to strengthen the bond between His Majesty the King-Emperor and his Indian subjects and to increase the co-operation of India at all times and in all circumstances with Britain, real self-government should be granted to India and India should be given representation in the Peace Conference just as Canada has been allowed.

The Emperor of India and the British Empire.

KERALA KESARI, Ernakulam, Thulam-Vrischigom 1094 M.E. (October-December 1918.)

70. From a few slokas extracted from Kalidasa, the *Kerala Kesari*, of the Thulam-Vrischigom 1094 M.E. (October-December 1918) argues that in ancient India there was self-government and responsible Government in which "the Executive" was responsible to the people and observes:—When we think of the pitiable difference between the state of the people of ancient India who had freedom of Government and our condition who pass our days as mere mute creatures under a foreign Government, tears come to our eyes. How many great men degrade themselves falling into the bewitchment of the West, because they are taught from worthless books written by some foreigners that all Hindu kings were tyrants, rakshasas and autocrats and that it is now that we have been saved out of our thraldom. How disgraceful! . . . It was in the days of the ancient Hindu kings that "Government of the people for the people by the people"—a noble ideal, by the vain repetition of which the atmosphere is desecrated by modern rulers—was actually realised.

Self-government in ancient India.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 30th Mar. 1919.

71. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 30th March, commenting on the high prices of foodstuffs at Guntūr and referring to the proposals made at the meeting held at Guntūr on the 25th and 26th idem, writes:—It seems that the demands made by the people of Guntūr are, to a certain extent, reasonable and legitimate. If the Government wished, it could make better arrangements with reference to the grain question. The

High prices at Guntūr.

complaint regarding high prices exists not only in Guntūr but all over India. The crop is good and the monsoon satisfactory, but if the rate of selling cereals be left to the option of the cultivators, poor people will fare very badly.

Satyagraha and Mussalmans.

72. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 3rd April, in writing on the subject, says :—We have already stated that we are not opposed to the principles of the movement. We recognise its dignity and propriety, but we claim that the Holy religion of Islam does not permit the use of such a weapon.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 3rd Apr. 1919.

Islam does, however, teach its followers to be manly and independent and not to be cowardly and lost to a sense of self-respect. It permits a law that is unjust and oppressive provided that the public peace is not thereby disturbed.

The Rowlatt Bill is undoubtedly unjust and autocratic. It destroys the liberty and the right of the individual. It will convict an innocent man on suspicion. No truly loyal and law-abiding people can accept such a law.

The editor also observes that *Satyagraha* alone will not suffice to oppose and remove it. At the same time he points out to his co-religionists that any *Satyagraha* methods are not in consonance with the teachings of Islam and advise them to pay due regard to what is prescribed as lawful and unlawful.

III.—Legislation.

The Rowlatt Law.

73. Condemning the action of the Government in having given effect to the recommendations of the report of the Rowlatt Committee, which the paper considers to be unjust in that the report was drafted without inquiring those whom it condemns, and that in the face of the united opposition of all parties in India, the *Kaliyugavartamani*, of the 8th March, is surprised at some stating that this law is necessary for a people who follow Mr. Tilak and, calling them traitors to the liberty of the world, enjoins on all Indians the duty of adopting the passive resistance doctrine preached by Mr. Gandhi and adds:—The laws of a Government which flouts the united prayer of the people should be got rid of only by means of passive resistance. This is, of course, a dangerous weapon and a wrong use of it will injure the user himself. But as Mr. Gandhi is well-versed in the use of this weapon, there is no doubt that the people and their leaders will follow him.

Kaliyugavartamani, Madras, 8th Mar. 1919.

In a leaderette, dwelling on the decision of the people to take to passive resistance under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, if the Rowlatt law is passed by the Council, and condemning the opposition of the moderates to the same, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 10th March, says that if the Government should pass the law with the help of the moderates, it will not be accepted by the people as having been passed on the approval of their representatives, and trusts that the Government will attach due weight to the objections raised by the people to this law and safeguard their privileges.

Vaisyamitran, Karaikkudi, 10th Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

Remarking that this law has been passed in the Imperial Legislative Council in haste, without any attention being paid to the objections raised against it by popular representatives and the various suggestions made by them during its passage through the Council, the *Lokopakari*, of the 24th March, observes :—There is neither urgency nor necessity for passing a law entirely against the unanimous opinion of the public. There are no indications of any movement to subvert the Government or create unrest in the country. We have to presume that this law has been introduced only to convince the British Government that there is much sedition in India. Otherwise, the authorities would not have introduced it at this time when the country is very quiet, when the thirst for liberty has spread throughout the world as a result of the awakening caused by the war, when the Indians are expecting to obtain that liberty. The action of the Government of India in this matter is against the just principles of the British Government. This law makes the Government both a plaintiff and a judge. Even when there are a number of appellate courts, an accused at times finds it impossible to obtain justice. When the plaintiff and the judge happen to be the same individual, how can an accused expect justice? So this law cuts at the root of the confidence of the people that every one can be sure of having justice under the British Government, irrespective of caste or status. It cannot conduce to the welfare of the

Lokopakari, Madras, 24th Mar. 1919.

Government for the authorities to conduct themselves in such a manner as to impair the confidence of the people in the Government. We hope our Government will note the history of the Muhammadan kings, who treated the people as they liked, enacting laws prejudicial to them, and act according to the opinion of popular representatives and leaders.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 31st Mar. 1919.

The *Lokopakari* reverts to this subject, in its issue of the 31st March, and dwelling again upon the Government having passed this law in the teeth of opposition, refers to the *Satyagraha* movement started by Mr. Gandhi, and says:—Unlike the passive resistance movement started by the suffragettes in England, Mr. Gandhi's movement will cause no harm to the country, the people or the Government. Even though it may not achieve its desired object, as is fondly expected by the authorities, it will surely improve the character of the Indians who have swerved from their righteous principles ever since they came under the influence of western civilisation. It will make them true, patient and resolute. The officials are belittling this movement, because they are not capable of understanding its glory. It is the absence of union among the representative members of the Imperial Legislative Council that has enabled the Government to enact this law. Even the solidarity of the official members does not teach the non-official members a lesson, and unless the latter begin to act in union, it will be impossible to alter the views of the authorities. When Wales and Scotland, already enjoying liberty, are agitating for independence as also Ireland, India, which is kept under subjection by the authorities, is not demanding too much by seeking liberty under the British Empire. The British Government are bound to fulfil the aspirations of the Indians, in view of the thirst for independence that has appeared in the world. It is not statesmanship on the part of the authorities in India now to enact laws taking away the privileges of the Indians.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd Apr. 1919

Referring to the opinion said to have been expressed by Mr. C. F. Andrews that he hates the Rowlatt Law as it will spoil public life generally and especially that of the students, that it will give room for an increase in the number of C.I.D. spies endowed with new powers, and that the Viceroy should note that this will curtail the respect now entertained for the Government, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd April, observes:—Not a single Indian or Britisher will support this law. But the official class have actuated by certain wrong impressions, begun to wrest from the Indians all their privileges. Who knows what evil may arise from their action? We have oftentimes given the warning, and do it even now, that it is not statesmanship on the part of the Government to allow an increase of spies in a quiet and peaceful country and that the wounding of the feelings of the Indians and increasing unrest and discontent among them, will weaken the British Government.

KERALA KESARI, Ernakulam, Thulam-Vrischigom 1094 M.E. (October-December 1918.)

The Rowlatt Bills.

Writing about the passing of the Rowlatt Bills, a note in the *Kerala Kesari*, of Thulam-Vrishchigom 1094 M.E. (October-December 1918), remarks:—There seems to be a special appropriateness in this action of the Government of India! For it is but recently that India has shown in connexion with the war that Indians are disloyal, anarchical, disobedient to laws, opposed to the continuance of the British Raj! . . . Is it possible to discover in true Indian history a single instance of an Indian subject having killed a king? Probably they are loyal who say that kings and emperors are unnecessary, "We shall look after our own affairs" and drive away kings from their thrones, persecute and kill them and kill their ministers! Indians—who are taught from their childhood that "the king is the God visible, who whole-heartedly believe in it and practise it in their daily life—Indians who helped Britain in the great crisis sacrificing their wealth and life and their all—Indians who have been satisfied with rags and gruel in order to secure royal luxuries to Britain and who still pray for the continuance of the British Rule, have now become, according to the Government of India, disloyal and anarchical. We do not know what to say of the policy and administrative skill of the Government of India that arrived at such a conclusion. . . . These things foreshadow the policy of a Government that had made up their minds to ascertain the wishes of the people, to make them partners in administration, to respect the opinions of the majority and ultimately to grant self-government to India and bless Indians!

74. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th April, expresses its sense of thankfulness to the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar for his having placed before the Council a resolution proposing the use of vernaculars instead of English for the conduct of the Council Proceedings. It observes that the use of vernaculars will be a most effective training to the people in the political affairs of their country and that their money cannot be spent more usefully than in ways which are calculated to bring about this much desired end.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th April 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council.

75. In the course of its review on the report for 1917–18 on the administration of the Madras Estates Land Act, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th April, refers to the delay in the submission of reports due from the Collectors of Kurnool, Vizagapatam and Guntūr, and remarks that it cannot be taken as a proof of the efficiency of the Indian Civil Service officials.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th April 1919.

The Madras Estates Land Act.

76. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th April, refers to the acquittal of Mr. Varadarajulu Nayudu by the Madras High Court and observes:—. . . The High Court deserves the thanks of the public for its services in upholding justice. The Rowlatt Bills dispense with the authority of law courts. It is impossible to imagine how many innocent persons will be punished in future without trial. The result of Mr. Varadarajulu Nayudu's case adds to the glory of British justice and will go to increase the enthusiasm of the people to undo the Rowlatt Bills which will destroy that British justice. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th April 1919.

The triumph of justice

77. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th April, gives in Telugu an extract from the leader indicating that the Government are indirectly strengthening the extremist party by driving to its camp many moderates not only by passing the Rowlatt Bills but also by their attitude of distrust in the people shown in many other matters such as the Army Commissions and the increase in the pay of medical officers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th April 1919.

The present situation and the moderates.

78. Referring to the budget discussion in the Local Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th April, observes:— . . . Although the budget has passed through so many stages, the changes made in it are very few. . . All the non-official members have expressed their regret that no sufficient money is devoted to the cause of elementary education, and that no attempts are made to make it compulsory as in other provinces. . . The reply of the Hon'ble Mr. R. B. Wood in defence of the drinking habit among the people on the ground that it is a necessity with persons doing hard manual labour comes with bad grace. . . It is a pity that he would not at least admit that drinking is an evil habit. . . There seems to be no scope for reform, so long as the system of administrations undergoes no change. It is hard that the Madras Presidency should have to contribute to the Imperial Government more than the other provinces. . . Whatever reforms may be granted, they are bound to be a failure, if they do not transfer the budget control to the hands of the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th April 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council and the budget discussion.

79. The *Kerala Kesari*, of Thulam-Vrishchigom 1094 M.E. (October-December 1918) objects to Mr. Patel's Hindu Intercaste Marriage Bill, chiefly because it is an attempt—a gratuitous attempt—to hand over the religion which is the life-blood of the Hindus and the social ethics based on that religion to a foreign Government with the request that they may be corrected and set in order by them. What is the use of such reform? A foreign Government or foreign philosophy which has absolutely no connexion with the religion or traditions of a community cannot set about to reform that community. Reform, if any, must come from within.

KERALA KESARY, Ernakulam, Thulam-Vrischigom 1094 M.E. (October-December 1918).

Mr. Patel's Bill.

80. The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 2nd April, has a lengthy leader on this subject of which the following is a summary:—The term of office of the present members of the Legislative Council will shortly terminate and fresh elections will take place next June. The chief

MUKHBIR-I-DAKHAN, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

The forthcoming election for the Provincial Legislative Council.

national leaders have tried hard to secure the right of separate representation for Muhammadans. Our grievance was that we had no representatives whom we could expect to carefully safeguard our rights. By the grace of God, however, our longstanding desire has been fulfilled. Thanks are due to Lord Minto and Lord Morley who took a just view in conferring on us the right of separate representation and thus gave us an opportunity of electing learned and sympathetic national leaders.

The editor advises Muhammadans not to vote for persons, who cannot do anything, are made laughing stock of, bring disgrace upon the entire community and pride themselves upon being its supporters. Such persons are a source of irritation to the Government and do more harm than good.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 5th April 1919.

Make-believe representation.

81. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 5th April, in a leader on this subject writes:—The most noteworthy of the several benefits derived by us from Minto-Morley Scheme is the right of separate representation. This appreciable boon placed us under a lasting debt of gratitude and paved the way for the various provinces to obtain their objects.

The editor criticises the Muhammadans of Madras for having thoughtlessly elected a Muhammadan member to the council who would sacrifice national requirements for personal advantage. Further, it is regrettable to find that the representative of the Muhammadan community tried to connect Mr. Bal Gangadar Tilak's political agitation and Mrs. Besant's views on Home Rule with Muhammadan aspirations in close relationship. It is patent to all that the Government of India's aim has always been to avoid interference in religious matters. The national representative, however, has gone to the length of misrepresenting the fact to the Government that Muhammadans are not satisfied with its non-intervention policy. On the other hand, their earnest desire is that the Government should interfere in religious matters and place Muhammadans under a debt of gratitude to it.

The editor, in conclusion, advises Muhammadans, who have the right to vote, to try to avoid such indifference to their own interests in future, and to elect a representative, who may be a help both to the community and the Government, and not waste the time of the council by his interpellations in season and out of season.

IV.—NATIVE STATES.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th April 1919.

Progress of the Mysore State.

82. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th April, refers to the arrangements made by the Mysore Government to impart free Higher Technical education and to encourage the establishment of touring banks and observes that the introduction of similar facilities in British India will be very useful.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 1st April 1919.

His Excellency the Viceroy at Hyderabad.

85. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 1st April, referring to His Exalted Highness the Nizam's friendly speech and His Excellency the Viceroy's reply, observes:—His Exalted Highness the Nizam's speech is full of friendly and loyal sentiments. There is no doubt His Exalted Highness refrained from making any allusion to political matters and referred to his distinguished guest in terms which were at once gratifying and pleasing. But it is not without interest to find that His Excellency the Viceroy's speech was somewhat involved. We, of course, admit His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's *bona fides* and loyalty, but we cannot understand the secret of referring to the retirement of Sir Faridun Mulk and Mr. Glancy and the appointment of their successors.

Possibly His Excellency has given some friendly advice but the question is what special importance necessitated his allusion thereto at a public entertainment.

It would have been friendly and wise if he had suggested the appointment of Madarul-Muham, or demi-officially admitted the importance of the restoration of Berar, or had promised to make some amendment in the Imperial Service Military regulations or had considered the advisability of appointing a representative of His Exalted Highness in India and England, or at least if he had admitted the necessity for, and importance of, conferring some Royal Honour on the Ruler of the Deccan. There are several such questions to which a reference could have easily been made.

We may freely give it as our opinion on this subject that His Excellency had forgotten the comprehensive character of his Baroda speech, or he wished to modify it in his references to improvements in the Hyderabad State, e.g., Educational activities in Baroda are referred to, but we find no mention of the Osmania University in Hyderabad.

84. The *Mushir-i-Dakhan*, of the 5th April, has a leader on the marginally-noted subject which is briefly to this effect:—The title 'Alā Hazra' used for His Exalted Highness the Nizam is synonymous with that of 'His Majesty', and we assert without fear of contradiction with 'His Imperial Majesty'.

MUSHIR-I-DAKHAN, Hyderabad, 5th April 1919.

'His Majesty' the Slight.

The Mussalmans of India unanimously agreed to accord him the title of 'Muhi-al-Mikat-al-din—The quickener of the nation and the faith.'

Yet the title 'His Majesty' is not used when referring to His Exalted Highness in English correspondence, whereas the ruler of Nepal, the extent of whose country, the amount of whose revenue, whose political status, personal influence and dignity, contributions in men to the British Crown during the war are as nothing compared with those of His Exalted Highness, is now addressed with this epithet! We naturally expect that the matter will be rectified in the not distant future. It would not be surprising if advantage is taken of the auspicious occasion of His Imperial Majesty's birthday in June next to do so.

[Issued, the 16th April 1919.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 16 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 19th April 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

III.—Legislation.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

1. In an article under the heading 'the Cult of the Bullet', the *Nationalist*, for the week ending 13th April, says:—"His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in his first interview with Mahatma Gandhi remembered the world of the existence of this cult of the bullet. His lieutenants faithfully carried out their master's hidden desire as against large masses of innocent citizens of the British Empire in Delhi. It was again carried out on the 10th instant by those who were appointed to keep the peace in Amritsar. Sir Michael O'Dwyer is the greatest believer in the cult of the bullet, and his exercise of power will probably be unlimited. By now it has become clear to all the world that shooting on the peaceful citizens is a plan of action by certain Governments. . . If the Government of India or any Local Government should feel that terrorism will pay, let them beware they are encouraging their counterpart the bomb-thrower and they do stand the same chance of success as he. The *Satyagraha* movement is a movement of moral force; and if the representatives of the greatest modern culture should hope to circumvent it by physical force, it is they that create lawlessness and anarchy and not the *Satyagrahi*.

Nationalist, Madras, 13th April 1919.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 9th April 1919.

Bolsheviks and the Allies.

2. Referring to a statement said to have been made by Sir E. Shekleton that the Bolsheviks in Russia are worse than the Germans but that they can be put down within three months by a volunteer regiment, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th April, quotes another statement made by the same gentleman that the Bolsheviks have all facilities and are well trained and that they are larger in numbers than the allied army and, remarking that his views are conflicting, says:—However, the Allies should pay heed to his warning. It is quite essential that they should put down the Bolsheviks even though it may take, not three, but thirty months.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 10th April 1919.

Indians in British East Africa.

3. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 10th April, quotes a portion of the speech said to have been delivered by the new Governor of British East Africa, in which he expresses himself openly against the grant of equal privileges in that Government and the municipal bodies there to the Indians, and observes:—What does this mean? It is the Indians that reclaimed East Africa and made it fit for the colonization of the British, and judging therefore from the standpoint of righteousness and justice the Indians there should be in a better position than the British. Still what the Indians demand is only equal privileges with others, and is it fair or does it connote royal justice to say that the Indians should be kept only at a lower level? The feeling of the people is already running high in India and if, to this be added the struggle of the Indians in East Africa, it is for the Viceroy and the British statesmen to ponder over what consequences it may lead to. And again will the aforesaid speech of the Governor of East Africa reflect credit on any one if it comes to be known at the Peace Conference? Will it not stain the good name of the British?

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 10th April 1919.

The Indians in the British colonies.

4. Remarking that the acceptance by the Canadian Government of the decision of the Imperial War Conference in 1918, that the minor wives and children of the Indian settlers in the colonies should be recognised as the subjects of the Colonial Government, will doubtless secure some convenience for the Indians there, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 10th April, refers also to the Australian Government having granted some concessions to the Indian students going to that colony and, observing that the South African Government alone still cling to their old policy, adds:—It is a matter for regret that the Government of South Africa have ignored even the help rendered by the Indian forces in securing for them the German colonies in Africa and failed to sympathise with the Indians. It is not fair to make a difference in status between the people of different countries forming part of the same empire. The only proper course will be for the Government of India to insist upon the Indians being granted the same privileges as citizens that are enjoyed by all people in the British Empire.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 10th April 1919.

The Philippines independence.

5. Referring to the reception of the Philippine delegation by Mr. Baker at Washington and to the willingness of President Wilson to grant the Philippines independence, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th April, remarks:—. . . It is necessary to know the reason which has led President Wilson to think that the Philippine Islands are fit to receive independence so soon. It is strange that there should be men even among us who think that we are not fit for complete Provincial self-government at least, after having enjoyed the benefits of British rule for the last 150 years. . . If the Indian Reforms Bill does not contain the moderate demands of the Congress, the Reforms cannot satisfy the people in the present conditions.

6. Referring to the Chinese claims at the Peace Conference, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th April, writes under this heading:— Differences are cropping up between China and Japan at the Peace Conference. . . It is monstrous that the Western nations should exact enormous sums of money from China for all these years under the pretext that the Chinese people rebelled against some missionaries long ago and killed them. It was Germany which was forward in oppressing China. The Allies should not, therefore, have any hesitation in having this burden removed from China which fought on their side against Germany.

The claims of China.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th April 1919.

7. Referring under this heading to the rumours about the departure of President Wilson for the United States without signing the Peace Treaty, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th April, observes that in view of the deliberations of the Peace Conference over unimportant details to the neglect of such vital and far-reaching questions as the application of the principle of self-determination and the establishment of everlasting peace and justice in the world, the belief is gaining ground all over that the Conference is brushing aside the principles of Doctor Wilson, and that it will be no surprise, if under such circumstances, the rumour turns out to be true that the President is going away disgusted with the Conference. With Bolshevism in full swing in Russia and Austria, threatening to overtake Germany at any moment, the paper apprehends serious troubles, if President Wilson also leaves for America at the present juncture.

What is the reason?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th April 1919.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(*d*) *Education.*

8. The *Desabhimani*, of the 29th March, comments as follows in its English columns on the Government Order about the recommendations of this Conference:—The Government Order on the resolutions of the Educational Conference which has been recently published three years after its session in Madras in March 1916 is rather disappointing and falls short of the expectations of the public. The Government have rejected the proposals of the Conference which even three years ago had been thought to be inadequate but now are absolutely insufficient and out of date. The unusual length of time taken by the Government to pass its final orders on the recommendations of the Conference shows a lack of enthusiasm on their part in speedily carrying into effect measures calculated to improve the elementary and secondary education in this Presidency, and the solutions offered by the Government on such pressing questions of vital importance seem so retrograde and unsympathetic in their character as to rouse in the mind of the public a feeling of resentment. The official majority in the constitution of the Conference had already led to the rejection of a large number of measures calculated for the encouragement of elementary and secondary education, put forward by the non-officials. Even such of the resolutions which the officials and non-officials thought to be quite necessary, the Government have thought it necessary to modify and reject in some cases. The chief recommendation of the Conference which the Government have adopted without qualification is the abrogation of the last paragraph of rule 99 of the Educational Rules restricting the admission of pupils from Elementary to Secondary schools, as in practice it seldom achieves the object with which it was framed.

The Conference had recommended that "for the purpose of granting fee concessions to indigent pupils of marked ability, expenditure by managing bodies on scholarships up to a limit of 10 per cent of the fee income reckoned at standard rates be considered as legitimate expenditure for the purpose of assessing the grants that might be paid to a school, provided that the scheme for the award of scholarships or fee concessions has received the approval of the Director of Public Instruction." Even this resolution solely intended to benefit indigent pupils of marked ability, the Government has expressed its inability to accept. At a time when there is a great demand for the introduction of a scheme for free and compulsory primary education, this apathetic attitude of the Government is inexplicable. After a decade of ceaseless agitation against the shortcomings of the

The Educational Conference of 1916.

DESABHIMANI, Cuddalore, 29th Mar. 1919.

Grant-in-aid Code to satisfy the growing needs of the country, it has to be remarked that very little wool has been gathered after much cry.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

Primary education and the Panchamas.

9. The *Dravidan*, of the 9th April, reproduces the substance of the leader of the *Justice* of the 8th idem on this subject, which expresses surprise at the statement of Diwan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Achariyar at the last meeting of the Legislative Council that great difficulty is experienced in enforcing the admission of Panchama pupils into elementary schools, and, attributing the backward condition of the Panchamas in the matter of education to the fact that the Educational Department of the Government of Madras has long been under Brahman influence, remarks that, while Panchamas are freely admitted into schools in the Mysore State, there can be no difficulty in enforcing it here and suggests that even the alleged difficulty can be removed by the Government and the municipalities issuing orders that Panchamas should be admitted into all their schools.

SIRTIRUTTAM, Madura, 26th Mar. 1919.

The national education movement.

10. Remarking that money is often collected in this country in the name of public good, though no benefit really accrues to the people therefrom, and, citing the collection of money for the case of Mr. Tilak against Sir Valentine Chirol, the payment of Rs. 75,000 to the Labour Party in England and the collection of funds for the national education movement as instances of it, the *Sirtiruttam*, of the 26th March, observes:—In the case of Mr. Tilak, the loss incurred by one individual was made out to be one incurred by the world, which is not proper. Is the payment made to the Labour Party again a bribe to them; or did they, being poor, seek the bounty of the Indians? At the time this amount was paid, the labourers in Bombay were dying in hundreds and it would have helped them materially if it had been paid to them. Coming to the national education movement, they collected a large amount last year, and are doing it even this year, though no one has explained till now what is meant by national education. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal has declared that this movement is not a workable one, and we understand the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sadasiva Ayyar has got out of the movement. If the children of the higher classes come out of the English schools and colleges and join the national ones, others will not hesitate to follow them. Otherwise this movement is evidently only a fraudulent attempt to deprive others of the benefits of a civilised education.

(*e*) *Local and Municipal.*

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

Village panchayats.

11. Appreciating the action of the Government in having finally recognized the necessity of village panchayats and decided to give a legal status to them, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th April, observes:—The Government were till now pleading that the villagers were not sufficiently educated and were consequently unfit to take up the village administration. But the fact that there are now in every village a sufficient number of persons fit to work on a village panchayat has necessitated their conferring on these men the rights to which they are entitled. Past experiment again has proved that village panchayats are capable of doing good work. We hope the Government will help the new panchayats with funds in the beginning, as no good will result from the establishment of such bodies unless they are given financial facilities.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 10th April 1919.

Local self-government.

12. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 10th April, is not satisfied at the statement made by the Government at the meeting of the local Legislative Council on the 13th ultimo, that Bills would shortly be introduced embodying the principles laid down in the resolution of the Government of India on local self-government with such changes as are necessitated by the conditions of this Presidency, and, quoting certain portions of the above resolution, remarks:—The Local Government have not evinced an enthusiasm till now in the matter of establishing panchayats. They do not seem to have carried out the wish of the Government of India in this matter. It was pointed out on behalf of the Government that the Government of India did not expect that all the recommendations made in their resolution should

be given effect to immediately. The hesitation of the Local Government as evidenced by this statement and their action regarding the Madras City Municipal Bill give room to serious doubts. Though the Government profess to be more liberal now in this matter than before, they do not seem to have given up the distrust which they have long had in the people. They do not err on the side of taking an active interest in reforming the local boards or developing local self-government. Every one easily complains that the people have not yet acquired the capacity of managing the affairs of their own place. But who is there to note that the bureaucracy have not given any opportunity or afforded any facility for the people to be trained in self-government?

Self-government in Madras.

13. The *Hindu Nesan* reproduces, in its issue of the 12th April, the substance of the comments of *New India* of the 10th idem taking exception to the Government having practically forced the Madras Corporation to use steam engines for its drainage works and not electrical plant, and asks whether this is an instance of the Government granting greater privileges of self-government to municipalities and other bodies.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 12th April 1919.

The Malabar local boards.

14. The leading article in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 4th April, observes that the total membership of 34 and the elected membership of 16 out of the 34 in the District Board of Malabar are both quite inadequate to represent a population of over 28 lakhs of people in the district. It is not known what principles are followed in fixing these things. It is over ten years now since the Government began to try and reform the Local Boards Act of 1884. But even the provisions of that Act have not been fully utilized anywhere. Past events show clearly that Government moves in this matter with fear and diffidence.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 4th April 1919.

(*g*) *Forests.*

The forests in India.

15. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 5th April, reproduces the same sentiments as are contained in the leader of *New India* of the 3rd idem referring to recommendations made by the Board of Forestry for utilising the enormous resources available in the forests in India.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

(*h*) *Railways.*

Railways.

16. Referring to the statement of Mr. Fisher in the House of Commons about the institution, of an inquiry regarding the management of Indian Railways, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th April, remarks:—. . . The sooner the management of Railways is taken out of the hands of English Companies, the more advantageous will it be for the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th April 1919.

(*i*) *Salt and Abkāri.*

The drink evil.

17. Expressing its surprise at the observations made by the Hon'ble Mr. R. B. Wood at the last meeting of the local Legislative Council regarding the consumption of drink, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th April, says:—Our friends would not have forgotten that the poor had to suffer much when this gentleman was the Director of Civil Supplies, and he has now met the complaint of the non-official members in the Legislative Council against the increase in the consumption of drink by the statement that it is a mistake to condemn drinking as an evil habit and that the members would approve of the habit if they, instead of working with the mind, have to do manual work. If the argument of Mr. Wood is correct, have all people, who do manual labour, taken to drink? If the ruler of Bhavanagar, who has effected reforms to check the habit of drinking among his subjects, had known that Mr. Wood has this special knowledge about drink, he would have consulted him before introducing the reforms! Mr. Wood has not stopped with this, but has stated also that no Government would agree to adopt the dangerous course of doing away with the consumption of drink altogether. It is really reprehensible that the member in charge of the Excise Department in the Board of

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th April 1919.

Revenue should have made such a statement. Are we to conclude from his observation, that the reduction in the number of shops for the last few years has led to an increase in the illicit trade in liquor, that he intends to increase the number of toddy and liquor shops? True it is that the larger the number of these shops, the greater will be the income of the Government. But is it to their profit or to the welfare of their subjects that the Government should pay the foremost attention? It is in no way desirable that the Government should increase their income, while the people are feeling the effects of poverty and ignorance. Though the reforms till now introduced by the Government have resulted in a reduction of the number of shops, the number of those taking to drink has been increasing. Sir Alexander Cardew, while declaring that the views expressed by Mr. Wood are not those of the Government, is non-plussed as to how to recoup the loss that will result by the abolition of drink, seeing that the land tax and excise duty happen to be the main sources of income for the Government. He need have no fear at all on this account. The excise duty will not disappear all at once, as he expects. If the Government arrange to get rid of the consumption of liquor within a period of ten years, they can within that time devise other sources of income. This will not cause any hardship to the people either, as they will have only to pay in some other form what they are now paying as excise duty. And again, instead of spending their money and spoiling their morals, as is the case now, they will improve the morals then. Sir Alexander Cardew has not perhaps noted that the Government of India have been carrying on their administration quite well, in spite of their losing an income of £17,000,000 every year from the opium trade. Will Lord Willingdon at least, who thinks that he is occupying his position only for benefiting the Indians, attend to this matter and introduce the necessary reforms? But there will be one difficulty for the Government and that is that, as the prohibition of drink will lead to the illicit manufacture of liquor, they will have to watch such manufacturers very carefully. It is the duty of the Government to get rid of a cruel habit which spoils the life of the people.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 12th April 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 12th April, comments in the same strain on this subject and citing the abolition of cocaine trade by the Government, suggests the desirability of steps being taken to put an end to the trade in toddy and liquor.

(*k*) *General.*

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 20th Mar. 1919.

Improvement of Provincial industries.

18. Adverting to the resolution moved in the session of the Madras Legislative Council held on the 13th March 1919 by the Hon'ble Mr. Ranga Achariyar requesting the Local Government to apply to the Government of India for an annual grant for the improvement of industries in this Presidency and also to the reply of Sir Alexander Cardew thereto, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 20th March, observes:—If the Honourable Members had only noticed the trend of the Imperial Budget, there would have been no need for suchq uestions. When the representative members in the Imperial Legislative Council asked for aid for the improvement of industries and education in India, they were told that the matter was left in the hands of the Provincial Governments, while the latter complain that adequate provision is not made by the Imperial Government. The war expenses interfere with everything. Though the war has ended, still our expenditure on it continues. The Government consider it a primary duty to meet all expenditure connected with the war, because under the peace proposals India is to get the 'mandatory trustee's' place in respect of the improvement of the Asiatic countries such as Mesopotamia and East Persia. It is natural that increase in status involves increase in expenditure. But it is not known what benefit India will derive from this honour. Apart from this, Sir James Meston has made a provision in the budget for a victory loan of 100 lakhs of pounds to meet unforeseen charges, and there is scope to raise another loan called the Peace Loan if further charges have to be met. Are we to get back the railway materials taken to the western theatres of war in Asia? If we claim these back, we have to lose the position of 'mandatory trustee', to maintain which we ourselves have

to make good our losses. For this, a provision of 176 lakhs of pounds has been made in the Imperial Budget for 1919-20. At the present stress for money, it is not known how the Government of India will be willing to sanction one crore of rupees for the improvement of industries in this Presidency.

The income from the excess profits tax is estimated at 6 million pounds. Thus, while the Government of India are getting 9 crores of rupees in this way, why should they not sanction one crore for the improvement of industries? It does not speak well of Sir Alexander Cardew's experience to say that, because the Imperial Government have declined to sanction 30 lakhs of rupees for the improvement of roads, they will not sanction any allotment for the development of industries. But his final words are worth noting. They are to the effect that we should understand that, until the losses of the war are recouped, no appreciable aid for items such as industries, education and sanitation can be expected either from the Imperial or the Provincial Government. There is no doubt that until then, we should continue to be in the same backward state.

The improvement of agriculture.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

19. Observing that the means adopted by the Government for the improvement of agriculture are generally said to be ineffective, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 2nd April, writes:—It is the opinion of the Indians that, as long as the Government do not try to educate the villagers so as to create an interest in them in this direction, all their actions will lead to mere waste of money. So, the remedy for this lies in education which is not a thing that can be had in a day. Even if education is made compulsory throughout the country, it will take several years for the agriculturists to secure the necessary knowledge, by means of education, to understand the results of researches made by Government and the benefits of model farms maintained by Government in some places. In the meantime, such farms should be established at least at the rate of one for each taluk if all the people should be benefited by them, and this in turn requires an increase in the staff of the Agricultural department. If model farms are started in several places and if agriculturists are taught improved methods of cultivation, it will create a desire in them for working in that direction. Having once stirred up this desire, the Government should devise means to supply them good manure at cheap rates. At present, bones and castor-cakes are being freely exported to foreign countries. Another important manuring stuff which is required besides these is sodium nitrate. It should be ascertained where it can be obtained in India and in what quantities, and steps should be taken for producing it on a large scale. Unless this is done, it will not become cheap, in which case the farmers cannot purchase and use the same.

Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 4th April 1919.

20. Referring with satisfaction to the decision of the Madras High Court setting aside his conviction and the proceedings of the lower court in connexion therewith, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 4th April, observes:—It must be known who is responsible for the physical hardship, mental anxiety and pecuniary loss caused to Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu by the very hasty action of somebody in having unlawfully issued, in the name of the Government, an order by wire which only the Governor in Council is competent to issue. Apart from this, even the person that granted the sanction did so without ascertaining what exactly Doctor Nayudu spoke. It is not without some object that the Criminal Procedure Code prescribes that the sanction of the Governor in Council should be obtained before prosecuting one on a charge of sedition. The Governor in Council should decide whether the action or the words of the accused are likely to cause disaffection and also whether, in the interests of the public or of the State, it is necessary to take proceedings against him. It may be that a particular individual has committed a seditious act; but at the same time it may not be desirable to take action against him. It is only for this that the law requires the sanction of Government being obtained prior to the institution of proceedings against offences under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code. Convicting and imprisoning the subjects of His Majesty as a result of the proceedings not taken in accordance with the law, amount to a contravention of the law. When a lower court convicts a person believing that

ne is the real offender, and this conviction is set aside in the appellate court, then it is no mistake on the part of the lower court, as it honestly believed that the accused was guilty. But when a Magistrate allows proceedings to go on in a case instituted by one without the necessary authority, and convicts the accused, he transgresses the law. Hence it is not strange that Mr. Nargunam acted in this way. From the judgment of the Hon'ble the Chief Justice, it is seen that all these hardships and losses to the accused were the result of the action taken by an officer of a far higher status than that of Mr. Nargunam, without realising his duties properly. If occasion has arisen for the Judges to enter into the details of the case, they would have found out that even the speeches in question were not seditious in character; and if a decision had been secured to that effect, it would certainly have been far better. We trust that the Government without getting enraged at the failure of their cause will elect to act fairly. If, without hastily rushing to prosecute Doctor Nayudu, the Governor and the members of the Executive Council had considered about his speeches, they might have decided not to take any action at all against him, and waste of public funds could have been avoided. No opportunity would then have occurred for the consequences that followed. We hope that, hereafter at least, the members of Government would realise that a single error led to such untoward consequences and that it is as much their duty as it is that of the people to act according to law. It is needless for us to point out that Doctor Nayudu by having had to suffer a short imprisonment, though unlawfully, shines with better lustre than before.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th April 1919.

In hailing with delight the acquittal of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th April, observes:—Mr. Justice Sadasiva Ayyar has written an independent judgment in this case, in the course of which he has made comments on the application of the prosecution for adducing additional evidence and on the applicability of the law in the matter. His statement that the law in respect of the offence of sedition should be enforced with due regard to the exigencies of the times is commendable. We trust that the Government before charging either Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu or any other person will ponder over the rare words of Mr. Justice Sadasiva Ayyar more than once, and abstain from causing unrest similar to that caused in South India by the case which has now ended satisfactorily.

The same paper, of the 5th April, observes:—The cases which the bureaucrats bring against the patriots share the fate of a tortoise in boiling water. Seeing that the cases against Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Vaidya and our Doctor have been decided in favour of the accused in the higher tribunals, would the bureaucrats grow wise at least hereafter? It is certain that they will not, for the Rowlatt Law has come into existence.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

In dealing with this subject, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 5th April, comments almost in the same strain as the *Swadesamitran*, of the 4th idem, and remarks that the way in which the Government of Lord Pentland have dealt with the shooting incident at Madura in connexion with the trial of Varadarajulu Nayudu is not satisfactory.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 7th April 1919.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 7th April, also welcomes the acquittal of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 6th April 1919.

Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

Referring to the acquittal of Mr. Varadarajulu Nayudu by the Madras High Court, the *Hitakarini*, of the 6th April, says under this heading:—. . . We are glad to hear this news. How well it would be to put Mr. Chenchayya also on trial and decide one way or the other. Is it not against the spirit of British justice that a person should pine in jail from year to year without any trial and without any charge having been framed against him?. . .

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 11th April 1919.

The Varadarajulu Nayudu case.

Adverting to the Varadarajulu Nayudu sedition case and the acquittal of the accused by the Madras High Court, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 11th April, expresses its gratification and highly eulogises the judgment of the High Court and further remarks that Government are wrong in suspecting the educated classes as seditious, and that it is only the tender susceptibilities of the officialdom that make it find sedition in what is merely a strong criticism of Government measures.

21. The *Dravidan*, of the 4th April, writes under this heading as follows:— It is well-known that there have been political unrests in our country during the past five years and a certain selfish set of people styled Home Rulers have sprung up. They strove to get complete liberty in administrative matters. The non-Brahmans of the country, who were for many centuries, kept down by caste restrictions, without even tasting the sweets of happiness and getting education, have been enabled by degrees, with the assistance of the British Government, to remove these disabilities. But the time has not yet come for all our difficulties to disappear completely. While we were in expectation of better days, it is clear that, by means of their *mantras* and devices, they conspired to dupe the Englishmen, seize the Government and lower our position by establishing rigid principles of caste in our own land. But, by the grace of the Almighty, their mischievous intenntions were not successful. Some of these, however, with the idea of getting opulent by securing high posts, have ingratiated themselves with Mr. Montagu. So, we understand that the Home Rulers, who are false patriots, have gradually left the Home Rule party and are, under the name of 'Montagu-moderates,' working at present with a determination to get high appointments with rich salaries. Are not these big salaries to be met from Government revenues, which in themselves are made of the taxes paid by the ryots by the sweat of their brow? There is, therefore, every reason for our people to feel anxious about this and to demand rights and equality of treatment in the matter of reforms. Who can object to the legitimacy of such a demand? The Montagu-moderates have just organized a league in Madras known as the Madras Liberal League, and these are said to be the people that will correctly represent to the Government the views of our country!

Selfish motive but not patriotism.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 4th April 1919.

22. The *Dravidan*, of the 4th April, writes:—The *Satyagraha* movement occupies at present the foremost place in the field of Indian politics. Every one is aware of the untoward plight brought by *Satyagraha* at Delhi. We have repeatedly urged that it is but a mad doctrine. The *Indian Mirror* characterises this movement as an unwise step. When a foolish movement is set on foot in full swing, the consequences will indeed be dangerous as may be seen from the recent incidents at Delhi. The Government should take necessary precautions to avert such dangers. We should not in the least encourage either *Satyagraha* or national education.

The *Satyagraha* vow.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 4th April 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th April, observes:—It is certain that this country is now suffering for its past sins. Otherwise, there is no need for the authorities to be obstinate in enacting the Rowlatt Law entertaining strong suspicions about the most docile of people. It is nothing but the result of our past sins that the British, who waged war with the object of helping all the countries in the world, should have come forward to deprive the Indians, who helped them in the war, of even their present status. So, it is necessary for us to purify ourselves to get rid of that sin. Fasting is considered to be an effective atonement by all religionists. So, if we fast to-morrow, we can extricate ourselves from the bondage of our past actions.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

Then observing that, when in Delhi Swami Shraddananda offerred himself to be fired at by the troops that threatened to do so, the weapons in their hands became futile, and that, when in an affray between the Moors and the French in North Africa the former threw down their arms and marched towards the cannon of the enemies asking them to kill them, the French declined to fire at them, the paper continues:—So, if all the thirty-three crores of people in this country should simultaneously get convinced that they will rise from their low condition, there is no doubt that they will do so. Do not be provoked with the Government who, being unable to understand our greatness and quietness, slight us. We should make our attempts with a firm mind so that our vow may make them change their minds.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th April, observes:—The authorities have explained that, at Delhi when the mob continued to throw brick-bats in spite of warnings not to do so, it became necessary to use guns. While this appears to be the case at Delhi, let us see what happened in London. A telegraphic news has

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

been received of an affray which took place a few days ago between the troopers and the Police. Even when the affray became serious, the Police are said to have defended themselves only with batons, and no guns seemed to have been requisitioned or loss of life caused, while in Delhi guns mounted on motor-cars were brought to the scene and fire-arms used.

DESABHAKTAN, & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 2nd April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* vow.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd April, publish in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held at the Madras Beach on the 1st idem to concert measures for the observance of the *Satyagraha* day at Madras on the 6th idem and consider about the recent disturbances at Delhi.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 3rd April, publishes an extract from a communication appearing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, in which a Mussalman points out how the fast on the *Satyagraha* day advocated by Mr. Gandhi is in keeping with the doctrines of the Islamic faith and remarking that the mind of the people should be disabused of the impression that the Government are infallible, exhorts his coreligionists to observe a fast on the *Satyagraha* day to connote the fact of the statesmanship and justice of a civilised Government having come to naught in this country.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 2nd, 3rd & 5th April 1919. DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd April, publishes the proceedings of a public meeting held at Madura on the 31st March 1919 to exhort the people to observe the *Satyagraha* day on the 6th April 1919, while the *Swadesamitran*, as well as the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd idem, publish the proceedings of a public meeting held at Tanjore on the 1st idem for the same purpose. The *Swadesamitran* of the 5th April, also publishes the proceedings of a public meeting held at Madura on the 1st idem at which one Mr. Sundaram Pillai is reported to have condemned the Rowlatt Law in strong language while exhorting the people to take to *Satyagraha* vow as the only remedy to get rid of it.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th April, publishes a communication, from the pen of a correspondent, who institutes a comparison between the *Satyagraha* vow inculcated by Mr. Gandhi and the conduct of Druva in an ancient *puranic* story, who is said to have concentrated his mind upon the meditation of God and succeeded in his object of winning the love of his father, that had rejected him listening to the wily advice of his second wife.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 4th April 1919.

The Indian Medical Service.

22. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 4th April, observes:—There are many among the Indians who have attained efficiency in medical science. The doubt arises as to how many important appointments with high salaries in the Medical Department will be available to them. The opinion of the people on this subject has been expressed on many occasions and in many places during the last twenty or thirty years, and this is to the effect that the Civil and the Military Service in the Medical Department should be separated from each other. At the time the Public Services Commission was formed, 79 per cent of the higher posts in the Medical Department were held by the Indian Medical Service, $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent by the Indian Subordinate Medical Department, and the rest by the Civil officers. Such an arrangement is not in vogue either in England or even in Germany where militarism is rampant. Is any further proof needed to show the uselessness of the present system, than the difficulties that resulted when the Indian Medical Service officers were sent to the field in the recent war? When we consider also about the fact that all the professorships in the Medical Colleges of this country are in the hands of the Indian Medical Service officers, the inconveniences and difficulties resulting from this system appear to be very serious. Further, the main defect of the present system is that capable Indians have no scope now for displaying their skill or for developing it. The Indians have been complaining of this matter for a very long time. In 1907–1908, Lord Morley suggested to the Government of India the desirability of taking steps to gradually raise to the Indian Medical Service cadre civil medical men who have studied and passed their examinations in India; but the Government of India did not pay any heed even to his suggestion. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim has stated in his minute of dissent that, according to the reforms proposed by the Public Services Commission, the Civil Medical Service will

continue as at present in the hands of the Indian Medical Service officers alone and that there will be no change in the existing state of things except only a change of designation. Another Indian member of the Commission has suggested that one-third of the higher appointments in the Medical Department may be given to the Indian Medical Service officers and the rest distributed between public servants working in the Civil Medical Department and private practitioners. But the members of the Medical Council in England being very influential men, they have obtained a promise from Mr. Montagu to safeguard the interests of the Britishers in the Indian Medical Service, and appoint them to high posts to a large extent. Perhaps the Medical Services Committee is considering about the number by which Military Medical officers may be increased and the number of private medical practitioners in England and India who can be provided with appointments. We are afraid whether, under the pretext of making reform, they will retain the old system with increased rigour.

The Industries Commission.

24. The *Dravidan* reproduces in Tamil, in its issues of the 27th, 28th, 29th and 31st March, an article contributed to the *Modern Review* by Sir P. C. Ray criticising the report of this Commission, while the *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th March and the 5th April, publishes an abstract of the same in Tamil in parts.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 27th, 28th, 29th & 31st Mar. 1919.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th Mar. & 5th Apr. 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 3rd April, summarises in its leader the arguments contained in the above criticism.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

The Indian Industries Commission.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th April, publishes in Tamil the last portion of the summary of Doctor P. C. Ray's criticism of the report of the Indian Industries Commission.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th April 1919.

The women of India.

25. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd April, publishes a long communication, from the pen of a correspondent, who contrasts the present condition of women in India with that of women in ancient days here and attributing the existing state of affairs to the effects of western civilisation and education, appeals to the men to educate the women in politics and convince them of the efficacy of passive resistance, which, in the opinion of the writer, every one in India should take up "to restore Mother Bharata to her ancient glory".

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

Indian Civil Service officers and trade.

26. Observing that three Indian Civil Service officers have till now resigned their appointments under the Government of India and taken to trade, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th April, remarks:—The westerners, who come for high appointments in India, are already being given rich salaries. Seeing that the Indian Civil Service officers take to trade now, the Government of India may even offer them higher salaries. It is commendable in a way that the Indian Civil Service officers have given up their appointments and taken to trade. Instead of continuing in their office and taking part in the Indian Civil Service agitation, they have gone to trade so that they may increase their income. Will their brethren too follow them?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

The I.C.S. officers and trade.

Observing that three I.C.S. officers are said to have resigned their appointments and taken to trade, the *Lokopakari*, of the 7th April, writes:—Perhaps under the impression that it will not be easy for them to get higher posts hereafter, they have decided to amass a fortune through trade. Until responsible government is established in India, what if the I.C.S. party take to any field? They will be influencial everywhere.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 7th April 1919.

Political prisoners.

27. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th April, writes:—The number of those interned under the Defence of India Act has of late been increasing. In many cases the offender himself does not know what for he has been kept in custody. While so, how are the members of his family to know of it? There is no limit to the grief caused by this cruel Act on account of the separation of wives from their husbands, mothers from their sons and sisters from their brothers. Some of those interned, unable to bear the misery, become mentally upset and disfigured and die. When these

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

things are considered, it has to be doubted whether the authorities have a grain of mercy in them.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

The union of the Congress.

28. The *Dravidan*, of the 5th April, refers to the existing split in the Congress camp and the starting of the Liberal League in the City and remarks that it only proves that the so-called union of the Indians exhibited in the Congress, of which the Home Rulers, the Brahmans and their followers were always boasting, is a glaring falsehood and prays the Government to grant communal representation through communal electorates at least after properly realising the present situation.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 24th Mar. 1919.

Political parties in India.

29. Referring to the several political parties that have of late sprung up in this country and to the views expressed by Lord Willingdon about the moderates and the extremists at a dinner given to him on the eve of his departure from London, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 24th March, observes that many of the moderates in this country are being patronized and drawn by the authorities to their side, that one of these moderates has been raised to the peerage and that there is a rumour of some more being similarly raised, and adds:—It is not the wish of the extremists to get a democratic form of Government as described by Lord Willingdon, but it is their wish to get liberty which is enjoyed by other colonies subject to the Empire. It has to be inferred from the words of the bureaucrats that they are not in favour of granting complete responsibility to Indians, but that by responsible government they mean only entrusting certain useless departments to Indian management and exacting work from them subjecting them to the control of the Executive. We trust, therefore, that the Indians will, without being led away by the words of the bureaucrats who are creating factions, come forward to settle their own differences and work for the progress of the country.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikudi, 24th Mar. 1919.

The food situation.

30. Remarking that the letter written to the Director of Civil Supplies through the Union Chairman of Karaikkudi by a member of the local union panchayat, agreeing to sell to the poor at cost price foodstuffs to the extent of a lakh of rupees, was of no avail and that a communication to the District Magistrate regarding kerosene oil shared the same fate, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 24th March, writes:—Though Directors of Civil Supplies have been appointed in all provinces, yet without ascertaining the local conditions in the matter of foodstuffs and arranging to get articles from outside, they are still considering over the matter. It is not known what the people have to do until these officers come to a decision. They have found out their mistake through the Conference. The restrictions imposed by them cause more harm than good to the people. Though well-to-do people offer to spend money and help the poor, the Government are unable to afford the necessary supply of foodstuffs.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The food situation.

Referring to the observation said to have been made by Lord Willingdon, before he left Bombay, that he regretted his having to leave without relieving the distress caused by famine there and pointing to the fact that the situation has not changed even after his return to India, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 9th April, remarks that it would doubtless be an auspicious beginning for his administration in this Presidency, if he would extend to the people here the same sympathy that he expressed to those of Bombay and adds:—We expected that the food situation of the Presidency would be considered well at the last session of the local Legislative Council. But, as usual, the Government gained a victory by the strength of their majority and they do not seem to have realized the condition here. The prices of many indispensable articles are now two or three times what they were some months back. The failure of crops does not seem to be the only reason for this. There is a loud complaint that the prices of several articles have risen on account of the restrictions imposed by the Government. The import of rice from Burma has not reduced the price of local rice for only a small portion of the former is sold by the retail bazaarmen, the remainder, being sold as usual by the importers to mufassal merchants for prices higher than those prescribed by the Director of Civil Supplies, though receipts are obtained by them from the merchants

for the prices fixed by him. It is said that the trade in respect of other commodities like chillies has also become a very lucrative one on account of the certificates issued by the Director. It is reported that, when one succeeds in getting a licence to export chillies, he is sure to become rich, though we cannot vouch for the truth of this statement. When the individual who sends an article is different from him that gets the certificates can it not be inferred that it is for some substantial consideration that it changed hands? It is rumoured that the applicants for certificates are being helped by the subordinate staff and this is also said to be one of the causes for the increase in the prices of articles requiring certificates. Though we cannot be sure of the truth of these allegations they doubtless indicate the urgency for an investigation by the authorities. A bag of gingelly seeds, that was selling for Rs. 15 some months back, now sells for Rs. 30 or more. Is it due to failure of crop, or the fact that a few persons have purchased and stocked all the quantity available? If the latter is the case, have not the Government the power to interfere? The condition will become more stressful in a few months, for harvested crops will be available now which will not be the case a few months hence. The rise in prices may therefore become unbearable by the people, and pinching hunger will tell even upon their mind. Before things come to this pass, will Lord Willingdon understand the situation well by stopping his trip to the hills for a time and afford relief? If he does so and appeases hunger, he will be praised by many. If not, it will only give room to the impression that the richly-paid officials are indifferent towards the hardships of the people.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 9th April, contains a leader on this subject in which it says that the resolutions of the Food-stuffs Conference recently held have been more baneful than beneficial in their results, in that they created an impression among the merchants that there was a further fall in the supply of articles and made some of them speculate by purchasing large stocks, with the object of making higher profits later which in turn has led to a further increase in prices and warning these speculators that, under the new system decided upon by the conference, the Government would fix the prices definitely and that they may have to share the fate of the piece-goods merchants, if they continue their game, asks them not to spoil the rice trade by their conduct.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The *Desabhakan*, of the 9th April, also reproduces the substance of the above comments.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

Mr. Arabinda Ghose.

31. In welcoming the news that Mr. Arabinda Ghose has received a communication from the Poet Laureate of England that the former would no longer be treated by the British Government as he was till now, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th April, observes:—While it is the duty of all Governments in the world to protect the great men in every field, the British Government alone have been neglecting the great men in India and they would do well to cease to afflict several great men like Mr. Arabinda Ghose at least hereafter.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

Mr. Lala Lajput Rai.

32. Remarking that the objection raised by Mr. Terrel in Parliament to Colonel Wedgewood having described Mr. Lala Lajput Rai as a patriot, will come as a surprise upon all Indians, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th April, says:—Mr. Lala Lajput Rai is not an anarchist as stated by Mr. Terrel. Though dubbed, as such by the officials in India, the Indians call him only a patriot. When persons, who have once been convicted, are honoured in England by being allowed to be members of Parliament, why should Mr. Terrel be provoked by Indian patriots being described as such?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

The exodus to the hills.

33. Referring to the resolution passed at the public meeting held in Madras requesting the Government to give up the exodus to the hills at least this year in view of the present famine conditions, the *Mahavikatadutan*, of the 5th April, observes:—It is not known whether this resolution will have any effect, or whether even for this *Satyagraha* will spring up. There is no doubt that Lord Willingdon would have from time to time acquainted himself with the defects in the administration of Madras, when he was in Bombay. While the people are suffering from famine,

MAHAVIKATADUTAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

will these (the authorities) spend their time in games and dances? What are we going to do if they are going to have their own ways? Though it is generally said that the man that has left is better than the man that remains, we expect that the new-comer will be better than the one that has left. The truth will be out in due course.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 5th April 1919.

The exodus to the hills.

Referring to "the Madras Government's exodus to the hills," a note in the *Samadarsi*, of 5th April, remarks:—What a great sin to compel the people who are suffering in masses from famine and pestilence to pay a large amount of money in order that the Government of Madras may enjoy the cool air of the hills! Cannot the Madras Government give up the exodus to the hills at least this year? Is it necessary to continue this wasteful evil even in these bad times—a practice which gives the impression that foreign bureaucrats do not care a straw what may befall the natives and that they care only for their own comfort?

MALAYALI, Quilon, 5th April 1919.

The *Malayali*, of the 5th April, refers to the proceedings of a public meeting held at Madras on the 29th March under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma with a view to request the Government to give up their hill exodus, and gives the summary of Mr. Ramachandra Ayyar's speech in moving the resolution on the subject, in which he is reported to have said among other things as follows:—The money that is being squandered for the hill exodus of the Government is the hard-earned money of poor people, and the present condition of the country does not allow such extravagance. . . The Government exists for the welfare and prosperity of the people and should act in accordance with public opinion. We do not want a Government that fails to do that.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th April 1919.

The resignation of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

34. While expressing its appreciation of the resignation, by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, of his membership in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th April, says:—Mr. Jinnah of the the Bombay Presidency and Pandit Malaviya of the United Provinces have resigned their seats. What are the representatives of other Provinces doing? How grand would it have been if Mr. B. N. Sarma had not withdrawn his resignation? Alas'. Are the representatives of this Presidency sleeping? Where has the saying gone that it is better to lose one's life after losing one's to honour?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 8th April 1919.

Resignation of the Hon'ble Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Referring to the resignation, by the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya, of his seat on the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 8th April, appreciates the courage with which he has acted and adds:—By this Act he has proved himself to be a true *Satyagrahi*. Some may condemn his action. But it is a mistake to do so, as it is the duty of every one to preserve his self-respect and patriotism, without belying his conscience. Let the Government ponder over the resignation of one known as a moderate of moderates, and the grandeur of the quiet observance of the fast, etc., last Sunday by the people throughout the country and repeal the Rowlatt Law at least hereafter.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* day.

35. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th April, writes:—The soul-force of Mr. Gandhi, whose inspiring effects were felt in South Africa, Champaran and other places and whose aim is to drive away from this world, by means of truth, courage and love, the devil of modern civilisation, is hovering over the whole of India now. It will spread even throughout the world and dispel the darkness of that civilisation. The time is near when the world will have peace. The day is approaching when those, who either on account of the immensity of their army or arrogance of power, hope to keep the world under subjection, will learn a good lesson. The hour is high when even the west, where materialism prevails, will imbibe spiritualism. *Satyagraha* day was celebrated throughout India yesterday, except at Delhi, and the celebration at Madras exceeded all expectations. No official can bring about the closure of all shops in the city and what is the force that led to it? It is only the soul-force of Mr. Gandhi that acted upon the mind of the bazaarmen and made them close their business for the day. Will the Viceroy note this and be disillusioned? We learn that many Government Officials observed the fast. The day was observed by all classes irrespective of caste or creed, in obedience to the

call of Mr. Gandhi. Let the Government note this and repeal the Rowlatt Law. It is no civilised act to seek to control the people by repression, without repealing this law. It will surely lead to no good but will land the country only in unrest and other evils. We warn the Government that this law, passed by them for the purpose of suppressing such evils, will be the very instruments of creating them. The repressive policy of the Government is sure to come to trouble on account of the *Satyagraha* movement and what will be the position of the Government then? They may not relish our words now; but a time will come when they will appreciate them. They may destroy anything but truth.

The same paper refers elsewhere to a remark of the *Madras Times* that some two or three processions went round the city and that no disturbances took place on account of the vigilance of the Police and, questioning its accuracy, observes that the patrolling of the Police with sticks and arms in their hands only caused an unnecessary panic among the people and asks why the Government supplied the Police with sticks knowing that the *Satyagraha* movement was a quiet one.

It refers also to certain British soldiers having thrown stones on people that were proceeding to the meeting at the Madras Beach along the road to the west of the Fort and remarks:—As it was day-time, the soldiers threw stones. We do not know what they would have done, if it were night time. It is really commendable that the people were patient, without being provoked by the ordeals to which they were subjected by the police and the soldiers.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 7th April 1919.

Remarking that every one who witnessed the celebrations in the City on the *Satyagraha* day felt sure that they would again attain a lofty position in the world and appreciating the spirit in which the local police officials realised the attitude of the people and the influence of the leaders to control them, and refrained from interfering with them, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 7th April, observes:—If our officials had noted the spirit in which the people received the message of Mr. Gandhi, they would at once repeal the Rowlatt Law. One who had witnessed the proceedings on the beach yesterday will never venture to repeat the statement that the ordinary people cannot follow the *Satyagraha* vow, with the same restraint that Mr. Gandhi and others can. The two arguments adduced by the opponents of *Satyagraha* are that it will lead to excesses on the part of the people and that it may impede the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmford reforms. The people have proved by their conduct yesterday that the first argument cannot hold water. As for the second argument, how will we be benefited by the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms? It was pointed out by Mr. Gandhi that they could not do us any good, unless those who would share the powers with us hereafter paid some regard for us. May those who dream of the reforms being a valuable treasure realise this and, giving up their pertinacity and petty ideals, strive with us for the glory of this sanctified land.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 7th April 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 7th April, publishes a communication, from the pen of a correspondent, about the celebration of the *Satyagraha* day at Madras, in which he remarks that it was such as to bewilder even those who declared *Satyagraha* to be a tom-foolery and also appreciates the way in which the Commissioner of Police conducted himself in the matter of these celebrations.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 7th April 1919.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 7th April, remarks that it was unnecessary for the constables in the City to have patrolled in the streets yesterday with long sticks, and observing that many retail bazaarmen closed their shops only on account of the fear of these constables, says:—Let the authorities understand the nature of the *Satyagraha* vow from the fact that no disturbance occurred yesterday as expected by them. It is necessary for them to note that a single individual, Mr. Gandhi, has created a mighty spirit of union among the people of Madras and also that, if he can command so much of influence, there is nothing which he cannot achieve. It is therefore necessary for the authorities to repeal the Rowlatt Law without caring for prestige. This law has been passed without sufficient forethought and against the unanimous wish of the people and a repeal of it in deference to that wish will not reflect any discredit on the Government or affect the administration. The authorities should not lend ear to the advice of selfish people that yielding to the opinion of the public will indicate that the Government are afraid of them. It is on the advice of these selfish people that many repressive

laws have been introduced in India, and it is in the interests of the Government that the authorities should note that the unrest in the country is due only to these repressive laws.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 7th April 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 7th April, however, asserts that the bazaarmen in the city were coerced by means of hand-bills to close their shops on Sunday and that various false rumours were again set up for this purpose and remarking that the object of *Satyagrahis* seems to have been more to intimidate the uneducated people by giving them wrong ideas of the Rowlatt Law so as to make them close their shops than to induce them to observe the vow on that day, says that not even, one in a hundred that assembled at the beach understood the object or significance of this movement.

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 7th April 1919 & HINDU NESAN, Madras, 7th & 8th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* day at Madras.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 7th April, and *Hindu Nesan*, of the 7th and 8th idem, publish the proceedings on the *Satyagraha* day at Madras on the 6th idem. These proceedings appear in the *Hindu* of the 7th idem.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th April 1919.

Remarking that disturbances often take place in India when large crowds gather to hear political speeches and, attributing it to the mischief of the lower ranks of the Police, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th April, says:—Though Mr. Armitage, the present Commissioner of Police, is a very good officer, the Police do commit excesses now and again in different parts of the City. When the Labour Union was started in Madras, the subordinate Police officials created many obstructions. Though the Union has outlived these hardships and is in a good condition now, some Police officials are still hovering round the Union. But, as the labourers are now convinced that nobody's action can do any harm against truth, God will surely protect them. As the Government appear to view the *Satyagraha* movement with suspicion, the Police and the Anglo-Indian soldiers are bent upon fomenting unrest and are very active in this matter. It is their excesses that led to the loss of some lives at Delhi. In Madras, the Police and the soldiers committed some mean acts on the *Satyagraha* day likely to cause a breach of the peace. It appears that the Police officer of the Elephant Gate station stopped for reasons not apparent, a large concourse of labourers performing *bajana*. The crowd obeyed him being bound by Mr. Gandhi's instructions. When they passed through Royapetta, some among the Anglo-Indian guards pelted them with stones, even which they bore quietly. It is the duty of the petty officials to conduct themselves with respect when large crowds of labourers pass and it is a matter for regret that they should have acted otherwise. The wise cannot but attribute the action of these officials to a motive on their part to throw an unnecessary blame on the *Satyagrahis*. We have witnessed with our own eyes the wounds on a student of the Engineering College, who was one of those that were handled badly by the British soldiers near the Fort on Sunday. If, while the soldiers are whipping innocent people and pelting them with stones, others passing by go to the rescue of the latter, the former will fire on them and offer some lame excuse to the authorities. The Anglo-Indian papers are ready to condemn the *Satyagraha* movement on the ground that the *Satyagrahis* attack the Police and the soldiers and seek for its suppression. Can the unarmed people attack the armed Police? The residents of Madras should consider themselves fortunate that the soldiers here did not use guns against them, as those at Delhi. It behoves the Government to note the iniquitous action of the soldiers in Madras on the *Satyagraha* day.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 8th April 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 8th April, also refers to this subject and remarks:—Many of the Brahmans who professed to fast on that day did not appear to have done so, and again there is nothing to show that the closure of most of the shops in the City was due to the spirit of *Satyagraha*. We understand that many resorted to non-*Satyagrahic* methods to accomplish the object of *Satyagraha*. It appears many Brahmans pursuaded the bazaarmen to close their shops by telling them that it was a Mahatma's order, a violation of which would lead to his cursing them. Some poor people appear to have been made to believe that the Government had ordered such closure. It is stated that even some Police men who

shirked work, might have hinted to the shop-keepers that they would do well to keep their shops closed, as a precaution against possible looting. Some are said to have given out strange interpretations about the Rowlatt law, such as that it permitted the Police to arrest without a warrant any three Indians who were found together and to search any house. Many false rumours also seem to have been spread in the City such as that the shops should be closed as the peace had been signed and some are reported to have advised a closure on the ground that the new Governor was coming. There is nothing strange in those things, for it is world-known how many lies were uttered to obtain the signatures of the people on a previous occasion. It is no difficult task to collect a crowd in Madras. Anything to attract the people will bring it about and the mere gathering of a crowd cannot indicate the unity of feeling among the people. The Government will not get deceived by all this. The people gathered in the beach, just as they gather in a theatre, to see the fun and there is nothing to warrant the belief even for a moment that all of them were actuated by *Satyagraha*.

Reverting to this subject elsewhere, the same paper remarks that the *Satyagrahis* in Madras secured the observance of the day only by giving their movement a religious tinge and compelling and threatening the ignorant mob to follow it. They even harassed the poor vegetable sellers in the markets to desist from their daily avocations and these would have had to starve that night. Alas! Is this patriotism? The leaders of the movement are all Brahman vakils. Why cannot these take an oath that they will not attend the law courts and Legislative Councils and will give up earning money until the Rowlatt law is revoked? Why should they unnecessarily subject the poor to misery? Is not their action in having compelled the people to close their shops and desist from their avocations against law and public peace? Why have not the Government taken notice of this? There is little doubt that if such a state of things should be allowed to continue, Bolshevism will show its head here also.

Satyagraha.

Referring in its leader under this heading to the celebration of the *Satyagraha* day on the 6th instant, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 9th April, observes that in view of the news which is coming out regarding the secret influences at work in this connexion, the observance does not strike any one as extraordinary and that those who closed shops at Madras, when asked as to why they closed them, said that they were obliged to close them and suffer thereby, as they were told to do so in honour of the conclusion of peace, and on pain of being exposed to musket-fire, if opened. The paper remarks that hand-bills containing misrepresentations such as the following were freely circulated:—"If a policeman takes a fancy for your wife, the Act affords him scope to send you to jail and take charge of her. As women are regarded in Russia as national property, the Government will introduce a similar system in this country. Alas! An Act has been passed to shoot any two people who may happen to be talking in the street!" The article concludes with the remark that the people observed the *Satyagraha* day, not because they understood its significance but because they were deceived by such misrepresentations as are described above.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* day.

In the course of a report of the *Satyagraha* day celebration at Gudivada, a correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 9th April, states:—. . . Lectures were delivered explaining the nature of the Rowlatt Bills, how they enchain Mother India, and render the freedom of her people nominal, etc. . . Portraits of Mother India bound by the Rowlatt chains and of Mahatma Gandhi were also exhibited.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council.

36. Referring to the suggestion of the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar that provision should be made for speeches being delivered in the Council in vernaculars, for the appointment of interpreters to translate these speeches and for the publication of the proceedings in Tamil and Telugu, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 7th April, observes:—By publishing the proceedings in the vernaculars, will the people get themselves acquainted with them? They find it difficult to read even the summaries appearing in the English papers. Vernacular publications will involve only additional cost and labour. But a trial may be made by providing

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 7th April 1919.

the necessary facilities for the publication of these proceedings in the vernacular papers. If this is continued for some time, the interest and zeal of the people will be aroused. Then arrangements may be made to have the proceedings published in full in the vernaculars. The Government have agreed to have the official proceedings published in English without delay. Till now these have been published after a delay of about a month and a half on an average after the close of the session. This delay is regrettable and should be avoided in future.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 8th April 1919.

Separation of executive from judicial functions.

37. Referring to the opinion of Sir Reginald Craddock, the Lieutenant Governor of Burma, that the separation of executive from judicial functions should be considered before the opening of a High Court for that Province, and remarking that this very reform has been urged by the Indian National Congress ever since it was started, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 8th April, observes:—This idea was never expressed by Sir Reginald Craddock when he was an executive officer in India. Such a separation will not be liked by the official class in India, whose obstinacy it is, that has stood in the way of the peoples' request being granted in this matter till now. It is habitual with this class to be dogmatic in their opinions. They are not amenable to correction, nor will they understand things themselves. It is therefore a wonder of wonders that Sir Reginald Craddock belonging to such a party, should now advocate the separation of this reform.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 8th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

38. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th April, writes:—The patriots in India should be glad that what hundreds of politicians and newspapers have not been able to achieve, Lord Curzon achieved a few years ago and the Rowlatt Law, at present. The great mass of the population of India, which was asleep, was disturbed a little by the pinprick of Lord Curzon but went to sleep again. The thundering of the great war woke up the people and while they were trying to do their duty, the Rowlatt Law attempted to disturb them. Last Sunday witnessed the resulting outburst on their part in the towns and villages of this vast country, which shows that the people have begun to recollect their glorious past and to regret for their present degradation. It is impossible to ignore them any longer. Even in unheard of villages, prayers seem to have been offered on the day to the Almighty in accordance with the Mahatma's directions, a fast seems to have been observed by many and a prayer sent to the Government to do away with the Rowlatt Law without any distinction of caste or creed. The proceedings on Sunday all over the country have shown that the people of this country still retain the hereditary valour of their ancestors, who observed effectively the *Satyagraha* vow in those days and accomplished their objects. Politicians and newspapers have been working for long only to make the people realise their own capacity. Let us be thankful to Lord Curzon and the Rowlatt Law for having made this work easy. The observances of last Sunday are only the first step in the *Satyagraha* movement. It should be begun in earnest only hereafter. It appears Mr. Gandhi and others have started it already by the sale of certain prohibited publications. Whatever action the authorities may take on this, there is no doubt that it will be beneficial to the public.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

The *Dravidan*, of the 9th April, reproduces the observations made by the *Justice* of the 8th idem under the heading "Active hostilities", pointing out that the sale of prohibited literature begun by Mr. Gandhi and others indicates their resolve to create unrest by actually disobeying the provisions of the Rowlatt Law and other Acts, and concludes from the non-interference of the Police in this matter that the Government would even go to the extent of asking the Police to help the *Satyagrahis* in their efforts.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 31st Mar. 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

Referring to this movement the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 31st March, writes:—Any weak man may win the world by means of soul-force. It does not require any special weapons or physical training. But the use of this force means a very long struggle between the Government and the people, and it may try the patience of both the parties before they are reconciled to each other. The

bureaucrats may slight this force now on the impression that, with the weapons like the Rowlatt Law in their hands, they can arrest the progress of the *Satyagraha* movement. They may also think that this will not share a better fate than the boycott vow taken by the people as a protest against the partition of Bengal twelve years back. But the people then vowed only to boycott foreign goods and their efforts were obstructed. The time is different now. No Indian who understands the principles of *Satyagraha* well and joins the movement conscious of his own mental strength will swerve from it, and he will not join any secret association and begin to do anything hostile to the Government, for his mind gets purified and he is prepared to openly oppose any law which is prejudicial to the people. Thus, this movement will reduce the work of the Secret Police, and it may even lead to the Government dispensing with the necessity of maintaining that department. This soul-force is an eternal thing and it should be noted that it will not at all be possible to destroy it.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 8th April, and the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 9th idem, publish in Tamil a notification of the *Satyagraha* Association, Bombay, which advocates the sale of publications prohibited by the Government and the issue of unregistered manuscript newspapers in all places where *Satyagraha* associations have been formed.

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 8th April 1919 & HINDU NESAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, the *Desabhaktan* and the *Dravidan*, of the 10th April, and the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 11th idem, publish in Tamil a message of Mr. Gandhi in which he exhorts the *Satyagrahis* to be prepared for imprisonment at any moment, not to defend themselves in courts of law and to accept any sentence of imprisonment imposed but to refuse to pay fines

SWADESAMITRAN, DESABHAKTAN & DRAVIDAN, Madras, 10th April 1919 & HINDU NESAN, Madras, 11th April 1919.

The last meeting of the Local Legislative Council.

39. In commenting upon the proceedings of this meeting, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th April, observes:—It behoves the Government in India to do everything calculated to improve agriculture in India, as 84 per cent of its population depends on agriculture for living. But the officials are acting as they like in this matter without caring for the co-operation of the non-officials and this is a great defect. It is to remove this defect that the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao moved a resolution at this meeting suggesting the establishment of an Agricultural Board for this Presidency, and we need not say that the institution of such a Board will help the improvement of agriculture on modern methods. But the head of the Agricultural Department and the Government are at one in considering that such a Board is not necessary. If this is the attitude of the Government, how can agriculture progress? The resolution has been sent for the reconsideration of the head of this department. We hope that he would this time give an opinion in favour of establishing a board of the kind suggested.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th April 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan brought forward a resolution at this meeting recommending the opening of a commercial museum in Madras, which, if carried, would have conferred great benefit on the public, especially the merchants. The Government said that the matter would receive their attention. The merchant classes in Madras anxiously await the day when such a museum will be established and it is hoped that the Government will bestir themselves in this matter, casting off their usual lethargy.

It is highly regrettable that the Hon'ble Mr. T. Ranga Achariyar's resolution that the Government should provide asylums for the sick and the crippled was lost. The Government should deem it to be their main duty to reform the paupers in the country and it is a matter for regret that the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson objected to incur State expenditure for work of this kind.

Act of lawlessness.

40. In a leaderette under this heading the *Dravidan*, of the 8th April, refers to some people having thrown stones at Mr. D. A. G. Ratnam at a meeting held at Trichinopoly on the 6th idem to explain clearly to the people the provisions of the Rowlatt law, and remarking that the absence of the Police at this meeting shows that the Government are not bestowing proper attention on the public peace, observes:—At present unrest, disturbance and unconstitutional acts have become rife in our

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 8th April 1919.

country. The Government have not clearly understood that the ordinary ignorant people that toil hard for their living and pay their taxes to the Government, are suffering much hardship on account of the oppression of the extremists. We blame the Government in this respect.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 8th April 1919.

Bolshevism in India.

41. Referring to the news that in the house of a student of a mission school at Mainpuri in the north of India, a store of pistols, swords and ammunition and notices containing seditious matter inciting to rebellion such as "kill the English and be free" were found, and that it was proved by evidence during his trial, that the object of the conspiracy was to expel the British from the country, the *Dravidan*, of the 8th April, observes:—If such things should continue, our country too will be ruined like Russia. The Government and true patriots should unite and be ready to suppress such horrible movements.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

Newspapers in India.

42. In expressing its thanks to Mr. Fisher for having stated, in reply to a question of Sir John Rees in Parliament, whether the Viceroy here has not the power to control newspapers run by Christian missionaries if they wound the religious feelings of the Mussalmans, that even the Provincial Governments have such power over all newspapers, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th April, says:—Though, as pointed out by Mr. Fisher, the Provincial Governments in India are empowered to apply the Press Act to all newspapers, our question is whether they are exercising this power impartially. Newspapers conducted by Anglo-Indians and European Christian missionaries are often transgressing the bounds of the Press Act and causing class hatred by their writings. The Provincial Governments have been witnessing all this quietly. Perhaps Mr. Fisher is not aware of this state of affairs here!

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The excesses of soldiers.

43. Referring to the fact of some innocent people having been handled badly by the soldiers, subsequent to the mischief that is said to have occurred on the *Satyagraha* day, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 9th April, remarks:—If this is true, the conduct of the Anglo-Indian soldiers in the city should be deemed to have taken a really dangerous turn. If the authorities do not find out the authors of these excesses and punish them properly, we need not say that it will injure the good name of the British rule. We shall eagerly wait to see what action the authorities will take. If they do not bestow proper attention on such matters and whitewash the affair, the feeling may spread among the people that the Government are forsaking justice, attaching a greater importance to differences of class.

HINDU NESAN, Mdras, 9th April 1919.

Asylums for beggars.

44. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 9th April, reproduces the comments of the *New India* of the 7th idem regarding the failure of the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. T. Ranga Achariyar at the last meeting of the local Legislative Council, that the Government should open asylums for disabled beggars who are not able to make a living for themselves.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

State expenditure on churches.

45. Referring to the provision of 22 lakhs of rupees in the budget for the current year for expenditure on Christian churches, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th April, observes:—Hinduism and Islam are the main religions in India. While so, why should the Hindus and Muhammadans pay for the benefit of the Anglo-Christians who form a minority of the population? By doing this, the Government of India would be belittling their prestige. Leaving alone the past, the Government should hereafter at least note the trend of the times and act so as not to hurt the feelings of the Indians.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The Famine fund.

46. Remarking that the major portion of the fund set apart by the Government of India every year for helping the people in times of famine and undertaking works of famine relief has been utilized for discharging loans, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th April, observes:—During the quinquennium ending with 1917–18, two million pounds have been spent in this manner. The Government should spend the money, earmarked for famine relief every year, on providing facilities of

irrigation, etc., that very year. By doing so, they will not only avert famine, but also improve the fertility of the lands. As the famine, which has now appeared, is of a very severe type, the Government should start famine-relief works as a precautionary measure.

The expenditure on the India Office.

47. Quoting figures to show that, during the triennium ending with 1918–1919, the excess expenditure on the India Office is 24 lakhs of rupees, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th April, says:—While the poor Indian subjects are crying for want of even a single meal a day, their money is being freely spent thus in the India Office in London. Perhaps this is the economy advocated by the Secretary of State for India. It is stated that this excess expenditure has been the result of increasing the salaries of officials and extending the buildings of the India Office. It is only the wearer that knows where the shoe pinches.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

48. Remarking that Sir Michael O'Dwyer is said to have made some irrelevant observations at the close of the last session of the Punjab Legislative Council and threatened that all those that set up youths to take part in political agitation would be strongly dealt with by the Government, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th April, gives a warning to him in the following strain:—Let Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his companions remember that the time is long past when the bureaucrats held sway over the Indians by means of threats, and that, hereafter, they should act according to the wishes of the people. Let those like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who aim at undermining the just and righteous principles of the British Government, conduct the administration without sullying their name further and go back to their native country.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The *Satyagrahis* and law.

49. Generalising that law is of two kinds, natural and artificial, and remarking that, while benevolent rulers will always frame the artificial laws so as to fortify the natural ones, it is only tyrannic rulers that frame artificial laws so as to clash with the natural ones, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th April, points to the rulers of Russia and other countries having suffered by harassing the people with many laws contrary to the law of God, and observes:—Our British rule has for its foundation justice and righteousness. If, in India subject to such a rule, the action of the bureaucrats should lead to the passing of barbarous laws, it is incumbent on the British subjects to do away with them. Those that obey the barbarous laws promulgated by the wickedness of the officials will be guilty of the treachery to the British rule. Now the Rowlatt Law has appeared in India hostile to British justice, and, at the bidding of Mr. Gandhi, the *Satyagraha* movement is spreading all over India for the purpose of getting rid of this law. The *Satyagrahis* will disobey only such laws as are against their conscience, but will obey all other laws. They will not obey laws like the Rowlatt Law, which provides for the conviction of people on the mere strength of the statements of the Police without any other evidence, without a trial by jury and without any appeal. They will court imprisonment by disobeying all false laws. It is those that follow this course, that are true patriots. Those that sell their conscience and obey barbarous laws are only traitors to His Majesty's administration. Lovers of truth should take the *Satyagraha* vow. News is received that the *Satyagrahis* in Bombay are selling prohibited literature and it is understood that they propose to take some steps violating the Press Act. This Act is indeed a barbarous one and it is the duty of the *Satyagrahis* to contravene it. When are the members of the *Satyagraha* Sabha in Madras going to follow the footsteps of those in Bombay?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th April 1919.

The headquarters of the Madura and Ramnad districts.

50. The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 31st March, expresses itself against the proposal to have two different headquarters for these two districts and observes:—It will be quite incompatible with the past history of the country to change the headquarters of either of the districts from Madura, which is in a central position to both and a more convenient place than which cannot be secured. The impression of the people till now was that the original bifurcation of the Madura district was due to the large area over which the officials had to tour round in administering it, and if the headquarters too are bifurcated, it

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 31st Mar. 1919.

will be deemed to be a device to divide the people. Such a division may lead to all the hardships which resulted to the Bengalees from the partition of Bengal. The people of both the districts have till now been under the impression that they are one. The Government will, therefore, do well to avoid unnecessary agitation at this juncture and to locate the headquarters of both the districts on either bank of the Vaigai river. It is natural for every town to expand on account of congestion, and the best course in such a case will be to take steps to extend the town and not to divide it.

SOURASHTRA, Madura, 1st April 1919.

Lord Pentland.

51. The *Sourashtra*, of the 1st April, has a leader in appreciation of the administration of Lord Pentland in which stress is laid upon his having maintained justice by framing such laws as were suitable to the times, on his having prohibited the students wasting their time in political meetings and on his having opened a University Club for the benefit of these students, and the observation is made that he has done many things beneficial to the people which can never be forgotten. The paper refers to certain special benefits conferred on the Sourashtras as a class during his regimé, such as the rule framed by him, on a representation made by the people of Salem when plague first appeared there, that every one should be inoculated and the poor given an allowance of 6 annas per head, his visit to the Krishna Weaving Factory at Salem and the award of a certificate thereto, and the promise said to have been made by the Government to pay half the cost of the building of the Sourashtra High School at Madura. It adds that, if some important things had not been done in his regimé it was because the time had not come for it, and hopes that, though the Sourashtras have not been permitted by the Government till now to have a representative of theirs in the Legislative Council, he would have paved the way for his successor at least bestowing some attention on the subject.

LOKAPRAKASAM Trichur, 7th April 1919.

Lord Pentland's administration.

The *Lokaprakasam*, of the 7th April, regrets to have to say that on the whole the six-and-a-half years' administration of Lord Pentland has in no way satisfied the public.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th April 1919

Mr. Janab Hamid Ahmad.

52. In a short note, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th April, refers to an order of externment passed in 1916 against Mr. Janab Hamid Ahmad by the Government of Bombay, without his knowing up to date why such an order was passed against him, and to his having been informed recently that the said order has been cancelled and remarking that one is imprisoned and released suddenly in this Government where flourish righteousness and justice, asks "What justice is this?"

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th April 1919.

The *swadesi* vow.

53. Adverting to the *swadesi* vow recommended by Mr. Gandhi, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th April, impresses on the people the necessity of their taking this vow in obedience to the call of Mr. Gandhi, as all the leaders are at one in thinking that the *swadesi* vow is the best means of securing the advancement of this country and the improvement of its industries.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 10th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* day at Delhi.

54. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 10th April, writes:—Are the bureaucracy aware that the whole of India feels sorry and excited on hearing the Delhi incident. The version of the authorities differs from that of Swami Sraddhananda regarding this miserable incident. The popular opinion is that weight should be attached only to the Swami's words, and even the Hon'ble Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq opines in the same manner.

Here the paper quotes the words of this Honourable Member in which he expresses the hope that the Swami's version will prove true at the people's inquiry held about the Delhi incident and adds that, if it is so proved, he will resign his membership in the Imperial Legislative Council, for it is not possible to co-operate with the Government which tolerates the events that occurred at Delhi.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th April 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th April, appreciates the above words of the Hon'ble Mr. Haq and, observing that the non-official committee conducting an inquiry at Delhi is sure to publish its report in a few days, expresses the hope

that then at least the other members of the Imperial Legislative Council would also resign their seats.

55. Remarking that the Philippinos are fortunate in every respect as, besides having been granted responsible government in 1916, only a few years after they came under the American control, they expect to be given the privilege of self-determination shortly, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th April, observes that India has not yet acquired one feature of representative government, though she has been under British rule for more than 150 years, and adds that it is for its readers to draw their own lessons from this.

The fortune of the Philippinos.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th April 1919.

56. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th April, publishes a Tamil rendering of the first number of an unregistered leaflet entitled *Satyagrahi* said to have been edited by Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the 7th idem at Bombay.

The *Satyagrahi*.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th April 1919.

57. In welcoming Lord Willingdon to Madras, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th April, says:—Though Lord Willingdon has also earned a name for applying the Defence of India Act to popular leaders, he is not timid like Lord Pentland, who was a tool in the hands of Mr. Gillman. During the regimé of Lord Pentland, some of his councillors controlled the affairs of the presidency as they liked. We learn that Lord Willingdon will ascertain things for himself. We do not know the motive underlying the appointment of Lord Willingdon to this presidency,—whether it is to secure at a critical juncture the services of an experienced person, or to remove the dissatisfaction created in this presidency by the cruel rule of Lord Pentland, or to govern the presidency keeping it under subjection, or to promote the peace of the presidency. Let us take it that the object of the appointment of Lord Willingdon is to restore peace in this presidency which was ruffled by the inefficient administration of Lord Pentland. As Lord Willingdon's arrival here synchronises with the efforts of peace, let us hope that his administration will also aim at the establishment of that peace. We wish he evinces the same sympathy for the people of this presidency as he did for those of Bombay on the eve of his departure and take prompt steps to relieve the distress caused here to the poor on account of famine. Will he realise the intensity of the distress and stop his move to the hills as requested by the people? The great war was begun in Europe during the time of Lord Pentland and the first cry that reached the ear of Lord Willingdon the moment he landed in Madras should have been that of the *Satyagraha* movement. The *Satyagraha* war is not like the barbarous war that was waged in Europe. This war, which is being carried on throughout India, is gaining strength even in this presidency. It is incumbent on Lord Willingdon to understand the true nature of the *Satyagraha* movement and apprising the Viceroy of the attitude of the people advise the repeal of the Rowlatt Law. If he does not do this, his administration will not prove an efficient one.

Lord Willingdon.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th April 1919.

The paper, in conclusion, makes an appeal to Lord Willingdon in the following strain:—You wounded the feelings of the Home Rulers in Bombay by your words and deeds. We request you to forget such words and deeds. You know that a policy of repression will lead to unrest. We, therefore, request you to adopt a policy of love, to refrain from resorting often to the Press Act, to give up the application of the Defence of India Act and to avoid welcoming the Rowlatt Law.

The *Dravidan*, of the 10th April, also welcomes the new Governor and expressing the hope that the experience gained by him as the Governor of Bombay will be of great help to him in administering this presidency and in tackling with a new kind of unrest, which has appeared throughout the world and which has set foot even in India, requests him to take prompt steps to avert the famine of foodstuffs which is more acute in this presidency than in Bombay.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 10th April 1919.

In offering a welcome to Lord and Lady Willingdon, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 11th April, writes:—It is stated that Lord Willingdon is sympathetic by nature and has a broader outlook than Lord Pentland in the matter of political reform; but as it is usual for Governors to fall in with the opinion of the bureaucrats, however broad their own views may be, we request Lord Willingdon to be resolute without changing his nature. It is at a time when the people are

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 11th April 1919.

suffering everywhere from the effects of high prices that he is taking over the reins of the administration. If he would only take the trouble of relieving the distress of the people, he will be praised by all. There is another point also in regard to which he can bring about great advancement during his regimé. Though this presidency produces many articles useful for industrial purposes, they are all exported without being utilised here. The Government will soon have to give effect to the recommendation of the Industries Commission and if, at that time, Lord Willingdon works with an eye only on the interests of this country, he will be strengthening its economic condition and merit the gratitude of the people. Another important fact which we would like to impress upon him is that a provincial Government is concerned mainly with a sound administration, and that controversies about political reforms come within the province of the Government of India and the British Government. So, if he would keep himself away from all local factions on political questions and centre his attention mainly upon securing a sound administration, he will not only be benefiting the people much but also be making a good name for himself. We have thought fit to offer this advice to him as he expressed himself on the eve of his departure from England in favour of the moderates and against the extremists. Both these classes of politicians wish for the longevity of the British connexion with India. They differ only on the question of how far the bureaucrats should still continue to exercise power. As Lord Willingdon does not belong to the bureaucracy, there is no reason for his being averse to the efforts made to curtail the power exercised by that class. He should always keep in mind that the Indians are also the subjects of the King-Emperor and see that the people here are treated in the same manner as those in England. We trust that his administration will be such as to merit the appreciation of the people when he returns home five years hence.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 11th April 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 11th April, also welcomes Their Excellencies and referring to the famine of foodstuffs prevailing in the presidency and to the spread of the *Satyagraha* movement, expresses the hope that Lord Willingdon will conduct his administration in such a clever and capable manner as to satisfy all people without, at the same time, curtailing the prestige of the Government.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th April 1919.

58. Referring to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th April, says:—Mahatma Gandhi, our companion and friend, our brother and Emperor, our preceptor and God, is reported to have been arrested by the Government. The Mahatma was, of course, anticipating this act of oppression on the part of the Government. Is it British justice to enact a cruel law and arrest and tease those that oppose it standing by truth? Is it manliness to arrest a man in the middle of a journey? The Mahatma is weak with illness. The Government should note this. We warn them even now that, if any harm should result. they will be responsible for it. We do not know what the Government intend doing with him. Whatever they may do, he will not be afraid of it. Time should no longer be spent in vain. Those are not men who live in the world after surrendering the Mahatma to the Government. The bureaucracy is devising harm to the British rule. All those who love this rule should begin even now to renounce their self. The Mahatma has not taken the *Satyagraha* vow for his own sake, but for the sake of the thirty-three crores of people. All these people should deem their homes to be prisons. The holding of protest meetings will be of no avail. The arrow of truth should be aimed at the bureaucrats. Uncivilized laws should not be obeyed. This is our return to Mahatma Gandhi. No more talk. All people should become *Satyagrahis*. This is the time when one should forsake his home, property and relations and, leaving them to the care of God, do service to the country: O valiant and wise Indians having a sense of honour! O Goddesses of charity! brute force is up; the force of the devil has come out; the force of the demon has cropped up. Get rid of these by means of soul-force. Do not be afraid of death. Soul is indestructible. O *Satyagrahis* who observed the fast in obedience to Mr. Gandhi last Sunday! Follow the wake of our *Satyagraha* leader.

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 10th April 1919.

Referring to this subject, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 10th April, observes:—It is only the Defence of India Act that empowers the prohibition of any one

entering a province or the removal of one by force. So, Sir Michael O'Dwyer should have issued the order only under this Act. It is not known how far the Viceroy is concerned in this matter. There is no doubt that this is a highhanded act. Though the Defence of India Act empowers the officials to do anything, it was not intended to apply to really mild persons. The authorities, having the power, cannot refrain from using it. The people object to the Rowlatt Law only on the ground that the authorities will not keep quiet if they are given the power.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 11th April, comments almost in the same strain as *New India* of the 10th idem on this subject in the course of which, while conceding that a government responsible for the safety and peace of a country cannot tolerate, in silence, the utter disregard of its laws or orders, the paper condemns in a way the action of the Government of India as it thinks it will spread a spirit of resentment and anger throughout the country. HINDU NESAN, Madras, 11th April 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 12th April, reproduces extracts from the comments of the *Hindu* of the 10th idem on this subject. HINDU NESAN, Madras, 12th April 1919.

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi.

Referring to a statement in Mr. Gandhi's message sent to the *Satyagrahis* immediately after his arrest, which is to the effect that only his body is in the custody of the Government and that he (his soul) is free, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th April, writes :— DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th April 1919.

Would people, who are uncivilized, untruthful and brutish enough to afflict others wantonly, understand the significance of this statement? That there is no connexion between the body and the soul is Mr. Gandhi's contention. Mr. Gandhi and our Viceroy live in two different worlds. What is to be done? Probably, the Viceroy has not yet understood that the world in which Mr. Gandhi lives is the Christian world. The Government should be conducted in accordance with the views of those great men who have realised that the soul is not identical with the body, and the Government which acts contrary to their views is indeed one which is untruthful, unjust and uncivilized. To imprison those who have attained a knowledge of the soul is imprisoning truth and God. It is a world-known fact that Mr. Gandhi will never take to evil deeds and untruthful ways. It is the duty of the Viceroy to repeal the Rowlatt Law, realising that Mr. Gandhi has come forward to do away with it because of the injustice likely to result from it. No good will therefore result simply by curbing Mr. Gandhi. Will not the warning at least of Mr. Gandhi to his countrymen, that doing injury to the English or the Indians by violent means will be seeking the ruin of the *Satyagraha* movement, dispel the unwisdom of the bureaucrats? Let the moderates who opine that India will obtain liberty by doing service to the bureaucrats and by preaching on the platforms, at least listen to Mr. Gandhi's good advice and secure good sense. Mr. Gandhi has, in the end of his message, said that there is difference between the western civilization and that of ours and that the westerns make use of physical force while our countrymen resort to the use of soul-force. Those who go to India for the purpose of eking out a livelihood and have the good fortune of spending at least a few years here will do well to ponder a little over the nature of the soul and discern the truth. Mother India! What is the reason for those who eat your salt not getting the spiritual knowledge which is characteristic of you? It is your duty to do away with the brutal tendency of the west.

The same paper continues:—It is reported that the bazaars in Bombay and Delhi have been closed as a result of Mr. Gandhi's arrest. At a moment of stress, the Government are giving room for the increase of the wrath of the people. It is not known how it will end.

The *Dravidan*, of the 12th April, writes:—How can we call Mr. Gandhi a true *Mahatma*, if, without exerting in the least to do away with caste distinctions, selfishness and hypocrisy, he begins to foment unrest for the sake of Home Rule? He has been arrested and kept under surveillance and we understand that this has led to unrest in some places and even loss of lives. Who is responsible for all this? The nature of the Brahmans of Madras has now become patent. Why are the Brahmans who have taken to begging in the city and who along with others fasted the other day, now without any grief? Are they still fasting DRAVIDAN, Madras, 12th April 1919.

or feasting with double vigour? Mr. Gandhi's views are doubtless unsound. The *Satyagrahis* characterised by a foolish frenzy. By opposing the laws of Government, nothing but danger will crop up. Now Mr. Gandhi wants all people to go to prison. Is it desirable or at least feasible? Anyhow the Brahmans of Madras will try to get their own ends fulfilled at the cost of others. O bazaarmen, merchants and others! do not for a moment believe the words of the *Satyagrahis*, nor follow their ways which will lead to misery. Even Mrs. Besant is against *Satyagraha*, because she is alive to its evil consequences.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th April 1919.

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi.

Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th April, publishes in Telugu the comments of the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Bengalee*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Indian Daily News*, the *Englishman*, the *Times of India*, etc., on the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and on the outbreak of disturbances at Lahore, Amritsar and other places.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 14th April 1919.

The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.

In a lengthy leading article under this heading, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 14th April, after giving a summary of Mr. Gandhi's message to the people of India, given by him when arrested, writes:—Mahatma Gandhi has been deported to some secret place. This is just the result that he wished to obtain by means of his *Satyagraha*. Mr. Gandhi has not only followed the principle of Jesus Christ himself, but has exhorted the people of India as well to suffer without offering retaliation for all the wrongs done to them by Government. His advice to the people is merely not to obey any unjust laws and at the same time not to attempt any retaliation against those that have made such laws. He advises all classes of Indians to sink their differences and live in amity. Should the people act up to this advice, we are sure to attain salvation both in this world as well as in the next. In patient suffering lies the secret of success. Owing to the misfortune of our countrymen the Government of India now set greater value upon physical force than upon justice and equity. Really speaking, what can be accomplished by tact can never be won by force, but intelligent as they are, the Government of India have not yet appreciated the importance of this principle. Nevertheless the British are our rulers. We should look upon them with filial love. What has been done in a fit of passion will certainly be corrected when that mood has passed away. If we steadfastly follow Mr. Gandhi's advice without relaxing our loyalty to the King, the ill-feelings now subsisting between the Indians and the British will disappear, the Rowlatt Acts will be repealed, Government will once again feel affection for the people and the people in their turn will entertain unfeigned loyalty towards the Government.

TRUTH, Bangalore, 10th April 1919.

Referring to the same subject, the *Truth*, of the 10th April, writes:—It is as cruel as it is regrettable that Mahatma Gandhi should have been arrested on his way to Delhi and immediately sent back to Bombay by special train. No *Satyagrahi* will ever feel sorry for whatever hardships he may have to suffer on account of the great task he has undertaken for the sake of India. We deeply regret that this cruel Defence of India Act has thus been applied to this Mahatma—so holy, so noble and so great. The Mahatma has never committed any offence; never uttered any bad word and never wished ill to anyone. His arrest just for showing his displeasure at the passing of the Rowlatt Act, which is harmful to India, is indeed a very severe punishment. If he had committed any offence at all he should have been convicted in a court of law under the ordinary laws of the land. From the fact that Government have made use of the Defence of India Act in this case one can well surmise how the present Rowlatt Act also may be made use of when needed.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th April 1919.

Disturbances in the Punjab.

59. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th April, makes the following observations among others:—We would venture to state that the great disturbance in Lahore was caused by the foolish act of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Imposing restrictions upon nationalist papers, issuing orders to popular leaders not to enter certain provinces and deporting patriots are highhanded acts. Peace will prevail in the Punjab only on the day on which Sir Michael, who has not the noble qualities of a Britisher in him, vacates his office. This is the time for the Viceroy to exhibit his administrative

skill. Peace cannot be restored by frequently calling for military aid. We will never lay any blame on the people but would attribute the unrest to the excesses of the bureaucrats. . . Is the Viceroy noticing this increase of agitation throughout the country, or, is he only in a state of bewilderment? Sir Michael O'Dwyer has recently made four innocent persons of his province victims to the Defence of India Act, and two of them have, it is said, been arrested and taken to some unknown place. It is not known what advantage the Government intend deriving by arresting as they like popular representatives on suspicion and by keeping them under custody. The people are already enraged on account of the misuse of the Defence of India Act and the enactment of the cruel Rowlatt Law. Will not the world pronounce that Government to be a bad one, which conducts the administration without realising the attitude of the people? Why has not Lord Chelmsford understood this?

Swadeshism.

60. Reproducing the views of Mr. Gandhi regarding the *swadeshi* vow and characterising the vow as a divine one, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th April, writes:—If our brethren act up to his words, our country will easily advance. It is a mistake that the Indians have not so long realised their duty. Let those who revere the Mahatma and support his views take the *swadeshi* vow at least hereafter. We wish that the men and women will note that it is the opinion of great men that those who do not observe *swadeshism* are not true patriots.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th April 1919.

Elevation of the depressed classes.

61. Referring to the appointment of Mr. Paddison for the purpose of inquiring into the condition of the depressed classes and doing the needful, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th April, observes:—It would have been better if the Government had appointed an Indian to this work. However much sympathetic a foreigner may be towards us, however much experienced he may be in the affairs of our country, it is not possible for him to be as much experienced as one who is born and bred up in our own country. However, we understand that Mr. Paddison is very sympathetic towards the depressed classes of our province. We anxiously await the benefits these classes are to derive by his efforts.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 11th April 1919.

The Madras Liberal League.

62. The *Dravidan*, of the 11th April, reproduces in Tamil the sentiments of *Justice* of the 10th April regarding the members of this League.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 11th April 1919.

Who are the moderates?

63. The *Dravidan*, of the 12th April, reproduces the sentiments of some of the 'Notes' appearing in *Justice*, of the 11th April, to the effect that the 'so-called' moderates are only extremists as borne out by the happenings in connexion with the Rowlatt Law.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 12th April 1919.

Mr. Montagu and communal representation.

64. Reproducing in Tamil an extract from the *London Times* advocating the the grant of communal representation, the *Dravidan*, of the 12th April, observes:—Let Mr. Montagu note carefully the recommendation of the *London Times* to grant communal representatson to non-Brahmans and act accordingly. It is not in consonance with Mr. Montagu's responsible position to lend ear to the words of others without acquainting himself personally with the conditions of the Indians.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 12th April 1919.

The Delhi disturbance.

65. Referring to the Delhi disturbance the *Andhravani*, of the 5th April, observes:—. . . There will be none who will not deplore the disturbances which took place at Delhi on the *Satyagraha* day. It does not appear that there was any occasion then justifying the opening of fire on the innocent mob. . . We have to infer that the authorities unnecessarily annoyed the people, which led to loss of life. While Swami Shraddhananda could control an audience of 40,000 people in perfect peace, it cannot redound to the credit of the authorities that they could not disperse without creating disturbances a crowd of 5 (?) thousands which gathered at the Railway Station. . . The authorities must inquire into the causes which led to the use of arms against unarmed people. . . The practice of employing rifles against an infuriated mob should be condemned. The people

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 5th April 1919.

cannot tolerate this. It is regrettable that this practice should increase more and more in India. These disturbances clearly show what losses the imprudent conduct of the executive authorities inflicts on the people. The Legislative Council members should interpellate the authorities on this matter, ascertain the causes, and see that there would be no occasion for officials to open fire in future and that those who are responsible for the Delhi disturbance are punished. We hope that the higher authorities will not drop the matter but will inquire into the truth and publish a report. Peace cannot be promoted in the country by oppressing the people.

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 7th April 1919.

The disturbances at Delhi.

Referring to the Delhi incident on *Satyagraha* day, the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 7th April, observes:—The disturbance at Delhi cannot, and will not, subside all on a sudden. We are of opinion that the severe policy of the Government cannot at all be justified.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 9th April 1919.

Referring to the resignation by Mr. Jinnah and by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of their membership in the Imperial Legislative Council and to the serious disturbance at Delhi on *Satyagrahu* day which resulted in the death of some people, the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 9th April, regrets the enactment of a law that causes such incidents.

MUSHIR-I-DAKHAN, Hyderabad, 7th April 1919.

A disturbance in Delhi.

The *Mushir-i-Dakhan*, of the 7th April, writes:—To peace-loving people this intelligence that the unrest caused by the Rowlatt Bill assumed a disagreeable phase in Delhi on the 30th March in which some lives were lost, is both distressing and deplorable. With this prefatory remark the paper reproduces the account of the occurrence from the *Hamdam*.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 5th April 1919.

Miscellaneous news.

66. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 5th April, writes:—. . . The speech of the Maharaja of Bikanir has created a stir in the Anglo-Indian Press. Reader! Hark that noise. That is the barking of the selfish Anglo-Indians at Calcutta. The *Statesman* asks "who has given permission to the Maharaja of Bikanir to speak on behalf of the 300 million people of India?" But who has given permission to the Anglo-Indians and to the Indo-British Association to pose arbitrarily as the sole representatives of the Indian people? . . .

The situation is very grave in Egypt. The arbitrary British Government is trying by all means to put down the Nationalists in Egypt. Do we not know in what way they try to do this? Do we not ourselves experience it? . . . The state of affairs in Egypt shows that British statesmanship is on the decline like the moon after the full-moon day. Why should not the people of Egypt like the Jecho-Slavs be granted the right of self-determination? By ruling the countries under their charge in this autocratic manner out of self-interest, the English are only losing their long established fame and prestige. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th April 1919.

The new Governor's arrival.

67. Referring to the arrival of Lord Willingdon, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th April, requests him to give up his old opinions against the 'so-called Extremists' and administer the Province impartially, setting aside such meaningless distinctions such as that of the Moderates and the Extremists, and says that, in fact, the Nationalists deserve greater regard at his hands than the Moderates by virtue of their candour and courage in bringing the real state of affairs to the notice of the Government, prompted by a solicitude of the welfare of India as well as of the Empire. It refers to the annulment of the Partition of Bengal in support of its statement regarding the correctness of the Nationalist attitude, and also ascribes the present *Satyagraha* movement to their earnestness to safeguard the interests of the people and the Government. It warns His Lordship against the policy of repression pursued by the Governors of other provinces, especially by Sir Michael O'Dwyer who is well known for his autocracy and who has only aroused that province from its lethargy by his short-sighted actions such as the orders served on some prominent men in Amritsar under the Defence of India Act. In conclusion, the paper extends a hearty welcome to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon in the hope that His Excellency will govern the province in accordance with the wishes of the people.

68. Referring to the contradiction of the Associated Press versions of the disturbances at Delhi and Calcutta by Swami Shraddhananda and Mr. C. R. Das respectively which are believed by the people and to the exhortations of persons like Mr. Hasan Imam and Sir Dinshaw Petit to the people to follow Mr. Gandhi, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th April, observes:—. . . No movement can be stifled by mere abuse Practical wisdom lies in ascertaining the chief cause for the high popular feeling and in removing it.

The *Satyagraha* day, and unfounded reports.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th April 1919.

69. Referring to the proposal to increase the pensions of the I.C.S. officials and the salaries of the I.M.S. officers, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th April, observes under this heading:—In these days, it is only highly-paid officials that happen to get increments. . . This leads us to infer that the cost of administration in future will increase instead of decreasing.

Pensions.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th April 1919.

70. Referring to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi on his way to Delhi, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th April, writes in its leader under this heading:— . . . The Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, well-known for its prohibitive orders, served an order on Mr. Gandhi at Kosikalan, prohibiting him from entering the Punjab. . . This is a foretaste of the way in which the Rowlatt Acts would interfere with the natural rights of man. An Amritsar message says that the Punjab Government arrested Mr. Kitchlew, Doctor Satyapal and Mr. Sirfuddin under the Defence of India Act yesterday and took them to an unknown destination. . . As long as the Rowlatt Bills are in force, the freedom of the people will be nominal. . . We hope that the above message delivered by Mr. Gandhi a few moments before his arrest will inspire enthusiasm among the people and will facilitate the success of the *Satyagraha* movement, bringing about the repeal of the repressive legislation by the Government.

The internment of Mr. Gandhi.

ANDHRAPATRIKA Madras, 11th April 1919.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th April, publishes in Telugu, the proceedings of a public meeting held on the beach on the 12th, to protest against the orders issued against Mr. Gandhi, summaries of the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed thereat.

Mr. Gandhi's internment.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th April 1919.

71. Referring to the disturbances at Lahore and Amritsar, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th April, writes under this heading:— . . . When the memories of the Delhi outrages are hardly fading, it cannot but appear extremely unwise on the part of the Punjab authorities to open fire on the unarmed people who were in a devotional mood, and who, as appears from the telegrams, did no other crime than going through the streets in the city.

Disturbance at Lahore.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th April 1919.

72. Referring to the recent lecture of the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on the 'task before us', the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th April, observes in its leader:— . . . Mr. Sastri has emphatically declared that the use of the Defence of India Act against Mr. Gandhi is unjust. . . Even the *Times of India* which is for crushing *Satyagraha* movement does not approve of this action of the authorities. . . Even though the authorities apprehended disturbances in consequence of Mr. Gandhi's arrival at Delhi, they should have availed of his assistance in restoring peace among the people. There cannot be the least disturbance, when such a universally respected man as Mr. Gandhi addresses the people in person. To impose restrictions on him especially when he has undertaken to accomplish his objects peacefully by the exercise of soul-power at this critical juncture in the history of the country, will make the situation serious. Mr. Sastri does not at all approve of the action of the Government of India. But how is he going to agitate for the repeal of the Rowlatt Bills? . . . He does not know the conditions in England better than the editor of *India*. When that editor approves of the *Satyagraha* movement and is not afraid that it would wreck the Reforms, there are no grounds for Mr. Sastri's apprehensions about the matter. . . There are no instances in India of the repeal of repressive measures when once they have been introduced. . . In

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and the present task.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th April 1919.

these circumstances, the confidence of Mr. Sastri that the Act will not be retained permanently on the statute book after the expiry of three years is ungrounded. . . It is better that Mr. Sastri should understand that in such trying times, both the moderates and the nationalists will do well to work unitedly.

ANDHRAPATRI Madras, 12th April 1919.

An appeal to Doctor Nayar.

73. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th April, publishes in Telugu an extract from a correspondent's letter to the *Madras Times* in reply to Doctor Nayar's criticism of the moderate attitude, which contains the following remarks about Mr. Gandhi:— . . . He has definite views. He will not forsake his convictions in the face of any number of difficulties. Since the moderates have no well-defined views, they cannot show resoluteness in any matter and will be afraid to stand boldly.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 6th April 1919.

The movement of soul-power.

74. In its leader under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 6th April, seeks to refute the argument which calls into question the efficacy of fasts, penance and soul-power, by citing the instances of South Africa, Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kaira, in all of which Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance was attended with marked success. It then observes:—. . . This soul-power is an effective charm to guide India in the path of righteousness, and bind the rulers and the ruled to *Dharma*. . . The very next moment that soul-power proves a failure, a world-deluge will be inevitable.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 6th April 1919.

The increase of water-rate.

75. Referring to the reply given by the Government to the question regarding water-rate of the Hon'ble Mr. K. Suryanarayana Murti in the Local Legislative Council, the *Hitakarini*, of the 6th April, remarks:—. . . From this, there is room to infer that the Government are determined to raise the water-rate and that the protests of the people will be cries in wilderness. . . Nobody who really knows the life of the ryot population, will support the enhancement of water-rate.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 6th April 1919.

The Surat district and *Satyagraha*.

76. Referring to the resignation of some village officers in the Surat district in Bombay on account of the Rowlatt legislation, the *Hitakarini*, of the 6th April, writes:—. . . An old man of seventy is reported to have taken the Satyagraha pledge at a meeting held in the village of Amkheti. One cannot but think that the present conditions would bring about the repeal of the Rowlatt Bills.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 11th April 1919.

The Liberal League.

77. Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 11th April, writes:— Many of the members who have joined the Madras Liberal League, recently formed with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar as its president, belong to the old extremist party. The Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hussan is one of such. In the course of a speech which he delivered at a public meeting some time back, he said: Why should Indians sacrifice their lives and fight on the battlefield for the destruction of foreign fœs like the Germans, and for the protection of the English people who are foreigners like the Germans?. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th April 1919.

The last hope is gone!

78. Referring to the statement of Mr. Fisher in the House of Commons expressing the inability of the Secretary of State to advise His Majesty the King to veto the Rowlatt Bills, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th April, observes in its leader under this heading:—According to a Reuter's message received to-day, the last hope of the people, till now entertained, that Mr. Montagu, brought up in liberal traditions, would advise His Majesty the King to veto the Rowlatt Bills, is gone. . . Mr. Fisher who spoke on behalf of Mr. Montagu has overlooked one important fact. Under the arbitrary power of the executive, it will not be possible to draw a line between the innocent and the offending. Since the jurisdiction of Law Courts has been dispensed with by this Act, the innocent have absolutely no protection. Thus, there is no meaning in the Secretary of State consoling himself with the idea that the repressive Act applies only to revolutionaries. There can be no limit to the despair of Indians, when liberal men themselves who appreciate the excellence of justice and righteousness, show such scant regard for British justice. Thus, our last hope is gone. As in the case of the partition of Bengal,

the authorities are creating unrest and are making the situation critical by their disregard of the public opinion. . . The people have a greater responsibility for the maintenance of peace than the Government; for it is they that will immediately suffer from any breach of peace. . . It is because they are convinced that the Rowlatt Act will make the life of every citizen miserable, that they are opposing it so tenaciously. Why should not the Government respect their sentiments? . . . The *Satyagrahis* desire to adhere to the path of peace alone. None will deplore more than they the disturbances which are now occurring in different parts of the country. In the absence of correct facts, it is not possible to draw any definite conclusions. The statement of Swami Shraddhananda regarding the Delhi disturbances has brought home the truth. The O'Dwyer Government are making it impossible to get reliable news from the Punjab. . . Whatever the authorities might have thought before, the present unrest in the country clearly shows that the Rowlatt Bills are galling not only to the educated classes but also to all the people, and have greatly excited them. . . As for a proper remedy for all this unrest, enlisting the co-operation of men like Mr. Gandhi would do. The *Indian Daily News*, though an Anglo-Indian paper, takes a fair view of the matter and advises the Government to drop the Rowlatt Bills forthwith and cease firing on the people. . . But a little reflection will show how dangerous it will be both to the Empire and to India if the prattle of the infuriated *Civil and Military Gazette* is to be followed. . . A movement which has gained such prominent adherents as Mr. Hasan Imam and Mr. Muzrul Haque is bound to triumph. The London correspondent of the *Hindu* says that the Parliamentary Committee formed under the Presidentship of Colonel Wedgewood will do its level best for the repeal of the Rowlatt Bills. The *India* also admires Mr. Gandhi's determination. The resoluteness of the people of India on one side and the efforts of the members of Parliament on another will doubtless undo the Rowlatt legislation, and uphold the honour of British justice once more.

79. Referring to the refusal of the Government of India to release the Moslem internees, Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th April, says under this heading :— . . . This news cannot but be disappointing to the Hindus and the Muhammadans alike. It is very unjust that the internments which were inflicted as war exigencies should be allowed to continue after the close of the war. . . When this is the attitude of the authorities on the eve of the reforms, it will be easy to imagine what weight the people attach to such reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th April 1919.

The internment of Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali.

80. Stating that it learns that an order has been issued by the Presidency Magistrate demanding security from the *Swadesamitran*, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th April, remarks under this heading :— . . . The Act is being thus applied to vernacular papers gradually. . . It cannot be known for certain on what day and on what paper this Act may fall. It is clear that reforms will be useless, if they cannot safeguard the birth-rights of the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th April 1919.

The *Swadesamitran* and security.

81. While congratulating under this heading Mr. B. D. Shukul on his resignation of his seat in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th April, remarks that the non-official members are bound to resign their offices in view of the recent disregard shown to the public opinion of this country by the Secretary of State, and appeals to Mr. B. N. Sarma to resign again his seat and uphold the honour of the *Andhradesa*.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th April 1919.

Another hero.

82. Referring to the re-election of the members of the Local Legislative Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th April, writes in its leader under this heading :— . . . While the Imperial Government and the other Provincial Governments have extended the terms of their respective Councils, it is not understood what special urgency there is in the Madras Presidency for fresh elections now seeing that there is not much that members can do in Councils. His Excellency Lord Willingdon is known as a follower of Mr. Montagu. In that

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th April 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council and elections.

case, he will be averting an occasion for much unnecessary trouble, if he declares that there is no need of fresh elections now. . . If he cares for official prestige, he may carry out the wishes of Lord Pentland. Anyhow, it is better that he should declare one way or the other. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th April 1919.

Imperial preference.

83. Referring to the recent speech of Lord Milner, advocating Imperial preference, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th April, observes that this policy will be disadvantageous to India, as she will not be at liberty to import the articles required by her from wheresoever she could get them cheap, and urges the necessity for complete commercial independence for India.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th April 1919.

The *Times* and the Delhi disturbances.

84. Under this heading, the *Andrapatrika*, of the 15th April, says that the creation of an atmosphere in India unfavourable for steady progress is due to the passage of the Rowlatt Legislation by the authorities and not to the activities of the Extremists as asserted by the *London Times*, and appeals to all fair-minded British people to work for the repeal of the Rowlatt Bills and to facilitate the formation of an atmosphere favourable to the success of reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th April 1919.

A meeting of the citizens of Madras.

85. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th April, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of a public meeting of the citizens of Madras held on the beach on the 14th instant to protest against the internments of the Ali brothers and others under the Defence of India Act, the speech of the President and the resolutions passed thereat.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th April 1919.

B. C. Pal at Cocanada.

86. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th April, publishes a report of the speeches delivered by Mr. B. C. Pal at Cocanada.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th April 1919.

Press comments on recent disturbances.

87. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th April, gives in English the comments of papers such as the *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Times of India* regarding the recent disturbances.

SWADESABHIMANI, Mangalore, 11th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement and the Delhi incident.

88. Referring to the Delhi incident, the *Swdesabhimani*, of the 11th April, writes:—Fasting, closing of shops and prayers—these three were the chief items which the *Satyagrahis* of Delhi undertook to observe on Sunday the 30th ultimo. We now learn that some untoward events occurred on the day with the result that the Police were obliged to fire on the mob and bring about several casualties. A good many are said to have disappeared, and no one knows what has happened to them When it is well known that *Satyagraha* implies absence of physical resistance we do not see why the Government should frown upon the movement. . . The speech of Col. Beadon, Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, only goes to confirm us in our view that these enactments have been passed altogether unnecessarily. At the end of his speech Col. Beadon gave a warning that unless the people co-operated with the Government, Government would not help the people. The people have never failed to give their support to the Government, as has amply been shown by the enormous help in men, money and material supplied by India during the recent war. . . If our people, just to please the authorities temporarily sit quiet withot agitating for the repeal of the Rowlatt laws there is every fear that these same authorities will, after a time, attribute the absence of revolutionary crime to their existance and insist upon keeping them alive for further periods. . . We, therefore, say that true popular co-operation with the Government at the present moment consists in the people acting honestly, fearing God and taking up *Satyagraha* with a view to the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation.

In another article the paper refers to the resignation of the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya, and remarks that when a moderate leader of his type resigns his membership it may well be said that the *Satyagraha* movement of Mr. Gandhi has made itself felt even in the Imperial Legislative Council.

MYSORE STAR, Mysore, 13th April 1919.

Writing on the same subject in a long article, the *Mysore Star*, of the 13th April, expresses its strong disapproval of the *Satyagraha* movement, which in the

hands of the ignorant mob would degenerate into mere rowdyism, as was seen at Delhi, and says that if the movement leads to violence and disturbance of the public peace, Mr. Gandhi will not fail to lose his good name. Any threats employed by the *Satyagrahis* will only make the rulers all the more firm in their determination to keep the law in force. Many far-seeing patriots have held themselves aloof from the movement, and even some of these who had once joined are now withdrawing from it.

In another short article the paper refers to the sale of proscribed literature by *Satyagraha* leaders in Bombay, and says that such encouragement to lawlessness is highly reprehensible, that it is idle to think that Government can be frightened into acquiescence by such tom-foolery, and that the matter is one for much regret as the sins of a few will be visited upon the heads of a large number of innocent people.

In a third article the paper refers to the unfounded rumours said to have been spread among the people by unscrupulous people in Bombay and Madras, regarding the effect of the Rowlatt laws, and says that if such mischief is allowed to spread unchecked it cannot but lead to great danger to the country and that no statesman can afford to treat it with neglect.

Egypt and India.

89. A note in the *Samadarsi*, of 5th April, draws the same comparison between Egypt and India as was drawn by the *Yogakshemam* of the 28th March, reported on page 556 of Report No. 14 of 1919, and concludes with the observation:—The demand for self-government has drawn Egypt into such an unfortunate state. If public opinion has gained such strength in the country, is it justifiable that the bureaucracy should, instead of yielding to public opinion, have resorted to such cruel methods—(e g., the introduction of Martial Law).

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 5th April 1919.

The darkness of the Sombre law. Revolt in respect of aspirations.

90. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 6th April, has in black borders a leader on the Rowlatt Act and on the observance of the *Satyagraha* day by Mahatama Gandhi in the course of which the writer observes:—We are not one of those who take part in passive resistance; and we regret to find that some Mussalmans have joined the movement. Muslims should not fast out of season. There is no gainsaying that the Rowlatt Bill has removed the last vestiges of freedom and buried all right. But why should we complain? Why not leave the case in God's hands?

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 6th April 1919.

Law.

91. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 6th April, republishes a short poem on Law written by the late poet Laureate Hali in black borders which is to the following effect:—They say that it is the duty of every man to obey the law next to his obligation to obey God.

But if you ask for the truth, know that the law is not more powerful than the spider's web.

The weak fall into its clutches and are unable to move hand or foot.

But those, who have a little strength, break it in a moment.

It is law to the weak, but in the eyes of the strong it is negligible.

(The late Master Hali.)

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 6th April 1919.

The proposal for a Muslim deputation.

92. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 7th April in a leader on this subject, writes:—The *Ukhuwat* (Fraternity) of Lucknow says on the authority of Moulana Shah Abdul Bari Sahib that some leading lights of the community have proposed to form a Muslim deputation to visit all Muslim countries and to co-opt representatives from Arabian Peninsula, Caucasus, Russia, Egypt, Morroco, Algeria, China and all other Muslim lands, and then proceed to Europe and place Muslim aspirations and views before the Peace Conference.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 7th April 1919.

The writer is certain that the news will be received throughout India with unbounded joy. But he says, "We observe with amazement and regret that the matter has not been taken up with the necessary enthusiasm."

The *Ukhuwat* hopes that the deputation will consist of Nawab Zulquader Jung Bahadur, Sir Fazal Bhai Karim Bhai, Doctor Ansari and some other outstanding men under the presidency of the said Moulana. The deputation will be formed in Ajmir during the forthcoming 'Urus.'

No one can deny either the importance or the urgency of the deputation. It is the duty of every rich Mussalman to subscribe towards the expenses.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 8th April 1919.

93. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 8th April, has a leader on this subject which is briefly to the following effect:—Islam is alive in the world and according to God's word it will be alive for ever. At the present moment, however, its existence is in danger, and if its sons are indifferent they themselves be blotted out from the face of the earth. The European war has changed man's disposition now to a great extent; ideas and aspirations have also changed. It will be their own sin, should Muhammadans keep aloof and remain unaffected by the natural revolution. The divine law is equally binding on every one, be he infidel, Muhammadan or atheist. Those, who keep within the bounds prescribed by God, will be safe, but those, who unhesitatingly transgress the limits, will go under.

The existence of Islam.

At present the areas of different countries and the numbers of different nations are being taken, new courts are being established, new laws are being framed, and fresh principles of independence and freedom are being evolved, but it is evident that Islam finds no place among those reforms, on the contrary steps are being taken to weaken its power and influence.

A Islamic Power exists or used to exist in Europe, but the war, or rather the Peace, is strangling it, and the whole world is indifferent to its existence. No provision has been made for its existence in America's fourteen points, nor has any regard been had to it in the demands made by France. Some slight reference, however, appears to have been made in British utterances.

The position of Khalifate, which exists in Europe, is now being wrested from Muhammadans, and the people desire that it should not be in their hands but it should be pious bequest for the whole world. The sun of the Khalifate has set in Palestine, Domascus and Syria. Mesopotamia and Arabia, having been deprived of the Muhammadan republican form of Government, are placed under aristocratic Government, while in Baghdad, where the Islamic science and literature had previously been done away with, the lamp of Islamic rule has now been extinguished.

But now is not the time to weep and compose elegies, but rather that we should patiently but persistently give proof of our existence. If we but understood the secret of independence and freedom, in which the nation's strength lies hidden, this difficulty could be overcome in a moment. The Jews, who were a wandering nation, gave proof of their existence, and their importance has been recognised at the Peace Conference. The Sitari [sic] community was unknown, but, has, thanks to its exertions and courage, entered the Royal Court. The Armenians, who were a subject people, have now become rulers. The Poles, who were a helpless community, have been freed; but the Mussalmans, who were free and independent, have to-day become a subject and subservient people.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 9th April 1919.

94. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 9th April, writes:—From Bombay news we learn that the *Satyagraha* Committee has begun to carry out its plan of passive resistance, and first attack has actually taken place in the Bombay Presidency.

The first day of passive resistance.

The nature of the operation is that all proscribed books are to be sold to the public and newspapers published without registration.

The first aim of passive resistance evidently seems to be the open defiance of the orders of Government.

We very much regret at such a beginning and express our disapproval of such an attack. We have already given our opinion on this idea, and warned Muhammadans not to take the *Satyagraha* vow. We hope that Muhammadans will absolutely abstain from having anything to do with such business and continue steadfast in their sacred principles.

We do not question the sincerity and the independence of the passive resistance leaders, but we venture to submit that the time has not yet come to oppose the Government. At the present moment there is a need for peace and confidence in the country; and it is our duty to wait for the reforms and see which way the cat jumps (lit. on which side the camel turns—*Tr.*).

III.—Legislation.

95. Referring to the news published in the *Bombay Chronicle* that certain village officers in the Bombay Presidency have resigned their appointments and joined the *Satyagraha* movement as a result of the passing of the Rowlatt Law, the *Desabhattan*, of the 5th April, observes:—What are the Government going to do at this juncture? Will they not, at least hereafter, come forward to withdraw the Rowlatt Law and cool the exitement of the people. We would say that it is only madness on the part of the British Government to still discard public opinion.

The Rowlatt Law and the village officers.

Desabhattan, Madras, 5th April 1919.

96. Remarking that this Act is still defective in spite of all the amendments made in the Bill relating to it by the Select Committee, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 3rd April, observes:—Neither is the Finance Member nor are the Select Committee responsible for these defects. At the time of the war some merchants had the monopoly of trade in certain articles, while some others raised their prices according to the times and earned profits. No tax was levied then. But, in consideration of the present financial stress, funds have to be raised at least by levying Excess Profits Tax, and this hard task has now fallen upon Sir James Meston. It appears that any number of modifications in this Act will be of no avail. Merchants who have scored enormous profits have found the way for not being affected by it seriously. It is said that the distinction which is made between companies that have supplied materials for the war and other companies will continue. To perpetuate this distinction does not appear to be just; for this will give room for trading companies that have earned immense profits in other ways evading payment of this tax on the plea of having supplied war materials. Lastly, many companies may allege that they carried on business when the profits were low and get the Excess Profits Tax reduced. On the whole we are afraid the Government cannot get even the small sum they expect from this tax.

The Excess Profits Duty Act.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 3rd April 1919.

97. Referring to the statement of the *Englishman* that the Indian Reforms Bill is being drafted by seven civilians, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th April, observes:—If this news happens to be true, the Indians cannot have the least satisfaction, for it is the civilian party that has been a stumbling block to the political reforms from the very beginning. While so, if the Bill is to be drafted by them, need we say what like it will be? To add to this, seven civilians are at this work as if one will not suffice!

The Indian Reforms Bill.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 5th April 1919.

98. The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 24th March, observes:—It is not known what exactly is the object of the Government in rushing this Bill through the Council both day and night and getting it passed into law. This only suggests that, when the Rowlatt Committee was first appointed, it was constituted with the idea of finding out some grounds for the enactment of such a law later on. It has to be inferred that notes and evidences required for this Committee were prepared in such a way that they would be conducive to the enactment of this Bill. The Committee too have made certain recommendations to suit this object. . . The Indian members are beginning to recognise that it is no honour to occupy seats on Legislative Councils as popular representatives. Further, they have not obtained the liberty of speech. The fact already known to them that, so long as the official majority prevails, the influence of the Indian members will be of no avail, has now been brought home to their minds impressively. Though this Law will affect only those who favour rioting and cherish anarchical views, the framers of the Law are not to be the judges of offences against it. Further, the Government may freely pronounce anybody to be a rioter and a seditionist. The people understood that, at this juncture, they could have no redress except through *Satyagraha*. The hasty actions of the authorities on various occasions have only added to the excitement of the people and enabled them to advance step by step.

The Rowlatt Law.

Vaisyamitran, Karaikkudi, 24th Mar. 1919.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th April 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th April, publishes thirteen verses, from the pen of a correspondent, regarding this Law, in which he describes it as an unjust and mean one, the like of which is not to be seen in the world and exhorts the people not to rest till they get rid of this law, which takes away the birthright of man, by warring against it with the weapons of love, righteousness, truth and patience, and thereby avoid the perpetuation of their misery.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th April 1919.

Referring to an observation in a communiqué issued by the Government of India, in refutation of certain false statements that are said to be spread in the country about the Rowlatt law, that the Police are not given any powers under this Law and that it will be applied only in areas where revolutionary movements exist, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th April, remarks:—For aught we know, the popular leaders are apprising the masses of only the actual evils that may result from this Law. If there were no evils resulting from it, why did the representatives in the Legislative Council, oppose it and why should the Government of India now volunteer a statement that the Police have not been given much powers under it? Does this not by itself show that the Law is harmful in its nature?

NALLA AYAN, Madras, March 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

The *Nalla Ayan*, for the March, observes:—The Rowlatt law will affect only anarchists and those who support them and such as incite people to sedition, and it will never do any harm to those who are loyal. Such being the case, it is not known why many are protesting against it. It is only the naughty boy and not the good one that has to fear the teachers' rod.

DRAVIDABIMANI, Salem, 21st Mar. 1919.

The *Dravidabimani*, of the 21st March, observes:—Now that the law has been passed, the wise policy for the people will only be to abide by it Further agitation will be of no avail. It will only result in harm. Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance will not be of any help.

YATHARTHAVACHANI, Kumbakonam, 24th Mar. 1919.

The *Yatharthavachani*, of the 24th March, expresses the fear that this law may injure the amity of feeling now existing between the Englishmen and the Indians and create a misunderstanding between them.

SIRTIRUTTAM, Madura, 26th Mar. 1919.

Referring to the passing of this law, the *Sirtiruttam*, of the 26th March, warns the people to be careful hereafter, as, though the law itself will not injure anyone, harm will be caused by those who disobey the law and those who apply it in evil ways, and observes:—The people may be under the impression that only those who clamour will be affected by this law, but as only those of the latter class predominate in holding situations competent to apply this law, what guarantee is there that others will not be troubled by them? It is a well-known fact that the Brahman and non-Brahman differences are on the increase at present. Officials and vakils are mostly Brahmans. What safeguard is there for the non-Brahmans, who are in a low condition now, to be protected from oppression either through caste-hatred or through innate dislike? It is only the Government that should protect these people.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karraikkudi, 31st Mar. 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

Expressing its surprise at the repeal of this law not having been strongly advocated by Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir in their speeches recently delivered at the Savoi Hotel in London, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 31st March, refers, however, to the statements of the Maharaja and Lord Sinha that it is only very few in India that could be charged with harbouring anarchist ideas and adds:—Even these few do not exist now, as those now in internment assure that they will not resort to any kind of force if they are released. It will not do to regard these as mere anarchists. Their object was only to render service to the country, but they took a wrong path and suffer now. If the Government is conducted in accordance with the wishes of the people, even these will come to adopt the right ways. But the Government have no confidence in the people. Even the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Sinha, in whom the British Government have confided till now, have indicated in a way that the educated Indians should not be distrusted. If the Rowlatt Law is brought into force ignoring even the words of these two eminent Indians, the regard the Government have for the

people of this country and their rights will be in vain. Though Lord Sinha has in his official capacity to support the Government, it is necessary that he should support his brethren also. If, when a novel law like this is forced by a civilized country upon another civilized country subject to it, and thereby the dignity and prestige of the latter are curtailed, one born in the latter and occupying a high position does not protect the honour of his brethren, there is no hope whatever for them. Even if the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms should be granted in full, it will be accepted only by a few moderates and the majority will continue to be finding fault with them, especially in the face of the assurance given by the Viceroy to the Civil Servants regarding their position under the reforms. It is not possible to support the Rowlatt Law in view of the reforms. Even the objectionable features in the reforms may be removed gradually, but the Rowlatt Law is almost throttling the people and numerous will be the difficulties that will arise, if it is not repealed immediately.

The Rowlatt Law.

Dravidan, Madras, 11th April 1919.

Referring to the remarks in the *Times of India* that, taking advantage of the ignorance of the masses, certain educated persons have caused unrest in the country and that it is therefore essential to have the speeches of the Government in the Imperial Legislative Council on this law published in the vernaculars and distributed among the people through district officials, the *Dravidan*, of the 11th April, observes:—We thoroughly endorse this view. As countless people who are really loyal happen to associate with the false *Satyagrahis*, it is necessary that the translations referred to above should be published without delay. The peaceful condition of India will entirely be reversed and her position will be endangered, if wanton disobedience to laws takes a firm root. So, it is necessary that all responsible people should join together and co-operate with the Government in preventing the spread of the unrest that has now been created.

The Local Legislative Council and the vernaculars.

Swadeshabhimani, Mangalore, 11th April 1919.

99. Referring to the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar at the last meeting of the Madras Legislative Council regarding the appointment of translators and interpretors to interpret the speeches made by the members in the vernaculars, the *Swadeshabhmani*, of the 11th April, remarks:—Both the mover and his supporters adduced various strong reasons in support of the resolution, but all the same, the resolution fell through. If the new councils to be established according to the Reform Scheme public opinion should be reflected adequately, it would not do to insist upon only English-knowing people entering the council. . . A Government whose activities are beyond the powers of comprehension of the ordinary people—a large percentage of whom ignorant of the English language—can never be made really responsible to the people unless and until the affairs are conducted through the vernaculars. The English language may be the best language in the world, but it does not stand to reason that Japan should make use of it in conducting its State affairs. We feel sure that sooner or later the question will have to be seriously taken into consideration by the Government.

The Sedition Law.

Yogakshemam, Trichur, 4th April 1919.

100. Writing about the passing of the Rowlatt Bills and the passive resistance movement, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 4th April, remarks that Mahatma Gandhi's influence seems to have waked up even the Madras Presidency. The *Satyagrahis* say that *Satyagraha* is a divine weapon for unarmed Indians to use against an Executive that troubles them. If, at any rate, this weapon should open the eyes of the Executive and enable them to turn to the right path all will be well. Continuing, the paper says that the Delhi incident has created a great agitation in the whole country, and that the conflict between the weapon of the Government and the soul force of the *Satyagrahis* may now be taken to have begun.

Manorama, Calicut, 4th April 1919.

A note in the *Manorama*, of the 4th April, quotes and fully endorses the remarks of Mr. C. F. Andrews regarding the mischief of encouraging espionage by the C.I.D. under Acts like the Sedition Act now passed, and observes that if spies increase in numbers there will be no peace in the land. Second-rate people without any considerable experience or intelligence or breadth of view go about as spies. If the Government should base their opinions on the reports of such

secret agents and should issue orders accordingly, where can the people of the land look for peace or safety?

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 5th April 1919.

A note in the *Samadarsi*, of the 5th April, observes that the "Terrible weapon" of Rowlatt Bills, if intended to secure peace, has begun to show exactly contrary results, and that never before has a law been introduced that caused such a great agitation among the people of India as a whole. After referring to the passive resistance movement and the Delhi incident the note concludes with the observation:—What with all this strife and all this agitation mother India is now living a sad and disturbed life.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 12th April 1919.

101. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 12th April, has a leader on this subject of which the following is a summary:—The Rowlatt Act has damped the people's spirits, blinded the eyes and darkened the vision. Breasts are burning and tears are flowing. In such circumstances we cannot be glad. Mr. Gandhi has been arrested and interned in Bombay. Doctor Saifuddin Kitchlew and Doctor Satyapal were deported to-day to an unknown destination. But why should we cry and lament over such incidents. There was firing at Amritsar and Lahore and many were killed and wounded, but why should we weep and wail for them.

The darkness of agitation.

We are opposed to *Satyagraha*; because it is not an easy matter to control the public and to hold in check their aspirations. At the present the law fiend is very angry, and we are foolishly sacrificing our vital powers (to propitiate it).

Passive resistance means that the work of the hand should be done by the mind and that of the body by the spirit. This kind cometh only by patience and prayer.

The writer, in conclusion, exhorts Muhammadans to be steadfast in patience and just as they do not resist disease and death, they should not resist coercive laws.

The writer goes on to say that the King gave a cup of poison to Huzrat Imam-i-Azam [Imam Musa Raza in the reign of Mamun.—*Tr.*] with orders to drink it himself. The Imam accordingly drank it and gave a proof of passive resistance. The Rowlatt Act also resembles the cup of poison. Drink it silently nay gladly. God sees and hears. Spiritual power is being tested. The breaking of the law is a sin and by so doing animal passions are excited.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 12th April 1919.

102. *The Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 12th April, in a leading article refers to the Rowlatt Bill, the misunderstandings pertaining thereto and the official explanation, and observes in conclusion that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has published a translation of the Bill with a view to removing the misunderstandings.

The misunderstandings regarding the Rowlatt Bill.

ERRATUM.

Report No. 14.

Page 556, paragraph 91, line 17, *for* 'these' *read* 'their'.

[Issued, the 23rd April 1919.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 17 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 26th April 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

1. In commenting on the political situation, *New India*, of the 23rd April, remarks:—"Mrs. Besant believes that the establishment of responsible government by rapid successive stages, is necessary to the maintenance of the British connexion, and is therefore a Home Ruler and an anti-revolutionist. She has maintained this position steadily amid the whirl of changing opinions, during the last few years. She does not believe that immediate Home Rule is possible without a revolution, and she opposed the Delhi Congress resolution as it rejected the compromise by which alone reforms leading to Home Rule were possible."

New India, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

Mrs. Besant and Home Rule for India.

III.—Legislation.

2. The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 17th April, says:—"What we anticipated has come to pass. The passive resistance movement inaugurated with a fanfare of trumpets with sanctimonious reverence by maudlin political saints and sickly sentimentalists has assumed a militant aspect. . . No doubt, Mr. Gandhi and the latter-day saints of the new party and the new cult have condemned the excesses, but they might as well preach the gospel to a bull that has been excited and driven into a china shop! The blood is on their own head, and we hold Mr. Gandhi and his followers entirely responsible for the bloodshed and the unsettled state of affairs that prevail in certain parts of the country. . . A Government whose laws have been *outraged*, and not merely *disobeyed*, and which is bound to preserve public peace cannot look with equanimity on the carnival of bloodshed, and it must, unless it has the desire to abdicate its legitimate position, act and that too promptly, to suppress the forces of disorder and lawlessness that are rampant everywhere. The Government would be guilty of gross neglect of duty were they to act otherwise. Mere issue of *press communiqués* and insipid appeals to the people will not have any beneficial results."

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 17th April 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

In a leader under the heading "The Mailed Fist Confirmed" the *Nationalist*, for the week ending 20th April, observes:—"When at the first meeting with Mahatma Gandhi His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, indicated his desire to use physical force as the ultimate arbiter in the matter of settling the difference over the Rowlatt Act we hoped that His Excellency would not confirm such a barbarous instrument of settlement however much a military genius he may himself be. We are sorely pained to see, however, that he has confirmed his great threat by hurling a message of unalloyed military repression from the heights of Simla—not merely against anarchy and violence—but by implication even against the great movement of peace and good-will *Satyagraha*. . . Why did Lahore and Calcutta become pools of innocent blood later on when people desired to demonstrate on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi. The cause is clear. The attitude of the authorities had stiffened. They were not willing any longer to permit Mahatma Gandhi and *Satyagraha* to influence the country. The Cult of the Bullet was too strong to permit peace to exist."

Nationalist, Madras, 20th April 1919.

Writing further on this subject the *West Coast Spectator*, of the 22nd April, observes:—"We have to admit painfully and with the profoundest regret that throughout this very unfortunate business Mr. Gandhi has acted like a downright fool, we will not say revolutionary. . . England was never frightened by the Irish rising, and she is not going to be frightened by the unarmed Indian mob on the war-path. We are sure that the tragedy enacted in the North will but strengthen the hands of our enemies in England; and we shall not in the least be surprised if the Reform Bill itself is wrecked. Already like drowning men catching at the straw, the Anglo-Indian extremists have caught hold of the tragedy in high glee and cried cloud and thunder against any sort of reforms. The net result is that the Indian extremists have twisted the tail of the sleeping tiger, and wrecked beyond repair the cause they say they have at heart."

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 22nd April 1919.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 10th April 1919.

Indians in British East Africa.

3. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th April, reproduces in Tamil an article from the *Mahratta* detailing some of the hardships said to be suffered by the Indians in British East Africa at the hands of 'the British Government and the non-official whites there,' in spite of the help rendered by the Indians in securing the stability of the British rule in that colony and, remarking that this is not the way in which the sacrifices made by the Indians for His Majesty in the war are to be rewarded, concludes with the observation that, if the 'brutish' acts of the colonists are not put a stop to, the British Government will lose their claim for being a just and civilised one, loving liberty and fraternity.

Dravidan, Madras, 15th April 1919.

Dissatisfaction of President Wilson.

4. Referring with regret to the message that President Wilson has decided to return to America, seeing that his fourteen points and the terms of the armistice have not been received favourably by the Peace Conference, the *Dravidan*, of the 15th April, observes:—It is he that brought about the cessation of the war and started the peace proposals. So it is not proper for the Peace Conference to discard his views. The people have already suffered enough hardships and it behoves the conference to guard against their recurrence.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 19th April 1919.

The condition of Egypt.

5. Adverting to the news that there was a serious riot again in Egypt causing loss of life both among the military and the people, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th April, says:—No information is available about the cause of this riot. It is not proper statesmanship for the British Government to give room for unrest and disturbance in the countries under their control. Is it just on the part of the British who have all along been labouring hard for the sake of liberty to try to crush liberty in the countries under them? It will not be a difficult task for them to satisfy the wishes of all such countries, and it remains to be seen when the Imperial Government will be pleased to be merciful to the subject nations.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 16th April 1919.

Has President Wilson left for America?

6. Supposing that Doctor Wilson has gone in the 'George Washington' which is reported to have left Paris for America, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th April, doubts whether the proceedings of the Peace Conference would be successful in his absence.

II.—Home Administration.

(*b*) *Courts.*

Dravidan, Madras, 16th April 1919.

Panchayat courts.

7. Remarking that it cannot be fully satisfied with the Bench courts established in some places for the demand for such came not from the people but from those who profess to be their leaders, the *Dravidan*, of the 16th April, refers to the Select Committee's report on the Village Courts Bill recently published for the opinion of the public and observes:—Though the recommendation of the Select Committee that vakils should be prohited from appearing in such courts is a good one, in that it would avoid all contentious litigation and also lead to the disposal of cases more speedily and at less cost, the absence of vakils may prove a hardship to the poor and uneducated, afflicted by the higher classes, as, in the present factious condition of the villages, it is only these higher classes that are likely to get into such courts. So it is necessary to introduce a saving clause to this rule that people, who know the law, can appear on behalf of such helpless persons. It is again erroneous to hold that it does not matter in what way petty civil cases below Rs. 50 in value are disposed of; for Rs. 50 is Rs. 5,000 from the standard

of the poor villager. It is a baneful system to do away with the recording of evidence of witnesses in panchayat courts and not to insist on the permanent retention of even 'notes' of evidence. No provision has again been made for preferring a formal appeal against the decision of a panchayat court. How can the District or Divisional Magistrate, who is empowered to alter the decision of the panchayat courts in cases where there has been any miscarriage of justice, find out, in the absence of documentary evidence, that such a miscarriage has occurred? So it is not at all in keeping with justice, to give full powers to the panchayat courts to decide cases as they like without the necessity of maintaining a permanent record of their proceedings.

(*d*) *Education.*

Medical inspection of schools.

8. Adverting to the question, now under the consideration of the Government, of levying an additional fee from the students towards the charges of the medical inspection of schools, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 17th April, remarks that the levy of such an additional fee will be a great hardship to many students, and suggests that the Government may well drop the question of medical inspection altogether, as it is doubtful after all whether it can be conducted properly.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 17th April 1919.

(*g*) *Forests.*

Forest panchayats.

9. Remarking that the report of the Board of Revenue on the work of these panchayats is not favourable to them, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 18th April, observes:—In response to an inquiry by the Government whether the power of inquiring about the offences committed by the people in connexion with forests and of coming to an amicable settlement may be entrusted to the panchayats, the Collectors reported that this power should not be given to the people and said that the people would then give greater trouble to the village officers than to the forest officials. How can we expect the Collectors to view with a liberal mind the question of conferring powers on panchayats? Some of them may be favourable to it but not all. All the same the Revenue Board has, relying upon the opinion of the Collectors, decided that the panchayats are unfit for these powers and the Government too have upheld this decision. This is not very encouraging. For ought we know, the Board of Revenue have not till now been favourable to the growth of self-government in villages. The Collector's report about these panchayats may be due either to their lack of interest in these institutions, or to their not having properly guaged their work. However this may be, the remark of the Government that the superior officials should often inspect these panchayats and examine their work so as to find out definitely whether they will improve or not, shows that the Government have the same suspicion of the supervision of the work of these panchayats by the officials as we have. The subordinate officials of the Forest department will not naturally like these panchayats being given powers, for it will in effect curtail theirs. It may be that, having this in mind, these officials have been unnecessarily interfering in the work of the panchayats often, and the latter therefore find it difficult to do their work properly and efficiently. If the higher officials would frequently inspect these panchayats and encourage them in their work, there may be no room whatever for the harassing of the subordinate officials.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 18th April 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th April, also refers to the opinion of the Revenue Board and the Government that these panchayats are unfit even to inquire about petty offences and remarks:—If this is the official opinion, how can the forest panchayats improve? The authorities in India only say that local self-government should be improved in the country, but make no efforts to bring it about. Both the Revenue Board and the Collectors have till now been working only against the development of local self-government. We do not know how we are to improve with the help of those having such an opinion.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th April 1919.

The Forest panchayat.

Referring to the adverse remarks of the Board of Revenue on the work of the Forest Panchayats in 1918, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th April, observes that the Collectors and

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th April 1919.

the Board of Revenue have taken a very narrow view of the matter, and that the panchayats cannot be expected to work successfully in the absence of better powers, responsibilities and encouragement.

(*h*) *Railways.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 16th April 1919.

The railway administration and economic distress.

10. Remarking that next to the failure of the monsoon, the railway administration is the chief cause for the scarcity of foodstuffs, on account of which the people are suffering, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th April, observes:—The railway administration has caused hardship to the people on two grounds, viz., the increase of the charges for transporting goods and the insufficiency of wagons for transporting purposes. When the Government have realised the necessity of reducing the shipping freight for foodstuffs brought from Burma in view to remove the existing distress of the people, we do not see why they have not reduced the railway freight which is all the more necessary. No doubt the increase in this freight has added to the Government revenue. But, at a time when the people are struggling for their very life, a reduction of revenue should not be a consideration for the Government. The question of effecting a reduction in the railway freight appears to be engaging the attention of the Government still. Coming to the insufficiency of wagons, many railway carriages, which were sent to Mesopotamia during the war, are not required there for military purposes now and these at least should be available for trade purposes. Though many wagons were not used on account of the impossibility of getting from England during the war the materials required for repairing them, such materials might have been got, now that it is many months since the war came to an end, and such materials as could have been manufactured in the factories in India, also manufactured. Considering these possibilities there should be every facility for a large number of wagons being available for traffic; but it does not appear to be the case. Coal sufficient for the needs of the railways seems to be available in the coal mines in Bengal; but no arrangements appear to have been made for its transport to various places by rail and by steamer. If these things are attended to, the railway freight is reduced and a large number of wagons are made available, the stress caused by the scarcity of articles will be alleviated to a certain extent. It would give some consolation to the people if the views of the Government on these two suggestions noted above are published by means of a communiqué.

(*k*) *General.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th & 17th April, DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th to 12th & 15th April & HINDU NESAN, Madras, 9th, 11th & 12th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* day in the mufassal.

11. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th and 17th April, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th to the 12th and the 15th idem, and the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 9th, 11th and 12th idem, publish accounts of the observance of the *Satyagraha* day (6th April 1919) and of the meetings held in that connexion at various places in the mufassal, such as Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Tiruvannāmalai, including many villages. The correspondent communicating the observance of the day at Kattukkanallur in the Arni taluk observes that those who guaged the feeling of the villagers in respect of the Rowlatt Law cannot but think that the knell has been tolled for this law.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th April 1919.

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi.

12. Observing that it is quite natural that the people got excited when the news of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi reached different places, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th April, writes:—Every one anticipated his arrest for selling prohibited publications but not under the Defence of India Act which is the existing representative of the Rowlatt Law. When this Act was first introduced, it was stated that it would be applied only to the enemies of His Majesty and subsequently it was interpreted that it might be applied even to the subjects of His Majesty if they tried to subvert this Government. Seeing that it has now been applied to Mr. Gandhi who is neither an enemy to His Majesty nor one working for the subversion of this Government, it has become clear that one cannot rely upon the argument advanced by Government that the Rowlatt Law would be used only against

political revolutionaries. The fact that the Defence of India Act has been applied even to Mr. Gandhi who is loyal to the British Government and who is a saintly person, confirms the fear that the Rowlatt Law may happen to be applied to any politician. This one instance is enough for the people to demand the cancellation of that law. Now, coming to the behaviour of the authorities in several places, the question arises as to what led to their impression that the people who got excited on hearing the news of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, especially at Lahore, would not disperse quietly if they were left alone even as they did last week throughout the country in accordance with his instructions. The authorities can use their power if the crowd is likely to cause any danger. But the telegrams received do not indicate this. That, under these circumstances, the authorities should have interfered with the people was quite unnecessary. Perhaps the former wanted to test whether the masses have fully imbibed the spirit of *Satyagraha*. This spirit will doubtless permeate the people throughout the country, if the officials refrain from obstructing the movements of Mr. Gandhi. If they act in haste before this and cause untoward events, they are themselves responsible for it. We do not believe that the motive of the officials is to bring the *Satyagraha* movement into discredit by provoking the people and making them commit excesses. Still their behaviour is not proper, for pistols and machine-guns are intended for killing the enemies of the Government and not their subjects. This Rowlatt Law does not seem to have been enacted for any good purpose, for it is capable of changing the nature of the people who are extremely loyal. What benefit do the Government expect by losing the love of the people? As laid down in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, the Government should rely not on the strength of arms but on the loyalty of the people. If, on the other hand, the Government think too much of the strength of arms and oppress the people, the latter have only to put up with it patiently and pray to God that the authorities may be given good sense. This is the gist of the advice given by Mr. Gandhi to the people soon after he reached Bombay and the people are bound to listen to it and act upon it. If the Government treat the people in accordance with the aforesaid Proclamation of Queen Victoria, harmony between the Government and the people will increase. In this connexion we do regret for the events that happened at Amritsar. But they have no connexion with *Satyagraha*. They are the outcome of the application of repressive laws to persons who are loved by the people.

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi.

The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th and 12th April, respectively, publish a Tamil rendering of the letter of Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar of Salem on this subject.

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN Madras. 11th & 12th April 1919.

Arrest of Mr. Gandhi.

In appreciating the action of Rao Bahadur Dowlat Ram Kashi Ram, an influential resident of Bombay, in having written to that Government condemning the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and also relinquished his title, remarking that it was no longer possible to work in conjuction with the Government, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th April, obseryes that if other title-holders in the country should also follow his example, it will open the eyes of the Government, and adds that, so long as the Government do not attend to the grievances of the people and redress them, the latter should be importuning them in all possible ways.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th April 1919.

Mr. Gandhi's arrest.

In the course of its leader on the subject, the *Andhravani*, of the 12th April, reports a correspondent to have written:—

. . . The Government are not relaxing their stubbornness, and are repressing the freedom of the people in every way. It is but right that *Satyagrahis* should be prepared for any sacrifice. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 12th April 1919.

The present situation.

13. In a leader under this heading, the *Lokopakari*, of the 14th April, observes:—India is now passing through a critical juncture. The *Satyagraha* movement started by Mr. Gandhi to get the Rowlatt Law repealed is spreading throughout the country. If the authorities would note the way in which the *Satyagraha* day was observed on the 6th April 1919, they cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that this movement will surely bring together the people of India, irrespective of their

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 14th April 1919.

caste or creed. Some of the Indians have without properly understanding the nature of Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance, begun to cause unrest in the country, and it is the duty of the Government to punish such persons and of the popular leaders to co-operate with the Government in this matter. Though it is stated that orders were given for crowds being fired upon, because they transgressed their bounds, this action of the authorities has provoked the people and made them feel discontented with the Government. If both the Government and the leaders of the people are obstinate, it will not be conducive to the peace of the country. The Provincial authorities are asserting that the Rowlatt Law will affect only those that are disloyal, and that the liberties of the public will not be affected by it. The same thing was said even of the Defence of India Act when it was passed. Those, who have seen the application of the Defence of India Act, are afraid that the Rowlatt Law also will be applied similarly. It is, therefore, necessary for the Government to do away with the Rowlatt Law, which has given room for the people to take the *Satyagraha* vow and contravene the laws of Government.

The same paper refers to this subject elsewhere and remarks:—The *Satyagraha* vow has become a convenient handle for rowdies and thieves. Attacking the Police, cutting off telephone and telegraph wires, setting fire to public buildings and putting innocent people to death are the acts of wicked people and not *Satyagrahis*. It behoves the Government to take proper steps to check these wicked acts. It is as necessary for Mr. Gandhi to withdraw his vow, in view of the loss of life and unrest in the country that have been caused in the name of *Satyagraha*, as it is for the Government to revoke the Rowlatt Law, which has led to all this agitation and unrest in the country.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th April 1919.

The present situation.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th April, expresses its surprise at the report that aeroplanes and machine-guns were used to put down the disturbances in the Punjab and observes:—Whatever may be the reasons for Sir Michael O'Dwyer for having taken this extreme step against the people of his province, whom he once praised for having helped the victory of England by rendering assistance in men and money during a critical period of the war, his name would not be forgotten for a long time by the people there. Even according to the communiqué issued by him, there was no connexion whatever between the disturbances there and the *Satyagraha* movement. It is really anomalous that an official should order the opening of fire upon a crowd; because it refuses to disperse at his bidding and that a Provincial Government and the Government of India should support the action of the said official, without coming to a conclusion after an open inquiry and the taking of impartial evidence. If the deportees from the Punjab had committed any serious offence, they could have been brought to trial and punished and this would not have excited the people. It is only in this country that it has become usual to deport influential men by applying an old and unconnected law, because the authorities are afraid to take action constitutionally. Though the communiqué of the Punjab Government makes it clear that the disturbances there were only due to the deportation of the leaders, that of the Government of India seems to indicate that they attribute the present situation to the *Satyagraha* movement. It can be surely stated that this movement has not led to any disturbance at any place. At every place visited by Mr. Gandhi, the people have correctly abided by the principle of *Satyagraha*, and, if untoward events occurred in the Punjab and Delhi, it was because Mr. Gandhi was not allowed to set foot in these places. If, without realising that the spread of the *Satyagrahic* spirit among the people will be a mighty strength by itself to the Government, the authorities try to suppress this movement, we will say that they are groping in the dark. It is stated in the communiqué of the Government of India that some persons are misrepresenting the scope of the Rowlatt Law to the people. The information furnished to the people about this law was embodied in pamphlets prepared for the purpose, and, if they contained any misrepresentations, why could not the Government have taken action immediately? The statement is made again that the Rowlatt Law would be applied only against revolutionaries. Was not a similar statement made about the Defence of India Act and the Press Act

and has not the former now been applied to Mr. Gandhi in spite of this? The communiqué says that the Government would not hesitate to apply the regulation of 1818 and other laws. If Lord Chelmsford would not hesitate to apply now, after a lapse of 100 years, a law, which was necessary in 1818, a period when the British Government was not securely established in India, how can one be confident that the Rowlatt Law would not be applied against politicians? The Anglo-Indian papers would not flinch to declare any politician to be a revolutionary and the people are therefore afraid that their liberties would be affected by this law, to get rid of which there is no quieter method than *Satyagraha*. Unless the authorities interfere and change the *Satyagraha* movement, the *Satyagrahis* are determined to act on the principle of justice. Efforts made by the authorities to crush this movement are only strengthening it. True it is the Government are possessed of immense military strength and they can terrify the people by using the same. But the use of military strength cannot make the people believe that the action of the Government is proper. We would put the authorities in mind of the fact that it is a better policy to make the people feel that the Government would proceed only on righteous lines than to make them think that the Government can keep them under subjection by means of their strength.

SWADESAMITTAN, Madras, 15th April 1919.

The present situation.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th April, refers to the strong objection the people have for the Rowlatt law and the orderly manner in which they gave vent to their feelings in this matter on the *Satyagraha* day, and reiterating the public opinion that the disturbances at Delhi were due only to the action of the authorities and the demand for an impartial inquiry about some people in Delhi having been shot on the day, observes:—The people have been conducting themselves peacefully in all places on the *Satyagraha* day, while the authorities have on the request of the popular leaders refrained from interfering. And again, the leaders were always ready to help in the matter of restoring order whenever their co-operation was sought. It was only after the Government interfered in the *Satyagraha* movement and passed a prohibitory order on Mr. Gandhi and deported some leaders in the Punjab, that the ordinary people began to get ruffled and there were disturbances in a few places. While we heartily regret the high-handed way in which the people behaved in these places, we have to note that the *Satyagraha* movement was proceeding quietly before the aforesaid action of the Government and that order was restored in many places on hearing the news of the return of Mr. Gandhi to Bombay. So, it is not proper to attribute the tumult in certain places to this movement. We would therefore point out to the authorities that it will be more beneficial for them to seek the co-operation of the political leaders of the people than to resort to repression for the purpose of restoring order in the country.

The same paper reproduces in Tamil the lecture said to have been delivered by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at Allahabad on the *Satyagraha* day on the present situation.

This paper also publishes extracts from a contribution to the *Leader* of Allahabad on this subject by the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th April 1919.

The application of the Press Act.

14. Referring to the demand of security from the *Swadesamitran* and the *Hindu Nesan* of Madras, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th April, remarks:—We need not be surprised at this news. It only shows that no newspaper can escape the cruel Press Act enacted by the bureaucratic tigers. We do not know for what reason the Press Act was applied to these two papers. But one thing we would say, and that is that Lord Willingdon has fettered two newspapers which are developing the political knowledge of the Tamils, within a week after he assumed the Governorship of this province. From this, our friends may themselves judge what would be the nature of Lord Willingdon's administration.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th April 1919.

The application of the Press Act.

Adverting to the forfeiture by the Government of the security deposited by the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of Calcutta, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th April, remarks:—No one need be surprised with this news. As long as the

civilized British Government are enforcing the barbarous Press Act in India, the lot of the papers infusing a spirit of patriotism will no doubt be difficult. But those papers which play second fiddle to the bureaucrats and those which practically support their action though pretending to favour the people need have no fear. This is a peculiar time.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th April 1919.

Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali.

15. Remarking that there is no limit to the hardships suffered by Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali and many others who have been interned like them, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th April, refers to a telegram recently received from Chindwara that the two Moslem brothers will not be released, and remarks:—Every Hindu and every Muhammadan who hears this news will grow indignant. The Government are provoking the people more and more and we have to be afraid about the results this may lead to.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 16th April 1919.

The Ali brothers.

Referring to the decision come to by the Government of India not to release these brothers, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th April, observes:—Why should the authorities have come to this decision, in the face of the recommendation of the committee appointed to consider their case, that they should be released? If the authorities had no intention of acting according to the views of the committee, why did they appoint the committee at all? They have evidently spent no thought on the fact that the people cannot attach any value to the reasons assigned by the Government of India for their decision. If they had, they would have acted on the recommendation of the committee. This is another illustration to prove that the ways of the authorities are curious.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th April 1919.

The *Satyagrahi*, Madras.

16. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th April, publishes a portion of the first number of the *Satyagrahi*, an unregistered newspaper in English, said to be published here every Monday, and also what it describes as the Tamil pamphlet of the same name and number.

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 8th April 1919.

Satyagraha.

Under this heading, the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 8th April, observes that only a very limited few can properly follow *Satyagraha*, and dissuades the people in general from adopting it, as the times are not yet ripe for it.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 11th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 11th April, reproduces an extract from the *India* of London wishing success for the movement in getting the Rowlatt Law repealed and remarking that the British Government and the British public can quietly allow the bureaucracy to carry everything in their own way only if the former want that the Indians should assume a definitely hostile attitude.

DESABHAKTAN Madras, 11th & 12th April 1919.

The *Desabhaktan* publishes in Tamil, in its issues of the 11th and 12th April, the two lectures said to have been delivered by Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu at Ahmedabad on the 25th and 26th March 1919 on this movement.

VRITTANTA PATRIKA, Mysore, 17th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

Under this heading the *Vrittanta Patrika*, of the 17th April, writes:—It is easy to set fire to a forest, but far more difficult to extinguish it. No one need feel sorry at the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest, nor should we be angry, as he himself has said that he would be happy to meet with such hardships. Nothing is easier in this world than to get oneself arrested. There is no justification whatsoever for starting this *Satyagraha* movement. This should be noted by all. If a subject, in whatever part of India he may be, behaves honestly, the Revolutionary Crimes Act will not harm him, nor will it interfere with his rights and liberties. Mr. Gandhi may very well say that a true *Satyagrahi* will never commit any acts of violence and may also have warned the people against thoughts of retaliation even if sent to jail, but in Armitsar those who called themselves *Satyagrahis* burnt down several buildings and committed various excesses. This movement is undoubtedly an unwise one and none has ever heard of a such movement being resorted to in political struggles. As a matter of fact the number of *Satyagrahis* in the whole of India is not more than 1,400 and no less than a third of these are from Bombay.

In a lengthy article on the same subject, the *Mysore Star*, of the 20th April, after referring to the disturbances which recently occurred in several places in Northern India, strongly condemns Mr. Gandhi for having inaugurated this pernicious movement which has brought discredit not only on himself, but on the whole country as well. The paper then proceeds to write: The Government can never be intimidated by rowdyism and lawlessness nor will such acts be conducive to the welfare of the people. Hundreds of laws of the type of the Rowlatt Acts will never do any harm to merchants, agriculturists and other law-abiding section of the population. It was only by means of such drastic measures that political murders, dacoities and such other acts of lawlessness were put down in the Punjab and Bengal. The *Satyagraha* movement, by teaching the people to oppose this legislative measure, will make them get into the habit of breaking laws which will eventually tend to the rapid development of lawlessness and anarchy in the country. Mr. Fisher's statement in the House of Commons has left no room whatever to hope for support from the Home Government in favour of the annulment of this enactment. His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu have so long been very sympathetic in their attitude towards India. It is to be deeply regretted that the recent wicked agitation of certain hot-tempered people, which has fostered among the people a feeling of hatred towards and contempt for the Government and the Europeans, has not only tended to alienate the sympathies of His Majesty's representatives here but has also served as a clear proof of our unfitness for self-government. It would be well if the leaders and the people give up this agitation at least hereafter, and following the message given by Mr. Gandhi to his followers, let us have peace in the country.

Mysore Star, Mysore, 20th April 1919.

17. Adverting to the reported resignation of the Hon'ble Mr. P. T. Shukul and the Hon'ble Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq of their seats in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th April, writes:—There is no doubt that the whole f India will rejoice at this news and appreciate their action. Having enacted the cruel, uncivilised and unjust Rowlalt Law, which is capable of murdering the rights of the Indians, the bureaucrats wish to govern India peacefully! Need we say that this is only madness? Who will agree to this barbarous law which is likely to root out British justice? It is not known how many more representatives will follow the example of the two members mentioned above. Certain it is that the Indians will hereafter appreciate only those representatives, who maintain their self respect, but not those who would sell their conscience for the favour or kindness of the bureaucrats.

More resignations in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 15th April 1919.

18. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 11th April, publish in Tamil each its own abstract of a letter addressed by Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar of Salem to the Press condemning the high-handed acts said to have been committed by the Anglo-Indian soldiers in the city on the *Satyagraha* day and suggesting a thorough inquiry into the matter and the punishment of the offenders so as to avoid a recurrence of this trouble.

Excesses of soldiers in Madras.

Desabhaktan & Swadesamitran, Madras, 11th April 1919.

19. Remarking that the disturbances at Amritzar could have perhaps been avoided, if the local officials had not interfered with the crowd, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 11th April, says:—When there was a scuffle between the London Police and the American troops in London recently, the former only used their batons and did not fire on the troops. It is only in this country that it is usual to use fire arms against a crowd unnecessarily. There seems to be no one to impress on the Police the necessity of avoiding excesses, as Mr. Gandhi is doing with the people. Perhaps these officials think they can treat the people as they like, because the latter have no power.

The disturbances at Amritzar.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 11th April 1919.

Exhorting the *Satyagrahis* to note the message of Mr. Gandhi that they are themselves responsible for all the mischievous acts that result from the observance of *Satyagraha* and to desist from resorting to brute force and thereby injuring the movement itself, even if the Police should act highhandedly, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th April, observes:—We endorse every word of Mr. Gandhi's message regretting

The disturbances at Amritsar.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 12th April 1919.

the mishaps in Amritsar. The *Civil and Military Gazette* says that the disturbances were caused by the deportation of some local leaders under the Defence of India Act. If even a European paper should say so, we can easily understand that the commotion had nothing to do with the *Satyagraha* movement. However, we entirely disapprove of the excesses committed by our brethren in Amritsar in a fit of rage.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 15th April 1919.

Beginning of Bolshevism.

20. The *Dravidan*, of the 15th April, reproduces an article appearing in the *Justice* of the 12th idem under this heading which compares the disturbances at different places after the arrest of Mr. Gandhi to the Bolshevik excesses in Russia and remarking that those who seek the repeal of the Rowlatt Law can never be taken to seek the good of the country or the Government, asks the Government to bestow prompt attention on this matter and take steps to put down these excesses.

The same paper refers elsewhere to the information given in the *Madras Times* that a definite plot had been hatched to start Bolshevism in India about this time and that a Bolshevik representative had despatched £25,000 and ammunition to India for this purpose and observes:—Judging from the recent occurrences in this country, we believe the above information is quite correct. Our readers should be aware that the Bolsheviks have, by their mischief, brought ruin on Russia. If our country is to prosper at all, our true patriots should, without giving room for such unrest and disturbances here, co-operate with the Government in putting down the rioters and restoring peace. The false patriots divide themselves into different parties only to accomplish their own end, for in spite of their differences they are all of them intent only on condemning the British administration.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 16th April 1919.

The depressed classes.

21. Referring with appreciation to Mr. Paddison, who was the Collector of Madura, having been placed on special duty to suggest measures for the improvement of the depressd classes in this Presidency, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 15th April, remarks that it would have been better if this step had been taken earlier and trusts that Mr. Paddison will inquire into and report about the economic resources of these classes, the hardships they labour under in the matter of education, their rights over land, the facilities for their accommodation and such other matters.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 15th April 1919.

Airship building.

22. Dwelling at length on the important part airships are bound to play in the commerce of the world in the future and remarking that, as all the materials necessary for the building of airships are available in India, it will be desirable to develop this industry in India, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 15th April, adds:—If this industry is to benefit the Indians, it should be worked with the help of Indian capitalists and labour. The fact that many articles supplied by Messrs. Tata & Co. to England for the war and railway purposes were well made, though it was the first time they were manufactured by this company, shows that the Indians can understand even new industries easily and work them well. When the allies began to win in the recent European war, great stress was laid on the fact that it was the primary duty of every country to use its products for its own benefit. Let the British Government and the Government of India realise this duty and benefit India, when the building of airships is taken on hand. The Government revenue also will increase by developing this industry in India, and with this increased revenue, the educational, sanitary and agricultural departments, which are now suffering from want of funds, may be administered well.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 15th April 1919.

Capital and labour.

23. Referring to a cartoon published in one of the London weeklies, representing commerce as a globe supported by the capitalist on the one side and the labourer on the other, with a note added at foot that both these persons are indispensable for the globe and that, if either should shirk his duty, both will have to suffer thereby, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 15th April, observes:—The people of European countries are gradually realising this truth more and more. But in India no limit has been prescribed as to the number of working hours and the amount of wages of labourers, and there is no law for safeguarding their general health. The capitalist here considers that he is the only indispensable being, if not for the trade of the world, at least for the ordinary livelihood of the labourers. He

should be made to realise the truth indicated by the above cartoon. It is incumbent on the Government to inquire into the causes of discontent and strikes among the labourers and devise means to protect the labourers from the oppression of the capitalists. We learn that the Government of Bombay have begun to take action in this matter, and we hope the Government of Madras also will, under the regimé of Lord Willingdon, bestow attention on this matter and do the needful.

Indian claims.

24. Remarking that, though the Indians are loyal to their king, have shown their valour in the war and received the approbation of the Englishmen therefor, have sacrificed their life and money liberally for the Englishmen, and are possessed of wonderful intelligence, the bureaucrats and European merchants and capitalists, who have not a broad mind suitable to the times, are belittling all these characteristics and making much of their own prestige and power, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 16th April, observes:—A promise was made when the war was passing through a critical juncture, that India would be granted self-government on liberal lines and some reforms have been drafted with this view. But the Indian patriots deem these to be insufficient and think that they require modification. At this juncture, many are trying to obstruct the progress of India. The civil servants, the editors of the Anglo-Indian newspapers and the non-official Europeans in India and the Sydenham party in England are impeding the welfare of India. We trust that the Government will do good to the country without favouring any of these parties. We also hope that they will secure the rights of British subjects to the Indians who go to foreign countries.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 16th April 1919.

A Moslem meeting.

25. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th April, publishes the proceedings of a public meeting held at Ambur at which resolutions are said to have been passed that the Sultan of Turkey should continue to occupy the position of Caliph as heretofore and exercise control over sacred places like Mecca, Medina, etc., that Arabia, Mesopotamia and other countries, though placed under Arabian rule, should be under the supervision of Turkey and not under that of any European power, that an Indian Muhammadan should be sent to the Peace Conference to represent the views of the Muhammadans throughout India, that the Government of India should prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquor here, as has been done in America, at least in the case of Moslems and also the use of cigarettes and other intoxicants by youths below the age of 20 and that the Rowlatt law should be repealed in that it has been passed contrary to the wishes of all the people in India.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th April 1919.

The food situation.

26. The *Swadesamitran*, in its supplement of the 14th April, publishes in Tamil the full proceedings of a public meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 13th idem to consider about the present food situation, while the *Desabhaktan*, the *Hindu Nesan* and the *Dravidan*, of the 15th idem, publish an abstract of the same.

SWADESAMITRAN, 14th April 1919. DESABHAKTAN, HINDU NESAN & DRAVIDAN, Madras, 15th April 1919.

Mr. Gandhi and the Defence of India Act.

27. The *Swadesamitran*, in its supplement of the 14th April, and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th idem, publish in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 12th idem, to protest against the orders passed against Mr. Gandhi under the Defence of India Act, while the *Dravidan*, of the 15th idem, publishes an abstract of the chairman's address and the resolutions passed at this meeting.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 14th April 1919, DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th April 1919 & DRAVIDAN, Madras, 15th April 1919.

The moderates.

28. Referring to the starting of a Liberal League by the Madras moderates, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th April, says:—The leaders of the people should adapt their views to suit the exigencies of the times and should be prepared even to enter prison, if the occasion demands it. But the present moderate party, under the leadership of Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar, has begun to work for the ruin of the progress of the country, and we are expecting the time when the suspicion that Mr. Sastriyar and his adherents are, in their heart of hearts, favouring the bureaucrats, will be confirmed. Where is the necessity for the league that has been started now? It can be easily inferred what kind of people will become members of this league, which has at its head one who has no idea whatever of public work. In a recent

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th April 1919.

speech delivered by Mr. Sastriyar at the Servants of India Society at Royapetta, he said that the league was not the outcome of the statement of Lord Willingdon in England that he was going to support the moderates. These words are rather suspicious. The attempt of the moderates to sell the honour of India for getting a few crumbs from the bureaucracy is a stain upon the glory of India. O moderates! Your condition is pitiable. Do not be deluded by the words of the bureaucrats and hamper the progress of the country. Do not start new associations which will only betray the want of union among us.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th April 1919.

The disturbances at Calcutta.

29. While expressing its regret at the people of Calcutta having lost their temper on account of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and committed a disturbance, in spite of Mr. Gandhi's warning that they should not get provoked by what might happen, and remarking that neither the *Satyagrahis* nor any citizens having a regard for law will justify the unconstitutional conduct of the people at Calcutta and other places, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th April, takes exception, however, to Lord Ronaldshay having made some disparaging remarks about the *Satyagraha* movement in general, in addressing the local *Marvaris* and *Bhatias*, and observes: – He may condemn the action of the people in transgressing the bounds of law; but is it fair on his part to condemn the movement, without understanding the nature of it? He makes much of his not having interfered with the observance of the *Satyagraha* day in Calcutta. But how can the Government officials prevent people calmly convening meetings and expressing their opinion? Lord Ronaldshay and other officials like him should realise beyond doubt that the disturbances at Delhi and other places were not due to the actions of the *Satyagrahis*. As has been repeatedly stated by Mr. Gandhi, passive resistance is the best weapon for a people who have not got the strength of arms. It is as clear as anything that, if those who adopt this principle work according to the instructions of Mr. Gandhi, they will in the end win the day. Lord Ronaldshay says that the adoption of passive resistance will lead to anarchism, make the people disregard the law, impede progress and ruin civilization. It is the brute force of the Germans that will lead to such results and not passive resistance based on soul-force. He asks whether danger will not result by teaching the people not to obey laws. As the *Satyagrahis* decide to disobey certain laws in accordance with the instructions of the *Satyagraha* association, only with the object of doing away with the Rowlatt law, no harm can arise from their actions. The agitation about the partition of Bengal was confined to that province, while the present agitation is spread throughout India. The Government of India should realise hereafter at least the attitude of the public and cancel, without delay, the cruel Rowlatt law. If they think that by doing this they will be lowering their prestige, the British Government at least should pay attention to this. Any statesman, who has understood the present condition of India, will not hesitate to advise the repeal of this law.

DESABHAKTAN, & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th April 1919.

A public meeting.

30. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th April, publish the proceedings of a public meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 14th idem to appreciate the action of those members of the Imperial Legislative Council who have resigned their seats therein, to condemn the application of the Defence of India Act to some leaders in the Punjab, and to request the Government to cancel the orders passed against Messrs. Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Darsi Chenchiah and Krishnaswami Sarma.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 16th April 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th April, gives the substance of the proceedings of a public meeting held on the Madras Beach on the previous day under the presidentship of Mr. Subrahmanya Sastriyar of Arni who is reported to have invited the attention of the Government to the excesses said to have been committed by the Anglo-Indian soldiers in the city for the past few days and advocated the adoption of the *swadeshi* vow by all people.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 16th April 1919.

The present situation and the moderates.

31. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th April, publishes extracts from an article appearing in the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay and reproduced in the *Hindu* of the 15th idem about the situation caused in the country by the passing of the Rowlatt law and the attitude of the moderates in regard to it.

32. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th April, writes:—The Government of India have now openly come forward to put down the *Satyagraha* movement, seeing that their secret attempts to crush it have not been successful, and have invested the Provincial Governments with some fresh powers for this purpose. Having created unrest and discontent in the country, the Viceroy expects India to be peaceful! We do not know how far his expectations will be fulfilled. He himself has admitted in a Government communiqué that there is nothing unconstitutional in the observance of *Satyagraha*, and it was observed throughout India without any disturbance, except what is reported to have occurred in a few places on account of the harassing of the Police. The Viceroy, without chastising the Police for their high-handedness, pounces on the leaders of the *Satyagraha* movement and tries, in a spirit of excessive provocation, to make the innocent people feel his powers. We would apprise him that it is not fair. We admit that there should be no unrest in the country. Mahatma Gandhi and his followers too have been preaching the same doctrine and warning the people against rudeness, which is in itself hostile to *Satyagraha*. If the Government had co-operated with him, there would have been no disturbance in any part of the country. Those that condemn the unjust laws of the Government and explain them to the people are considered to be disloyal. The Government of India wish to carry on the administration peacefully, forgetting that it is essential to secure harmony and co-operation between the rulers and the ruled in the country. Ignorant of the saying that anger leads to the worst of sins, the Government of India have begun to commit evil acts. Under these circumstances they are not going to pay heed to our advice. So the only thing we can do is to pray to the Almighty to endow the authorities with the good sense to revoke the Rowlatt law, which is the cause of unrest in India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement and the Government.

33. Referring to the news received that Delhi is being guarded by the Military Police and that this is increasing the discontent and unrest among the people, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th April, observes:—All manner of difficulties crop up only by the action of the Government in threatening the people by calling in the Police. It has now become patent that the bureaucrats are really incapable of pacifying the people and restoring order during stressfull periods. Not knowing the attitude of the Indians, these bureaucrats profess to be experts at governing!

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th April 1919.

The situation at Delhi.

Under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 12th April, writes:—The communiqué issued by the Government on the Delhi disturbances is not complete and does not contain anything else than the facts mentioned in the version of the local authorities. . . The Government have not shown how the conduct of the unarmed crowd caused pressure to the military so as to necessitate their interference. . . The Government have been pleased with the behaviour of the authorities. It cannot be courage to shoot the innocent people. The duty of the Government is to find out the persons responsible for it and publish the truth. There is no use of their merely repeating what the local authorities have said.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 12th April 1919.

The Delhi disturbance.

In the course of its leading article on the 'Delhi riot', the *Malayali*, of the 9th April, observes that all can guess how the serious riot could have been caused while the *Satyagrahis* had taken the vow to abstain from violence and to courageously suffer all hardships. It would seem that the famous Col. Beadon, Commissioner of Delhi, may have opened up the way for such a riot; because it was found impossible to stop the noble efforts of Mahatma Gandhi by the issue of terrible orders. We do not know the true facts yet. It would be folly to accept as simple truth the version given in the Government Communiqué. Can the Government say anything but that the evil perpetrated by the Police and Military was prompted by the best of motives? . . . Referring to the shooting of ten to fifteen people near the Clock Tower on the trivial pretext that they made fun of Goorkha soldiers, the paper remarks:—'It is not all consistent with the glory of the British Empire to apply might so unjustly on such a trivial provocation.'

MALAYALI, Quilon, 9th April 1919.

The Delhi riot.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 16th April 1919.

34. The *Dravidan*, of the 16th April, reproduces the sentiments of *Justice*, of the 15th idem, pointing out the importance of the Government giving up their policy of relying upon the moderates, and exhorting the people also to help the Government to put down lawlessness whenever it occurs.

The Government and the moderates.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th April 1919.

35. The *Swadesmitran*, of the 17th April, refers to the statement of the *Searchlight* that many Government officials, including the Police, fasted on the *Satyagraha* day at Patna and the fact that, on that day, the Muhammadans and the Hindus gave up all their religious differences, and prayed to God in union and asks if the bureaucracy will ponder deeply over the spirit of unity manifested in these events.

The unity of the people.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 17th April 1919.

36. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 17th April, refers to the conduct of the soldiers in the Volunteer Corps or others, who are reported to have thrown stones on the passers-by near the Fort *maidan* some days back and to that of some soldiers later who are reported to have attacked some people on the beach and hurt them and remarks:—We thought that the authorities would have taken steps to prevent the recurrence of such incidents soon after the first occurrence. As a more serious disturbance has now occurred, we trust that, hereafter at least, the authorities will take an interest in this matter and, besides making a proper inquiry and bringing the offenders to book, see that such unjust acts are not repeated.

Excesses by soldiers.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th April 1919.

37. In a note under this heading the *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th April, refers to the formation of a Liberal League in Nagpur and, observing that a separate Moderate Liberal League has now been formed in the metropolis of every province, remarks:—The members of these leagues profess that they are trying to overcome the obstacles in the way of reforms and that they oppose the Rowlatt Law. Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar and his adherents gave a warning to the Government that a huge agitation would be started in the country to secure the repeal of the Rolatt Law. Have not these moderates noted that it is now more than a month since the Rowlatt Law was passed, or, noting it, are they waiting for an auspicious moment to start the agitation? We are aware of the old agitation of the moderates. Are they going to follow their old way again of setting up enthusiasts to agitate and enjoy the fun from behind? The moderates now say that they are moderate liberals and it remains to be seen what the nature of their future agitation will be.

One more Liberal League.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th April 1919

38. In a leader dwelling at length upon the merits of social service and the good work done by the Madras Social Service League, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th April, makes the following observations among others:—Those that are working against the progress of India rely upon the absurd statements made by the Anglo-Indian papers and blab that, in India, the higher classes are treating the lower classes like slaves and that the condition of the latter has improved a little only by the labours of missionaries. It is true, no doubt that, the missionaries give a portion of the grants, allowed to them by the missions for their propagandist work, to the destitute and ignorant and convert them to their faith. But what is the real object of these missionaries? Is it to relieve the poverty of the ordinary people or to convert them to Christianity? This is known to our readers too well. Social Service Leagues have been started only to save this trouble for the missionaries.

Social service.

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th April 1919.

39. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th April, reproduce in Tamil a letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi by Sir Rabindranath Tagore in appreciation of the *Satyagraha* movement started by the former.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's letter to Mr. Gandhi.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th April 1919.

40. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th April, publishes a Tamil rendering of the leader in the second number of the *Satyagrahi*, an unregistered newspaper edited by Mr. Gandhi at Bombay, in which it is stated that the *Satyagrahi* will not keep quiet until the Rowlatt Law is repealed or he loses his life for the sake of truth.

The *Satyagrahi* of Bombay.

41. In a short note under this heading the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 10th April, reports :—Maharaja Sir P. K. Tagore to have dwelt at a meeting of the British Indian Association at Calcutta on the new spirit that is enlivening the people throughout the world and stated that India should try to keep pace with the progress of this spirit and claim her rightful place in the international compact planned by the League of Nations and observes :—We need not say that the new spirit is making the Indians active in several ways, but how can India, bound hand and foot under the control of the bureaucracy, hope to achieve the higher principles referred to by Maharaja Tagore, though it is these principles that are shaking the very foundations of European governments.

The spirit of the age.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 10th April 1919.

42. In expressing its surprise at the action of the Punjab Government in having issued an order that papers conducted by Indians in that province should publish only news passed by the Censor regarding the disturbances there, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th April, observes:—We do not find fault with Sir Michael O'Dwyer for having passed this order; for he is an abode for repression. But as his administrative policy is entirely against British law and justice, it is our duty to prevent the people from misjudging the British administration from his actions. What is the reason for the Punjab Government having ruled that the public should not understand the events occurring in the province, through papers conducted by their countrymen? Perhaps that Government desires that the people should take only the statements of the bureaucrats and the blabbing of the Anglo-Indian papers to be true. But from the news of the events, at Delhi, we have understood well the nature of the information published by these, for the news received later from the popular leaders has shown that the communiqué issued by the Government on this subject is not entirely true. What are we to say again of the difference made by that Government between the Indian and the Anglo-Indian papers? In every civilised country, it is papers conducted by foreigners that will be controlled during disturbed periods like this. But in India a contrary rule obtains. Papers conducted by foreigners here do not adopt their writings to the attitude of the people, nor do the latter accept the absurd statements made by the former. As the people are aware that the opinions of these papers are directly antagonistic to their own, they know what value to attach to the news published by such papers. The order of the Punjab Government, therefore, is practically a disparaging reflection upon the public life and self-respect of the Indians.

English and Indian newspapers.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th April 1919.

43. Remarking that unrest will naturally crop up in countries where the rulers afflict the people by repressive measures, while it will rarely be found in countries where the rulers love the ruled and conduct their administration on just lines, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th April, observes :—Those resorting to repression, though enjoying a false pleasure for some time, will suffer in the end. In the case of a king who takes to repressive methods, danger will always be hovering over his head and all his subjects will be his enemies. Thus it should be admitted that it is only the rulers that are responsible for disturbances in any country. Taking the case of India the present unrest is due only to the action of the bureaucrats in adopting repressive measures so as to prevent the British justice and the love of India from coming together. When the Indians who are the most peaceful people in the world have begun to commit disturbances, it is for the wise to guage the extent of repression on the part of the bureaucrats that should have led to it. But it is only the cry of the unrest in India that reaches the British public and not its cause. Hence it is that the British and others have only a wrong notion of India. When the Indians who were a little discontented with cruel laws like the Press Act were eagerly expecting to get rid of their shackles as a result of the great war, the rulers instead of fulfilling this expectation poured the venom of the Rowlatt law on the people. They were sufficiently warned even when this law was in the stage of a Bill that it would make an Ireland of India. But the Viceroy never paid heed to this warning. The popular leaders should note the motive underlying the introduction of a cruel law in this country, on the impression that anarchism exists here though it is not a fact, and the creating of unrest

The rulers and unrest.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th April 1919.

thereby. What are we to say of the action of the Viceroy in having unnecessarily created confusion in a country which was quite? It is he that is answerable for the loss of life that occurred in Amritsar, Delhi and other places. We do not know whether the Viceroy and those under him expect to restore order by the help of the moderates or by the strength of arms. We would apprise the Viceroy that the moderates are very limited in number and that the use of arms will only lead to serious consequences. We would ask him if it connotes civilization to use arms for suppressing the people who wish for justice and liberty. Let us hope that the Viceroy would hereafter at least understand clearly that it is the introduction of the Rowlatt law that is the cause of the unrest in the country and give up the barbarous policy of making the troops shoot the people.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th April 1919.

Lords Hardinge and Chelmsford.

44. The *Desbahaktan*, of the 18th April, contrasts the regime of Lord Chelmsford with that of Lord Hardinge in the following strain:—As Lord Hardinge sympathised with and confided in the Indians, the latter had a great love for him. Though the Indians did not get what they wanted in his administration, they did not condemn it. Lord Hardinge again had not the least distrust in the loyalty of the Indians, and he did not fail to applaud the readiness with which the Indians rendered assistance with men and money for the war. He has stated that there were only 15,000 soldiers in India when all the regiments here were sent to the front. The British Kingdom was in a critical condition then. As Germany was stronger at the time, many thought that she might perhaps win. Even at that juncture India was as quiet as ever. There was not the least discontent among the people, and though anarchism had not been rooted out, it did not show its head. Political agitation on constitutional lines did exist even then. But as it had been in existence for a quarter of a century before then, there was no reason for the Government to be afraid of it. Lord Hardinge created in the Indians much confidence in British justice and his love for them did not wane even when his life was endangered. So, the Indians expected the grant of an equal status with other countries in the Empire after the war as a reward for their loyalty. The loyalty of the Indians is not the same as that of the Englishmen, Australians, Canadians, etc. The latter took the field to protect their motherland and their kinsmen in which there is nothing surprising; but the Indians did not enter the field to protect their country and children. They were fully aware that there would not be much danger for in India from a war in Europe and that, even if there should be such a danger, the British could overcome it. So they readily went to the front only on account of their love for the British, whom they credited with better justice, righteousness and mercy than other races. That was the time of Lord Hardinge. How is the country in the time of Lord Chelmsford? Even our Anglo-Indian friends would do well to note the difference. What is the condition of India now? Unrest and disturbance everywhere, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin! What is the reason for this? Even when the Indian people and Princes rendered assistance for the war, it was known to the British that the former were politically discontented and it was to satisfy the Indians that the declaration of August 1917 was made. Then came the visit of Mr. Montagu to India, and his inquiry, the publication of the reform proposals, the contraversy in India about them, the issue of the Rowlatt Committee Report and the passing of the Rowlatt law in the face of the unanimous opposition of the non-official members. So it is on account of the determination of Lord Chelmsford to control the Indians by means of repression that the whole of India is now seething with unrest. True statesmanship consists in understanding the attitude of the people and adapting the system of administration to it. What are we to say of the administration policy of Lord Chelmsford, who clings to one view, even after a serious unrest has appeared in the country? If Lord Hardinge had been the Viceroy now, we would surely assert that India would not be in the condition in which she is at present. Lord Chelmsford has won the same name as Lord Curzon. If India is to have peace hereafter, the British Government should advise the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to repeal the Rowlatt law. Until this law is removed from the Statute Book, we are afraid the present condition of India will not change.

45. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th April, writes:—It used to be stated that the bureaucrats governing India have, excepting a few, much of official arrogance and that on account of being blinded by this arrogance they are incapable of conducting themselves properly during stressful periods. We did not till now believe this statement. But the recent conduct of the authorities at Delhi Conference the above view. Numerous are the hardships that have resulted from the thoughtless and high-handed actions of the officials at Delhi. If they had consulted the popular leaders soon after the disturbance arose, no difficulty would have arisen. But they have sought the co-operation of the very Home Rule leaders whom they have originally detested, after enough of mischief has been caused. Letting alone the past, may the bureaucrats realise at least hereafter that the administration can be conducted peacefully with the help of the popular leaders.

The officials in India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th April 1919.

46. Referring to the observance of the *Satyagraha* day on the 6th instant the *Desabhimani*, of the 9th April, observes in its leader:—It has been hardly a fortnight since His Excelleucy the Viceroy gave his assent to the Rowlatt Act, and even now there is no limit to the unrest produced in the country by this unnecessarily cruel and humiliating piece of legislation. . . Last Sunday was set apart as a day of fast to show to the Government once at least in a month as long as the Act remains on the Statute Book that the people cannot accept it, as it has been passed solely on the strength of official majority and in utter defiance of the public opinion, and as it is an insult to their self-respect and a slur upon their loyalty. . . At the meeting in our town, a resolution was passed declaring the Act as an insult to the self-respect of the Indian people . . . and unworthy of any civilised government. . . In view of the strong agitation in the country which will be demonstrated once in every month as long as this cruel legislation continues to be on the Indian Statute Book, we appeal to the Secretary of State and to His Majesty the King to withhold their assent to it and cancel it.

The celebration of the *Satyagraha* day.

DESABHIMANI, Guntūr, 9th April 1919.

47. Under this heading, the *Desabhimani*, of the 9th April, refers to an order issued by the authorities at Guntūr to some gentlemen on the 6th April asking them not to compel any shopkeepers to close their shops, as it will lead to unrest, and says that it is officials who have compelled some shopkeepers to open their shops and that none of the organizers of the *Satyagraha* celebration have ever tried to force any shopkeeper to close his shop. It requests the authorities to so conduct themselves in future at least as not to afford room for any unrest.

Official Zuberdusti.

DESABHIMANI, Guntūr, 9th April 1919.

48. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th April, writes:—Many of those who were actually assaulted state that at the Triplicane Beach on Monday night at 9-30 some soldiers assaulted some students without any justification. If those who are entrusted with the duty of maintaining peace in the country, try to break peace in this way, the situation will become grave. Before matters get worse, the authorities will do well to take prompt steps and inspire confidence in the people.

Misconduct of soldiers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th April 1919.

49. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th April, writes:— . . . Readers of the *Nation* can understand the amount of discontent prevailing in England against the Coalition party. . . The Liberal party headed by Mr. Asquith and the Labour party must join hands and work together for the maintenance of British traditions and for the realization of the ideal of liberty. Mr. Asquith who was so sorry to see the Irish problem still remaining unsolved, seems to have altogether forgotten the problems of Egypt and India. . . Delay is dangerous. As days pass on, the situation is becoming more and more critical as days roll by. The Rowlatt Act which is subversive of the principles of law has been passed. . . The Defence of India Act has been used against Mr. Gandhi. Leaders in the Punjab have been deported. Unrest is prevailing in different parts of the country. The news about disturbances, published so far, go to show that the conditions have become critical,

The political situation in England and a ray of hope.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th April 1919.

solely on account of Police interference. Orders have been issued in the Punjab, prohibiting the publication of news by the Indian papers. It will be seen from Mr. B. Chakravarti's statement about the Calcutta riots that the people did not throw brick-bats, that Lord Ronaldshay did not accept the offer of Mr. Chakravarti to prevent any disturbance on his personal responsibility, if the European Police were withdrawn, and that the Military had meanwhile opened fire on the mob who complained to Mr. Chakravarti that soldiers fired on them without any reason. Messages from Ahmedabad show that the number of casualities there was about 250. Civil law has been suspended, and the martial law proclaimed in the Lahore and the Amritsar districts. As has been foreshadowed by the Government of India, repressive measure after repressive measure is being passed, and it is not known to what all this may lead. . . However good the motive of the Government of Lord Chelmsford may be, when the Act (the Rowlatt Act) is put into actual operation, it cannot but molest the innocent. It is not right that the British public should be silent when the situation is thus threatening to become very grave. The Liberal and the Labour parties should at once ascertain the truth and try to solve the problem of India along with that of Ireland. . . Meanwhile, the people will do well to follow the advice of Mr. Gandhi and abstain from violence. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th April 1919.

Mrs. Besant and *Satyagraha.*

50. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th April, gives in Telugu an extract from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which contains:— . . . The condition would have been peaceful, if there had been no interference with *Satyagrahis* and if no armed Police nor soldiers had been pressed into service.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

Mrs. Besant's audacity.

Referring to the charges levelled at Mr. Gandhi by Mrs. Besant such as that he has opened the flood gates of revolution in India, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd April, writes in its leader under this heading:—. . . None can try more earnestly than Mr. Gandhi for the restoration of peace. He does not make the difficulties of the Government his opportunity. When there was European rebellion in South Africa, he suspended his passive resistance; and he helped the Government a good deal during the Boer war. . . Though there was no manner of connexion between his movement and the recent disturbances, he promised to suspend disobedience of civil laws till the restoration of peace. Is it possible to show a nobler conduct? . . . Perfect peace prevailed in the Madras Presidency, though it yielded to no other province in point of enthusiasm in observing *Satyagraha.* Has Mrs. Besant tried to ascertain the cause for this preservation of peace? The police authorities here did not unnecessarily interfere with the movements of the people, nor did they seek to put restraints on the leaders. Had the same policy been followed in the other provinces, there would have been no occasion for disturbances at all. The obstructions caused to the movements of the people at Delhi, the restraints imposed upon Mr. Gandhi, and the deportations of leaders like Mr. Abdur Rahiman and Mr. Satyapal in the Punjab tried the patience of the masses in those places. Wherever it was possible for the *Satyagrahis* to exert their personal influence, there was a marked toning down of violence. Mrs. Besant questions the utility of Mr. Gandhi's threat to give up his life. His message condemning all violence pacified Ahmedabad, led to the free transaction of business and created repentence in the people. Is not all this utility?

The arrests of prominent men, the suppression of the freedom of the press, the bombing of towns by means of aeroplanes, and deaths among the people, which seem to be the order of the day in the Punjab just now, cannot but cause regret to any Indian. If the Punjab Government takes the assistance of Mr. Gandhi now at least, it will succeed in its efforts to restore peace and order. . . When the war has come to an end, when the enemy countries are on their knees, when the Empire is free from all danger and the conclusion of peace is within sight, Mrs. Besant is creating a fresh danger of invasion and revolution. We sincerely pray to God to save India from friends of this type. It is certain that the Anglo-Indians, relying on her words, will goad the authorities to further repression. But the Government must use their discretion properly at this juncture, realizing that the Rowlatt legislation is the root cause of all the present unrest. Cancel it, and

there will be peace forthwith. . . In view of the fact that the existing legislation is found quite sufficient to control the situation in the Punjab just now, we appeal to the Government to withdraw the Rowlatt Bill which was passed against the wishes of the people. . .

Mrs. Besant and *Satyagraha*.

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 15th April, writes:—Mrs. Besant has stood in opposition to *Satyagraha*. In a letter to the press she writes that as it is the prime duty of Government to keep the country under effective control, it is but proper and just that those who break His Majesty's order should be arrested and punished and that in the present instance we have the orders of His Majesty opposed to those of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi, however, has all along been explaining that his instructions are never in conflict with the orders of His Majesty, which have first to be approved by Parliament and that his objection is only to these laws which have been made without the sanction of Parliament nor the approval of the people or their representatives here, and that *Satyagraha* consists in opposing such unjust laws by patiently suffering punishment without offering resistance and losing one's temper. This patient suffering is, in the opinion of many, a most powerful and invincible weapon. This *Satyagraha* elevated Jesus Christ to the position of God, and the Government of India are now elevating Mahatma Gandhi also to that divine position. It is, indeed, surprising that Mrs. Besant has behaved so idiotically without trying to understand this. Mrs. Besant can never hope to win by casting such wicked aspersions on the noble movement of Mr. Gandhi.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 15th April 1919.

On the same subject, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 23rd April, writes:—The very Mrs. Besant who did a world of good to our country in the past has now begun to do us harm. She condemned the Rowlatt laws and approved of the *Satyagraha* movement at the start, but now she gives her support to the former and condemns the latter. It is believed that there is some secret cause for this change of front on her part in this unaccountable manner. Women are said to be fickle, but we believed that Mrs. Besant was, at any rate, an exception to the rule. We now admit that we were wrong, and that Mrs. Besant too is after all a woman and fickle-minded like the rest of her kind. She was at one time a Christian, then became an atheist, a vedantin and a theosophist in succession, and, finally abandoning the field of religion, entered politics. She has now begun to display as much weakness in her political creed as she showed in her religious faiths.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 23rd April 1919.

Deportations.

51. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th April, writes with reference to the deportations in the Punjab:— . . . The deportation of one prominent man after another will have no other result than reducing the number of leaders who can exert their influence for the prevention of disturbances among the people, and it will thus promote unrest instead of restoring order. It is understood that Mr. Gandhi's advice to the people of Ahmedabad has been effective in restoring peace and order there. It will be clear to all those who have any foresight that the Government can restore peace if they trust the leaders and avail themselves of their assistance.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th April 1919.

National dejection.

52. Reviewing the present situation in its leader under this heading the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th April, observes:— . . . The British Government failed to introduce in such a country of ancient civilisation as India during 150 years those changes which America has been able to do among the uncivilised people of the Philippine Islands in 20 years. This view has been expressed by Mr. Montagu in his Mesopotamia report. This truth is clear to all those who have been watching India intelligently. Indians cannot command any respect in India or in any foreign country. In their own country, prominent Indians fail to get as much respect as is shown to a Chatkari (Eurasian). . . While Europeans are allowed to enter India freely and procure easily all the rights of citizenship, Indians cannot go and see any foreign country without passports and they are treated there as backward races. In the Fiji Islands, in the British Colonies or in foreign countries, they are accorded scant courtesy. Their fallen condition in their own as well as in foreign countries causes profound sorrow. . . The European statesmen proclaimed that in the coming world-reconstruction, the principle of

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th April 1919.

self-determination would be followed. The high principles and renunciation which were in evidence in trying times are disappearing after victory in the war. The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme has been published, and has caused disappointment to Indians. . . Lord Chelmsford has not dared to condemn the unwholesome schemes of Europeans; on the other hand, he has been praising them. The authorities have passed the Rowlatt Act in two weeks in defiance of the Indian public opinion in a grave crisis full of despair. In these circumstances, it is not at all strange that the people of India with their peaceful traditions have taken to the *Satyagraha* movement which is essentially a movement of divine grace and power. . . Defiance of public opinion in this twentieth century after the end of the great war does not surely conduce to the establishment of peace. . . Sir Michael O'Dwyer has been making an indiscriminate use of the Defence of India Act for the last five years, and his vain talk has only called forth deep disgust. . . The consequences of all this are disturbances, unrest and deportations. The Government of India will have to determine the reason why such a strong excitement as is unknown in the rest of India should prevail in the Punjab alone. . . If Mahatma Gandhi had been allowed to go to the Punjab and if Doctor Kitchlew and other leaders had not been deported, there would have been no trouble in the Punjab. Repressive measures give rise to acts of violence, while peaceful administration will promote peaceful action. . . It must be understood from the present situation at least that the foundation of British rule as well as of India's welfare is the heart of the people and not the Rowlatt legislation. . . It is a pity that the advocates of reforms do not understand what sort of reforms may come from the hands of the bureaucracy which has passed the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of public opposition. . . It is clear that reforms in the right hand and repression in the left is the traditional policy of the bureaucracy. . . The advice given by Mahatma Gandhi that condemnation of evil and devotion to the right is a certain cure for all sorrow may well be followed by one and all of the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th April 1919.

A great message and the establishment of peace.

53. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th April, observes that the message of Mr. Gandhi to the Ahmedabad people has been admitted by the Government to have had the desired effect of restoring peace and order there, that there would have been no trouble in Delhi and in the Punjab also, if freedom had been allowed to him by the Punjab Government as was done by the Bombay Government and that the authorities are realizing the importance of consulting the leaders of the people and of taking their help, as may be now seen in Delhi. The article concludes by saying that everlasting peace would be established and the bonds of love between the rulers and the ruled, strengthened, if the Rowlatt Act which has been proved to be against the wishes of the people is repealed forthwith.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th April 1919.

The duty of *Satyagrahis*.

54. In the course of its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th April, observes that the causes for the disturbances are long-standing and have no connexion with *Satyagraha*, that the absence of violent deeds at Delhi is to be attributed to the restraining influence of *Satyagrahis*, and that it is peaceful means and not the use of bullets, machine-guns and bombs which will restore peace and order, as the different policies pursued in the Bombay and the Punjab provinces would show. The paper exhorts the authorities to discard unnecessary excitement and panic, and preserve the faith of the people in British justice and fairplay by following peaceful methods, and appeals to *Satyagrahis* to co-operate with the Government in restoring peace and order in pursuance of Mr. Gandhi's advice.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th April 1919.

Repressive legislation and the British public opinion.

55. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th April, gives in Telugu extracts from the *India* and the *Herald* disapproving of the Rowlatt legislation.

The paper publishes also an extract from the letter of Mr. Bernard Houghton on the subject to the *India*, which contains:—. . . Relying on the recommendations contained in the Rowlatt Commission report which might be useful for purposes of antiquarian research, the Simla authorities are now going to legislate on Prussian lines. Though Prussianism is dead in Europe, it is lifting up its

head in India. . . This Act is opposed to the national aspirations and mocks at liberty.

56. An article under this heading in the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 8th April, contains:—. . . As chillies are being exported to places where they are not required, it is suspected that it is being sent to foreign countries. Should this be true, it is the duty of the Government to stop the export. This is an article of food very essential for the *Andhras*. . .

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 8th April 1919.

Scarcity of chillies and other necessaries of life.

57. Commenting in its leader under this heading on the report of the Cotton Committee, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st April, observes that the main points dealt with in the report cannot be encouraging to Indians, inasumch as India will be obliged, under the new policy of Imperial Preference, to supply her cotton at cheaper rates to the members of the Empire than to others, and exhorts all parties to work together for commercial freedom for India.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st April 1919.

The Cotton Committee's report and the Lancashire trade.

58. After quoting the message of Mr. Gandhi, announcing temporary cessation of civil disobedience from the programme of *Satyagraha* and expressing his conviction that *Satyagraha* had nothing to do with the excesses committed by the mob at Ahmedabad and Virangam, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st April, observes that the Government will earn the gratitude of the people, if, in view of the noble attitude of Mr. Gandhi at a critical time, they remove the Rowlatt Act forthwith from the Statute Book, and thereby afford no occasion for any further disobedience of civil laws.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st April 1919.

The message of Mr. Gandhi.

59. Referring to the arrest of the editor of the *Tribune*, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st April, writes:—. . . The Punjab Government is arresting leaders one after another. Is it not yet time for superior authorities to disapprove of the repressive measures inaugurated by the O'Dwyer Government as being against the interests of the country?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st April 1919.

Another arrest.

60. Referring to the departure of Mr. K. C. Roy and Mr. V. S. Sastri to England on behalf of the Moderate deputation, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st April, says:—. . . Even in the matter of deputations, preference is being shown to the Moderates. If England passes any reforms without ascertaining the views of the different parties in India, far from being satisfactory they are doomed to be a failure.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st April 1919.

The Moderate deputation.

61. Referring to the dispersing of a Home Rule League meeting at Inagallu on the 5th instant, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st April, writes under this heading:—. . . In view of such high-handedness, the leaders will do well to teach the people their duty under such circumstances.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st April 1919.

Inagallu meetings.

62. While giving the outlines of the *Model Newspaper* which is the name of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* as published after the recent forfeiture of its security, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st April, observes:—. . . It will be readily seen to what a sad condition a paper even like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* may come under the Press Act. The authorities will do well to think deeply if such a repressive policy can be called statesmanship.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st April 1919.

The *model newspaper* under the Press Act: the new form of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

63. Commenting on the proceedings of the recent Gōdāvari District Conference at Tuni, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd April, observes:—. . . While showing its approval of the resolutions of the Delhi Congress and its disapproval of the Rowlatt Act, the Conference has not only protested against the application of martial law to any part of the country as uncalled for by the present circumstances, but also expressed its sympathy with the *Satyagraha* movement inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi. . . We request the authorities to treat the resolutions of the Gōdāvari Conference as voicing the public opinion in the *Andhradesa*, and grant the wishes of the people accordingly.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

The Gōdāvari District Conference.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

64. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd April, publishes in Telugu the exhortation of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to the Labour Party on its duty with regard to the Rowlatt legislation, which contains:—. . . The Labour party should at least communicate a resolution to the Government that the Rowlatt Bills violate British principles and traditions.

Will the Labour Party give its help?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th April 1919.

65. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th April, contains an account in Telugu of the *Satyagraha* celebration at Indupalli on 6th April 1919, which states that, at a meeting held in that connexion, a resolution was passed praying His Majesty the King-Emperor to veto the Rowlatt Act in view of the unrest prevailing in the country on account of it.

Satyagraha day at Indupalli.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th April 1919.

66. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th April, reproduces in Telugu the letter of Sir Rabindranath Tagore to Mr. Gandhi congratulating him on the inauguration of the *Satyagraha* movement. The same letter appears in English in *New India* of the same date.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's letter to Mr. Gandhi.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th April 1919.

67. Under this heading the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th April, publishes the following lines from a letter addressed to it by the Andhra internee, Darsi Chenchayya from Cannanore Central Jail:—. . . "I have been prohibited from reading newspapers. Please, therefore, direct the paper to my brother, Darsi Guruswami who is living at Kanigiri." Then the paper comments:—The difficulties of interned persons may be understood to some extent from this letter.

Interned persons and newspaper reading.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th April 1919.

68. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th April, publishes in Telugu the speeches of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and of the President of the thirteenth Gōdāvari District Conference held at Tuni.

The Thirteenth Gōdāvari District Conference.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

69. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd April, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the recent Gōdāvari District Conference held at Tuni and the resolutions passed thereat.

The Gōdāvari and the Kistna District Conferences.

The same paper contains a Telugu summary of the presidential speech at the Kistna District Conference held at Kovvur.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 17th April 1919.

70. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th April, writes much to the same effect as the *Andhrapatrika*, of the same date, about the assault of some students by Eurasian soldiers at the Triplicane beach on the night of the 14th instant, and requests the Police Commissioner and other authorities to take immediate action.

Some condemnable acts at the beach.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

71. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd April, writes that two copies of the *Satyagrahi*, one in English and one in Telugu, were received by the *Satyagrahis* at Berhampur and that nine extra copies were prepared out of them and sold to the public.

Satyagraha and Berhampur.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

72. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd April, reproduces in Telugu the article of Mr. Gandhi exhorting the people to take the *swadeshi* vow and make a bonfire of all foreign goods in their possession, which was published in the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Swadeshi vow.

HINDUSUNDARI, Cocanada, April 1919.

73. In the course of an article under this heading, the *Hindusundari*, for April, makes the following observations among others:— . . . The announcement of the Secretary of State is being sought to be interpreted by the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy literally. The cry is coming out from Englishmen that Indians are unfit for self-government. . . The high sounding proclamations made by the European statesmen in a spirit of renunciation in a time of trial were nowhere after the need was over. The white has thought fit to

A crisis in the beginning of the year.

lord over the black. . . In the matter of the freedom of the seas, President Wilson's mediation is not being recognized. The League of Nations which has had for its object the spread of democracy is giving its support to autocracy. . . Ways are being devised to ensure the safety of arbitrary rule. Victory in the war is not conducing to the peace of the Empire, and unrest is growing. . . The British statesmen have the power to meet this crisis. If the grievances of Mother India remain unredressed, there cannot be proper strength and safety to the Empire. . .

Fitness of India for Home Rule.

74. Under the heading "The Philipine Islands", referring to the proposal of President Wilson to grant independence to the Philipine Islands which came into the hands of the United States of America just twenty years ago, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 18th April, observes:—The British people came to this country for purposes of trade some 320 years ago. Many Indians are sceptic as to the possibility of their attaining self-government even 3,200 years hence. Such fears, however, are not to be entertained. As the result of English education this country has given birth to such eminent personages as Gandhi, Tilak, Rabindranath, Aravindo Ghose, Surendra Nath, Malaviya, Jinnah, Sarojini Devi, Chakravarti and Das—each one of whom is in no way inferior to President Wilson. Even at this very moment there are in India not less than a lakh of patriots of the type of Mr. Gandhi. When we see sanyasins like Shraddhananda, servants of the country like Srinivasa Sastri, great patriots like Jinnah, statesmen like the Maharaja of Kassimbazar and lovers of education like our Maharaja (of Mysore) increasing in our motherland day by day, we feel that the fetters binding the limbs, thoughts and actions of the Indian people will at no distant date be shattered into a thousand pieces. It is wrong to suppose that India will never have salvation, what with her four castes and four thousand creeds, their mutual jealousies and animosities. Who ever thought that it would be possible, in this age, for Swami Shraddhananda to lecture in a Muhammadan mosque at their request? Who ever believed that lakhs of Mussalmans in Calcutta would gather together and fraternise with the Hindus and acclaim Mahatma Gandhi as their common saviour? Why should not the British people themselves grant us Home Rule and make the British connexion everlasting in this country? There is nothing improbable in this.

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 18th April 1919.

Mahatma Gandhi and passive resistance.

75. The *Kerala Kesari*, of Dhanu-Makaram 1094 M.E. (December 1918-February 1919), speaks of the inestimable virtues of Mahatma Gandhi and the mysterious power of soul force, and sympathises with the ignorance of foreigners who maintain that India was subdued by force of arms and that peace is maintained in the land by military power and administrative skill. It is not by the sword that India was won or is being ruled to-day, nor is it by the administrative skill of foreigners. The one force that keeps India intact is foul force. The occasion for the present manifestation of this latent soul force is the passing of the two laws by the India Government, which is bereft of all mercy and love, in such hot haste, laws that defame and pain the people of India as a whole. Never before has a law been enacted so heartless, so unjust, so opposed to public opinion, so subversive of the fundamental principles of freedom and fairplay, so destructive of individual freedom which is necessary for peace and contentment, a law that taints even the British administration. The rejection of the unanimous opposition of non-official members and the acceptance of the opinion of a few European officials who have no (vital) connexion with India or Indians point to a policy which we do not consider to be noble or desirable. . . What a pitiable transformation is this that the land of nativity of holy Rishis should bave become or should have been made a prison house and their successors mere prisoners. . . It fills one with fear to contemplate what the future consummation of this evil policy is likely to be.

Kerala Kesari, Ernakulam, Dhanu-Makaram 1094 M.E. (Dec. 1918-Feb. 1919).

In the course of its leading article on *Satyagraha*, the *Malayali*, of 12th April, speaks of the obstinacy of the Government in passing the Rowlatt Bill setting at naught the opposition of the whole of India and asks whether the hardness of heart of the Government is not astonishing.

Malayali, Quilon, 12th April 1919.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 10th April 1919.

The *Malayala Manorama*, of the 10th April, has a long article explaining the circumstances which necessitated the introduction of the 'Rowlatt Bills', and in a separate note regarding the discovery at Manipur of seditious literature published by the 'All-India Revolutionary Committee' and of arms and ammunitions, etc., collected by them, observes: 'When anarchism is so alive in the land it is difficult to understand the meaning of the hubbub created by good men like Mr. Gandhi about the Rowlatt Bill the purpose of which is to put down such anarchism.'

MANORAMA, Calicut, 11th April 1919.

The *Manorama*, of the 11th April, has an article on the present situation in India in which it notices the passing of the 'terrible bills' and the immediate popularity of the passive resistance movement, started by Mahatma Gandhi and observes in conclusion that a policy of conciliation is better than one of repression for putting down the present disturbance and that the Government should consult the leaders of the people how best to deal with the situation.

The same paper in the issue of the 18th April, asks:—Is it wise to cut off the head, because it causes the head-ache? The present situation calls for gentle measures rather than hard.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 22nd April 1919.

76. In its leading article on 'Indian Unrest', the *Malayala Manorama*, of the 22nd April, notices the undesirable results that have followed from the Passive Resistance movement and observes:—When England's Military power and their well-established strength in Asia and all over the world are considered, it will be seen how foolish these rioters are who imagine that, by the killing of a few Europeans, *swaraj* can be established in India. If, however, Bolshevism should increase, it is only Russia and Hungary that can bear witness to what the state of India will be! If the powerful sovereignty and control now exercised by England should suddenly disappear from India, India will go several centuries backwards.

Indian unrest.

KERALA BHARATHI, Kottayam, 22nd April 1919.

The *Kerala Bharathi*, of the 22nd April, concludes a long leading article on the disturbances in British India, with the observation that it is self-evident that the British Government, which quelled the Sepoy Mutiny and recently succeeded in routing the terrible Germans, will not find it at all troublesome to put down minor disturbances of this kind. But as these disturbances are likely to destroy the estimation in which Indians are held by Englishmen and therefore likely to prejudice the future welfare of India, it is the duty of all true patriots to try and drive out wrong and false notions from the minds of the people.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 18th & 22nd April 1919.

The *Manorama*, of the 18th April and of 22nd April, also expresses the same opinion as above.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 13th April 1919.

77. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 13th April, has a leader on this subject of which the following is a summary:—These revolutionary incident afford us an awful spectacle. India is now involved, not in securing victory or sustaining defeat but in a struggle for her fair.

A dreadful spectacle.

We were afraid that public passions would surely be aroused and that the country would become like a troubled sea. Eventually this very thing has happened. Lives of innocent people have been foolishly sacrificed. These dreadful happenings at Lahore, Amritsar and Ahmadabad are more the unfortunate outcome of our shortsightedness than the result of the black law.

We are not opposed to Hindu Muhammadan unity, nor are we against the black law, but we emphatically protest against the destruction of life and property in the country.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 15th April 1919.

78. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 15th April, commenting in a leader on the present situation in India observes:—On one hand national leaders are leaving the council, while on the other, patriots are being expelled from home and country. No one knows how long this state of affairs will continue and how long we are to go stumbling along this political labyrinth. The Government persists in declaring that the Rowlatt Act has not been framed to create disorder and restlessness, while the country emphatically asserts that *Satyagraha* was not introduced to bring about anarchy and rebellion. Then who is responsible for this loss of life and damage to property.

The Rowlatt Act and *Satyagraha*.

What does the Government gain by opposing the defenceless people with arms, and what is the good of raising the *Satyagraha* cry of peace where there is no peace? I swear by the One God this does not mean the welfare of the country. It is not good law. It is not right, nor is it justice that, with reason or without reason, we spread unrest and insecurity in the land.

Just as the Rowlatt Act is deficient in ascertaining who are real anarchists, so *Satyagraha* is unable to appreciate the real lover of liberty.

79. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 14th April, writes that the Imam Sahib of the Jāmâ Musjid, Delhi, has agreed to include as heretofore the name of the Khalifa in the sermon. Referring to the omission of the name by the Imam of the Jāmâ Musjid, Triplicane, Madras, it hopes that His Highness [sic] the Prince of Arcot will direct his attention to it and issue strict orders for the inclusion of the name in the sermon to all Imams of the Mosques under him, a religious Act with which the British Government has not been, nor can be, displeased.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 14th April 1919.

The inclusion of the name of the Khalifa in sermon in the Musjid.

80. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 19th April, has a leader on the marginally-noted subject of which the following is a summary:— The thick clouds of oppression and insecurity have spread over the country. Ruin and destruction prevail over the earth, and now is the time for us not to abandon moderation. Our religion and our country are in danger. Our belief and aspirations are being destroyed. We have forgotten our position and our duty.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 19th April 1919.

A couple of words with Mussalmans.

A few gentlemen among us think that we should join at this time in every revolt, and rebellion against the Government. Some are of opinion that we should not assist in any Council or movement in the country, and not say a single word against the Government. Others regard *Satyagraha* as the most effective weapon to secure victory, and the upper hand. Some consider it their duty to remain silent. But not one of these is worthy of being acted upon.

81. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 19th April, has a leader on the marginally-noted subject in which the writer gives a translation of the comments of the *Madras Times* on the present situation that the indifference of the Government is the accepted cause of the success of the enemies of law and order, etc., and that the Indian Defence Force should be utilized to suppress agitation and to stop demonstrations.

Jaridah-i-Rozgar, Madras, 19th April 1919.

The duty of the Government.

It adds that the Government of India intends to take steps against the *Satyagrahists* similar to those taken by the Chief Officer of the Indian Expeditionary Force in Egypt for the suppression of Anarchy there. The writer says that the *Madras Times* expresses its concurrence with this idea of the Government of India, but it thinks that such drastic measures are premature.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 19th April, has a report of the proceedings of the meeting held at Ajmir in support of the Khalifate.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 19th April 1919.

III.—Legislation.

82. Referring to the statement of Mr. Fisher in Parliament that the Rowlatt Law was enacted to put down anarchism in India and that it could not be repealed, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th April, says:—In the face of this statement, what is the use of appealing to the Secretary of State for India? The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriyar said in a recent speech that he believed that the Secretary of State would cancel the Rowlatt Law if an appeal were made to him. Will Mr. Sastriyar give up his confidence at least now? If the Rowlatt Law is to be done away with, every one should take to *Satyagraha*.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 15th April 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

The *Desabhaktan* points, in its issue of the 16th April, to the news that the *Marvari* merchants of Calcutta have vowed not to indent for foreign piecegoods and not to export foodstuffs until the Rowlatt Law is repealed and observes:— If this is a fact, the Viceroy should note the consequences of such a vow. We request the authorities to realise what the situation will be if a similar vow is taken by merchants at all the important trade centres in India. Let not the Government delude themselves into the belief that such a contingency will never

Desabhaktan, Madras, 16th April 1919.

arise in the country. Judging from the excitement of the public, we cannot say that it will not happen. We, therefore, apprise the authorities that the wisest thing they can do is to realise the condition of the country well and repeal the Rowlatt Law that is the cause of it.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th April 1919.

The Press Act.

83. Referring to the extended use of the Press Act and to the recent forfeiture of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* security of Rs. 5,000 under the Act, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th April, writes under this heading:—. . . In case those papers which represent the views of the people are to be stopped, the prevailing discontent may give up constitutional ways and drift into questionable paths. In a moment of national crisis, there cannot happen a greater calamity than the suppression of newspapers. All civilised countries have recognized the importance of the freedom of the press and of the right of public speech as essential aids to administration. When the birth-rights of the people are being rooted out in this way, and the authority of law-courts has been dispensed with, it will be easy to imagine of what value the coming reforms will be. For the safety of the Empire, for the permanence of the British Government and for the welfare of the people, we appeal to the Government to abstain from such a policy.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 15th April 1919.

The Rowlatt Act.

84. Referring to a speech reported to have been delivered by Mr. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, at a meeting held in Bombay to request His Majesty to withhold his assent to the Rowlatt laws, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 15th April, writes:—As all classes of the people of India have offered united opposition to these laws, irrespective of the differences of caste and creed, it would be graceful on the part of the Government of India to save their prestige by themselves, cancelling this piece of legislation. It is the opinion of many that obstinacy will not in the least benefit either the British Government or the Anglo-Indians who are responsible for the autocratic attitude of the former.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 22nd April 1919.

The Rowlatt Act.

Under the heading 'The Present Situation', commenting on the provisions of the Rowlatt Act, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 22nd April, writes:—Even though this law may be passed on the pretext of employing it to punish only the revolutionaries, it is to be feared that innocent persons who will dare to boldly criticise the autocratic acts of the authorities will as well fall victims to it. There are people who speak even of Mr. Gandhi as a revolutionary, in spite of his being quite an embodiment of peaceful righteousness. If such people are invested with power will they fail to reduce Mr. Gandhi to ashes? Was not an attempt made to shoot Swami Shraddhananda? It is, therefore, wrong to say that the good need have no fear of this law.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 22nd April 1919.

The Rowlatt Act.

An article in the *Malayala Manorama*, of the 22nd April, explains in brief the scope of the Rowlatt Act and observes that much ado has been made about a measure intended purely for emergencies. To fancy that it will be misapplied to restrict the freedom of law-abiding gentlemen is to suspect the character and conscience of Government officials. The fact that the administration of the law will be entrusted to really upright and capable men makes us bold to assert that the law is perfectly harmless to the public.

ERRATA.

Report No. 16.

Page 629, paragraph 99, line 34, *for* 'if the' *read* 'if in the'.
,, 629 ,, 99 ,, 37 *for* 'council' *read* 'councils'.
,, 629 ,, 99 ,, 38 *insert* the word 'are' after the word 'whom'.

[Issued, the 30th April 1919.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 18 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 3rd May 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

1. *New India*, of the 25th April, says:—"We know very well that some Local Governments are thoroughly reactionary, and will use all the influence they can command to put pressure on the Government of Great Britain once again to break their promise to India. Nothing more disastrous can be imagined than that, once again, the Cup of Freedom should be struck from her lips. And if this should come on the top of the sullen resentment aroused by the unhappy Rowlatt legislation, the troubles in India would become even more serious than they are to-day, and they would show themselves all over India and not in the north and west alone."

New India, Madras, 25th April 1919.

The Reform Bill.

2. The *Hindu*, of the 28th April, remarks:—"The deportation of Mr. Horniman, editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, the placing that journal under the censorship of a member of the Civil Service and the resolution of the Directors to close it down rather than carrying it on under the fetters forged for it under the Defence of India Act are events which notwithstanding their dramatic swiftness, are no more than ordinary incidents in the Militarist *regimé* under which, we are now living in this country. . . The order of deportation does not give even a colorable excuse for depriving Mr. Horniman of his liberty. . . The tragedy of the Government's blunder, and the rank injustice of its proceeding cannot be exaggerated. The proceedings taken against Indian papers and their editors in the Punjab, in Calcutta, in Bombay and in other parts of the country, show the state of grave insecurity of the Nationalist journals. If newspapers are the medium of information and education to the people, if they are the exponents of popular opinion and form the bulwark of the people's rights and liberties, it may be realised how destructive the present proceedings of the Government are to these rights and liberties. We cannot find an atom of justification for the drastic manner in which the rights of the Press and the liberties of the people are being dealt with in this country, excepting the habit of mind which a recent writer ascribes to what he describes as a plain historic fact that war normally leaves behind it an invigorated militarism."

Hindu, Madras, 28th April 1919.

The deportation of Mr. Horniman.

New India, of the 28th April, writes:—"All India will regret the loss of Mr. Horniman, for he has rendered immense services to the cause of Indian Freedom. . . With all respect for his courage, we are bound to say that no Government in the moment of danger and facing rebellion, could tolerate the language used. The British Government's action against the *Morning Post* was taken under far less provocation."

New India, Madras, 28th April 1919.

III.—Legislation.

3. In concluding a leader under the heading 'The *Satyagraha* Rebellion', the *Cochin Argus*, for the week ending 26th April, remarks:—"We cannot get over the stubborn fact, however, that, consciously or unconsciously, Mr. Gandhi and his passive resistance associates have largely and directly to answer for the blood that has been shed, for the racial bitterness that has been created, for the potential dangers to which India is now exposed, and, in view of all this, it continues to remain a most disagreeable puzzle to us why Royal treatment should continue to be extended to men who have wholly and deliberately forfeited all claim to be treated otherwise than as enemies of the King-Emperor and of the safety of His Majesty's subjects and realms. It is satisfactory to think that, to a certain extent, the Chelmsford administration is acting with the firmness

Cochin Argus, Cochin, 26th April 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills and passive resistance.

demanded by the prevailing situation, but it is not satisfactory to observe that this firmness goes a much shorter way than is imperatively necessary. We do not want anybody's head to be brought up on a charger, but the plain, loyal citizen is justified in demanding that whosoever chooses to act as a rebel should be treated as such."

KARNATAKA, Bangalore City, 30th April 1919.

The *Karnataka*, of the 30th April, observes:—"Can therebe a greater proof of the tactlessness and want of imagination on the part of the Government than their putting the Defence of India Act in force against India's most peaceful patriot—call him political agitator if you please—Mahatma Gandhi? India to be defended against Mr. Gandhi! . . . To associate Mr. Gandhi and the *Satyagraha* movement with the disturbances, as some Anglo-Indian newspapers have done, is to betray wicked perversity and confusion of cause and effect. We are grieved to observe that the outlook has been rendered gloomy and formidable by the very measures taken by Government to restore peace and order in the disturbed areas. The bureaucratic hammer is breaking one more link that binds India to England."

NATIONALIST, Madras, 27th April 1919.

4. The *Nationalist*, for the week ending 27th April, says:—"The Government's explanation of the Rowlatt Act as a harmless piece of legislation is yet the same unconvincing stuff that it ever has been. Since the Government of India has, by its own mouth and the mouths of its local representatives, protested a thousand times over, that the Rowlatt Act will be utilised, if at all, only to prevent anarchical and revolutionary crimes—though none of these have yet told the world what they would interpret as anarchy or revolution, whether they would not construe an attack on a constable as an act of anarchy or a narration of Irish events and a psycological examination of the Egyptian situation as acts of revolutionary propagandism—it may be permissible to hope that this Act will not be put to so bad a use as the Defence of India Act. Yet we do not see how the opposition to it can cease as long as it is a law founded upon the deprivation of the citizen's fundamental right to be openly tried in a Court of law according to the fully accepted principles of jurisprudence. The Government of India misstate their own case when they say the Rowlatt Act has not yet been applied to any part of India. They intend this to be an assurance that it will not easily come into operation. They seem to forget that India knows that the Defence of India Act is still in existence actively participating in the rule of repression and that the Rowlatt Act is only intended to be its successor."

The Government of India and the Rowlatt Act.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

5. Referring to the nationalist representatives from South Africa now in England and the disparaging remarks made about them by the Anglo-Indian papers, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th April, observes:—One paper says that these representatives do not command any respect in their own country and that there are none in England to care for them at present, as the British public have to attend to their own affairs now and cannot turn their attention to the politics of other countries. Who can attend to the affairs of countries comprised in the British Empire, if not the British? Are not the British responsible for the affairs of these countries?

The South African deputation to England.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 26th April 1919.

6. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 23rd April, writes:—The demand of this revolutionary party is simply that Egypt should be granted absolute independence. This demand is not only worthy of being rejected but is absolutely ludicrous. The party does not wish to see Egypt make any substantial progress, but their sole and real object seems to be to recover their lost dignity. No patriot in Egypt views the proceedings of the party with approval. Old and experienced statesmen are afraid lest the Egyptian Government should be deprived of the few facilities which are about to be granted to the country, and that existing freedom should be jeopardised. Those who remember past events or those who have learned from their ancestors what the former conditions of Egypt were, know full well that the motto of 'Egypt for the Egyptians' without the interference of any other Power, will not prove beneficial to the country. Should Egypt be separated from British suzerainty, the Zughlul party will prevail in every corner of the country which will mean the subversion of the rights of peace-loving Egyptians and predominance of the Pasha element as heretofore.

The pretensions to nationalism by a few Egyptian revolutionaries.

Jaridah-i-Rozgar, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

II.—Home Administration.

(*b*) *Courts.*

7. Referring to the prayer of the people that an Indian should be appointed as the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court on the retirement of Sir Basil Scott, and to the statement of a newspaper published in Northern India that Mr. Montagu is bent on giving the place to an Indian this time, though many European gentlemen are trying for it, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 19th April, observes:—Many Anglo-Indians are already jealous of the appointment of an Indian as Under Secretary. As we have seen that Mr. Montagu is strong enough to stand the resentment of the Anglo-Indians, he may venture to appoint another Indian as the head of the judiciary in a large Presidency as that of Bombay.

The Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 19th April 1919.

Adverting to the news that a European has been appointed to the post of the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th April, observes:—It was assured in the declaration of August 1917 that Indians would be appointed to the higher posts gradually. How is this promise being kept in practice? We very much deplore that the bureaucrats have let slip this opportunity to prove that the charge laid at their door, of their being sweet in their promises but slow in the fulfilment thereof, is a groundless one. Seeing that there is no rule prohibiting the permanent appointment of Indians to the post of Chief Justice and that Indians have discharged the duties of this post efficiently during acting periods, why could not an Indian have been appointed

The Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 24th April 1919.

in the Bombay High Court? Further, when is it proposed to give effect to the August declaration? If the authorities should still confine themselves to mere words, how can the grievances and discontent of the Indians be removed?

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 24th April 1919

Vacancies in the Madras High Court.

8. The *Dravidan*, of the 24th April, urges the claims of Mr. V. Venugopala Chettiyar, I.C.S., the District Judge of Chingleput, for one of the acting vacancies on the High Court Bench, likely to be created after the vacation in view of his long service, and the fact that many of his juniors in service have already been promoted to the High Court.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th April, reproduces the above.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th April 1919.

The Chief Justice in the Indian High Courts.

9. Referring to the vacancy that has occurred in the post of the Chief Justice in the Bombay and Allahabad High Courts, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th April, observes:—It is an admitted fact that the Indians are in no way inferior to the Europeans in legal knowledge. Sometimes European Judges give preference to the suggestions of the Indian Judges. Still, in the Indian High Courts, only Europeans are appointed as Chief Justices. It is only qualification and not colour that should be the criterion for appointment.

(*d*) *Education.*

VIDYABHANU, Konapet, January 1919.

Education and the system of Government.

10. The *Vidyabhanu*, for January, remarks that the greatest obstacle to political reform in India is the non-spread of education properly throughout the country and the want of encouragement to the few who are educated and, complaining that there are many defects in the existing system of education, such as that it befits the students only for public service or a lawyer's profession and inculcates many things which are unnecessary to the Indian student, that it does not provide proper instruction in industries which is very necessary to improve the economic condition of the country and that it does not tend to develop the character of the student and make him realize his duty towards his country, traces the evils of the present system to the fact that the object with which it was originally introduced was only to raise a class of Indians who would be useful to the English merchants who came to India and that no attention was bestowed upon improving the system subsequently and suggests that, if the Government want the Indians to improve politically, they should make education at least a transferred subject under the proposed reforms. It also points out that much good has not resulted from the spread of elementary education being left in the hands of local bodies and wants the Government themselves to take over the responsibility in this matter.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 21st April 1919.

Primary education.

11. Referring to the Bill about primary education brought forward in the Bengal Legislative Council having been passed, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 21st April, points to similar Acts having already been passed in the provinces of Bombay, Bihar and Punjab, and remarks that it is only in the Madras Presidency that no legislation has yet been undertaken to improve primary education.

MARGADARSI, Calicut, 25th April 1919.

Primary education.

The *Margadarsi*, of the 25th April, regrets that the resolution brought forward by the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma in the Imperial Legislative Council, regarding primary education, should have been lost, and observes that it is high time that the Government should realise that the present condition of the world and the outlook of the present times are such as to make the introduction of compulsory primary education absolutely indispensable. That a Government which is sufficiently bold and strongwilled to overcome whatever obstacles that stand in their way in carrying out certain schemes and policies should manifest such apathy in this matter of education, which is absolutely necessary for the prosperity of the country, can never be a sign of good Government. Even if the Government should find the funds necessary for the purpose by tapping a new source of income, it cannot, in the opinion of those who have the best interests of the country at heart, be a matter for adverse comment.

12. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th April, is surprised at the notifications published in the gazette recently calling for applications for the post of Tamil pandit in the Presidency College, requiring a little knowledge of Sanskrit also on the part of the applicants and at the salary of Rs. 60 per mensem fixed for this place in a big Government College, rising to Rs. 75 by a biennial increment of Rs. ?, and remarks:—When inexperienced graduates appointed to teach history, English and other subjects are paid in hundreds, why should such a low salary be paid to those versed in our mother tongue? The English Professor is teaching one language, while the Tamil pandit is also teaching one language and why should there be a difference between the two? The authorities of the Presidency College should clearly understand that they can have only their money's worth.

The Tamil pandit of the Presidency College.

DESABHKTAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

13. Arguing from the success of the system of administration by panchayats in the Cochin State that every one gets the required strength, enthusiasm and capacity to do any work when pressed by necessity, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 21st April, refers to the acknowledgment by the Cochin Government that the pachayats have been successfully acting as mediators between the people and the Darbar to the advantage of both the parties and remarks that there is little doubt that the panchayats will prove as beneficial in British India as in the Native States, if facilities and support are afforded for their development here.

The panchayats.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 21st April 1919.

14. In commenting upon the Government order reviewing the administration of District Municipalities in this Presidency during 1917–18, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th April, expresses its regret at the long delay in the issue of this order and, observing that the explanation offered by the Government for it cannot be accepted, says:—The increase in the number of municipalities to 72 in the year under report from 70 in the previous year is by itself sufficient to enable our readers to gauge the interest evinced by the Government in the progress of municipalities. Municipalities have not spent a large amount of money on education and the cry raised in this behalf in the year under report has been in vain. Considering the trend of the times, a larger number of elementary schools should have been started in the year than the 88 noted in the report. The medical help provided by the municipalities was again very meagre. Though every municipality has one dispensary, this is not at all sufficient, considering the population. In every municipality, the death-rate was higher than the birth-rate and the main causes of it appear to be plague, cholera and other epidemics. The absence of a pure supply of drinking-water is also said to have contributed to this. On the whole, it is only in 25 municipalities that water is being supplied to the people through pipes. In some municipalities no facilities have yet been afforded in this matter.

The District Municipalities.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

15. Reviewing in its leader the Municipal Administration Report for 1917–18, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th April, observes:—. . . The number of births and deaths is disappointing. . . The increase in the death-rate has been attributed to epidemics. But the death-rate cannot show any signs of decrease, as long as the poverty of the people is not relieved. . . Want of funds is the main impediment in the way of the success of local self-government in this country. Municipal Councils cannot work satisfactorily, unless their financial condition is improved. If, like the Madras City Municipal Act, the new District Municipalities Act also does not provide additional sources of income for the several municipal bodies to which it will apply, it will be a failure. . . No other testimony to the success of local self-government is needed than the remark of the Government that many Honorary Chairmen of Councils have discharged their duties with ability and enthusiasm in the year under report.

The Municipal Administration Report.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th April 1919.

16. Referring to the discussion of village panchayats in the last session of the local Legislative Council, the *Durbar*, of the 15th April, observes that village panchayat cannot

Village panchayats.

DURBAR, Guntur, 15th April 1919.

work satisfactorily without the concession of some powers and financial aid and proposes that they should be authorised to impose light taxes and that local boards must help them financially.

(*h*) *Railways.*

Swadesamitran, Madras, 24th April 1919.

The Indian railways.

17. Referring to Mr. Fisher's statement in Parliament on behalf of the Secretary of State that he was not aware that the Indian railways were less efficient than other railways and that famine-relief measures were hampered on account of the scarcity of railway wagons for transport purposes, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th April, observes:—This statement will seem curious to us, who daily experience the inefficiency of the Indian railways. There are only two ways for the Secretary of State to get information about Indian affairs, viz., by personal knowledge and through the Government of India or the merchants in England. Though he had an opportunity of observing things personally when he toured in India, he would not have paid any attention to railway matters, as he was solely engaged on the question of political reforms. The Government of India might have complained; but they would not have done so, because the responsibility of removing the defects of the railways devolves on them. Then, again, they have been more in favour of spending huge amounts on laying out new lines and, if the existing defects are to be removed, the yearly allotment for construction of new lines will have to be decreased and spent towards increasing the equipment of the existing lines. As they are not willing to do this, they would have refrained from making any complaint. The English merchants have no need to complain, as the railways work satisfactorily as far as they are concerned. Though, for these reasons, the defects in the Indian railways are not known to the Secretary of State, they are plainly seen by the Indians. The test to find out whether these railways are working efficiently is to see whether they have been doing their duty properly in transporting passengers and goods without delay, which is the purpose for which they exist. At every railway station, passengers do not find sufficient accommodation in railway carriages, and if, in spite of this, the people manage to travel by the railway, it indicates only their patience but not the efficiency of the railways. The tardiness in the matter of the transporting of goods also proves the inefficiency of the railways. In many railway stations, numberless bags are lying exposed to sun and rain, without being carried to their destinations. So the railways are contributing to famine conditions. Many municipalities use firewood for engines connected with water-works, as they cannot get the required coal, which is available in Bengal. A correspondent says that arrangements are being made to get the coal required by the South Indian Railway Company by means of steamer and it is for our readers to judge the efficiency of the Indian railways from this very fact. It is because the administration of India is conducted in such a manner that the Secretary of State is ignorant of a fact which is known to all the people in India, the people here want that the Government should be made responsible to them.

(*k*) *General.*

Dravidan, Madras, 17th April 1919.

Mr. Montagu on communal representation.

18. The *Dravidan*, of the 17th April, reproduces the sentiments of the *Justice*, of the 16th idem, pointing out that, if the qualification for purposes of voting is fixed as the payment of an annual tax of Rs. 20, only 750,000 persons out of 42,000,000 the population of this Presidency, will have the right to vote and the 8,000,000 of Panchamas and other depressed classes would practically go without any representation whatever and concluding that the fixing of this qualification shows that Mr. Montagu lacks a complete knowledge of the condition of India.

Dravidan, Madras, 17th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

19. The *Dravidan*, of the 17th April, refers to the fuss made by the *Satyagrahis* about publishing an unregistered paper and remarking that their paper cannot be called a newspaper as long as it is not printed but only copied or cyclostyled, observes:—The motive of the *Satyagrahis* in doing this is to make the ignorant mob believe that they are actively contravening the laws of the Government and that the latter

are not able to suppress them and thereby incite them to have a contempt for such laws. This is no doubt a convenient method for the Brahmans of Madras to secure their own position and endanger that of others. The ordinary people should not be carried away by these tricks. We are glad to hear that the Viceroy has decided to suppress the present unrest and that even Mr. Gandhi intends modifying his movement.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 18th April 1919.

Remarking that those who are against the *Satyagraha* movement and those who have not the courage to join it have begun to point to the untoward occurrences at Delhi on the *Satyagraha* day as an evil omen for the movement and elated at the excesses committed subsequently in the Punjab, deeming them to be a death-blow to the movement, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th April, observes :— As the Government of the Punjab have themselves affirmed that the happenings there were due to the deportation of some local leaders, there is no need for us to prove that those events are quite unconnected with the *Satyagraha* movement. Our opponents may contend that the occurrences in Ahmedabad were due to this movement. But it is seen from Mr. Gandhi's lecture at Ahmedabad that the excesses there were due to the excitement caused among the people by a false rumour that Anusuya Bai was arrested by the authorities. Had the authorities immediately contradicted this rumour and explained to the people the real facts, the untoward consequences might have been avoided. However, it is clear that the occurrences at Ahmedabad have no direct connexion with the *Satyagraha* movement. If a *Satyagrahi* is either arrested or punished for violating a law and other *Satyagrahis* try to save the former, then there is reason to say that the movement has failed. Such a thing did not happen anywhere. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi on his way to Delhi was not anticipated by the *Satyagrahis*. He purposely committed the offence of selling books proscribed by the Government and he edited an unregistered paper. The proper course would have been to punish him only for these offences and it was not at all justifiable that the Defence of India Act, intended for the King's enemies, should have been applied to him. It is only this that provoked the people here and there. Though the first events at Delhi gave a handle to those who want the *Satyagraha* movement to fail, events have subsequently occurred at that very place which are encouraging to those who are confident of the success of the movement. The fact that the Commissioner of Delhi has agreed to give an assurance to the shopkeepers that there was no truth in the rumour alleged by them, as the cause of their closing their shops, that their leaders would be arrested, and has also agreed to adopt the very wording suggested by Doctor Ansari for the notification, is a good omen indeed for the success of the movement.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th April 1919.

Remarking that the *Satyagraha* is not a principle of yesterday and quoting the story of *Marakandeya*, *Prahlada* and others in Indian puranic lore and of Jesus Christ in Christian history to prove that those who stand by the principles of truth and patience will always win, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th April, observes that there is therefore no doubt whatever that the movement now started by Mr. Gandhi will succeed in its object.

Adverting to the decision of Mr. Gandhi to suspend for a time the disobedience of civil laws, the same paper says :—This should not be taken to mean that the movement itself has been abandoned for good or that it has been suspended on account of the dissatisfaction of the Government. It should be noted that, in South Africa, this movement was suspended often and yet achieved its object in the end. *Mahatma* Gandhi is not one who will draw back from a step once taken; nor will he be a fraid of the threats of the Government or the disfavour of the Moderates. So let the *Satyagrahis* and others note the message of the *Mahatma* and keep up their enthusiasm.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 3rd April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

Vartakamitran, of the 3rd April, refers to this movement started by Mr. Gandhi and dwelling at length on its virtues and the instances found in the ancient history of India and other countries to prove the efficacy of this movement, observes that if the merchants and industrialists abide by the advice of Mr. Gandhi, they will improve their industries and trade, increase their wealth, and be respected by the world.

DRAVIDABIMANI, Salem, 4th April 1919.

The *Dravidabhimani*, of the 4th April, while admitting the capacity of Mr. Gandhi to succeed in any movement, raises the question whether the people of South India the majority of whom are still steeped in ignorance and who are known for their indolence and jealousy can follow his *Satyagraha* successfully and, remarking that it is conscious of this fact that some persons in Madras have issued a manifesto against the movement, impresses on the people the necessity of their remembering that it is their duty to obey the laws and that it is dangerous to oppose the Government.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 19th April 1919.

Referring to the suspension of this movement, the *Dravidan*, of the 19th April, observes :—Propelled by the greed for Home Rule and the inordinate desire that a few should lord over many, *Satyagrahis* gathered all manner of wayfarers together and created mischief and also loss of life. Perhaps Mr. Gandhi realized the true situation only now. The Government should have put down these fire-eaters at the very beginning. Who is going to listen to the words of Mr. Gandhi now ? If Home Rule is granted to such people, India will come to be possessed by thousands of devils.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 22nd April, approves of the action of Mr. Gandhi in having suspended his movement, in that the confusion and unrest in the country have exceeded all bounds and remarking that, though those who came forward throughout the country to share his responsibility have realised their responsibility and stood within the limits prescribed by him, some persons have either foolishly or out of selfish motives to achieve their own objects, created the recent disturbances, attributes the success of these persons to the fact that 90 per cent of the people of the country are illiterate and are not capable of understanding the instructions of their leaders correctly.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

The Rowlatt Law and *Satyagraha*.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd April, writes :—When Lord Ripon was Viceroy of India, a Bill was brought forward by Sir Courtney Ilbert to empower Indian Magistrates to try European offenders and the agitation then raised by the Anglo-Indians in India against this Bill knew no bounds. They carried on a wild agitation, not caring for decency, respect, law or order. The European planters hooted the Viceroy on his way back from Darjeeling and he was insulted at the very gates of the Government House. It is stated by the *Independent* that a conspiracy was also hatched to carry away the Viceroy to some place, if the Bill was passed. Under these circumstances, why should the Anglo-Indians condemn the present opposition to the Rowlatt Law on the part of the Indians? The Indians will never follow the example of the Europeans in their agitation against the Ilbert Bill. Rude acts are against the very nature of the Indians. So let not the Anglo-Indians be surprised at the *Satyagraha* movement. Even if the agitation to get the Rowlatt Law repealed should grow strong, we assure that it will not be a wild one and that deception, conspiracy and rudeness will not form part of it.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

Remarking that some people are arguing from the temporary suspension of disobedience to civil laws by Mr. Gandhi, that their own predictions have come to be true about this movement, and that these men have either not understood the motive of Mr. Gandhi for his present action or pretend not to do so, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 23rd April, reiterates the events that have led up to the suspension of the movement and says :—Those who argue from this suspension that the movement has failed have not intelligence to find out the ideal of a *Satyagrahi*. There are other causes for the untoward events, unexpected by the *Satyagrahi*, which occurred in some places. Though the two events, viz., the beginning of the *Satyagraha* movement and the flaming forth of the pent-up fire in the Punjab, occurred simultaneously, they are quite unconnected. At a crisis like this, it is the help of the *Satyagrahis* that would have stood the Government in good stead. But the Government have not yet recognised the glory of this movement and are still resorting to repression as the most infallible remedy. This has not succeeded in any country at any time. We again urge that the best remedy for the present ills is to conduct the affairs with a confidence in the people and in consultation with their leaders.

Satyagraha.

The *Ravi*, of the 17th April, condemns the *Satyagraha* movement in its leader under this heading.

RAVI, Cocanada. 17th April 1919.

Satyagraha.

A correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 26th April, writes under this heading:—The Anglo-Indian papers state that Mr. Gandhi is responsible for the recent disturbances in India and demand his punishment. The misunderstandings, indignation and fear consequent on Mr. Gandhi's restraint might have served as but the immediate and incidental cause—the spark that ignited. There are many other causes that have led to these disturbances—the high prices, the imprudent utterances of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the system of dividing and ruling Turkey, the internment of the Moslem brothers without trial, the passing of repressive measures violating the birth rights of the people, the sudden deportation to an unknown destination of two leaders in Amritsar, the deportation back to Bombay of Mr. Gandhi proceeding to pacify the people of the Punjab, and such other unthinking acts of the white executive. Our Government can and must put down these disturbances with a high hand, and we must render every help to them in the matter. Every real *Satyagrahi* approves of this and advocates the chastisement of offenders who are entirely unfit for taking the *Satyagraha* vow. But the *Satyagraha* movement cannot be suppressed by the rulers by means of force. The leaders of the movement must themselves revoke the movement only after the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation. One in a thousand will be going to the jail, and the other weaker leaders will be using their influence to keep the people within limits and from undue provocation, and thus preserve peace. The number of *Satyagrahis* will gradually grow, defy laws other than those which have a moral sanction, go to jails, till at last they win over the rulers by love and suffering. . . Why is there not a single political offender in the Philliphines? The reason is the sole remedy for such evils—to have the Government carried on by the representatives of the people themselves while the white men exercise but control. It is only then that the people will be responsible for peace in the country. . . No Anglo-Indian paper reveals this truth. They vomit venom and wrath, that four white men have been unjustly killed in the disturbances. The *Satyagraha* movement will not suffer by this. Ordinary mortals may not be fit for it; there will at least be a few worthy men in the country. They leave their wives and families and go to jails and will on their release try to go back to them. At last they will be deported by our leaders; but the maxim proves to be true that a tenacious person is mightier than the King. When they are punished some others join them. This passive resistance adapts itself to the moral law and serves as a weapon in the hands of a weak people for gaining their freedom. This never rusts. Its edge ever grows sharper and sharper. It has no sheath. It never fails. Courage and enthusiasm grow with its use. The number of the *Satyagrahis* may be small at the beginning, but it grows very soon. If the people of the various provinces elect a leader like Mr. Gandhi, and conduct themselves with philosophy and resignation without transgressing his commands, they can face dangers in succession. They do not heed the praise or blame of others. . .

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 26th April 1919.

Satyagraha.

Under this heading, the *Godavari Patrika*, of the 15th April, expresses its disapproval of the sale of proscribed literature by the followers of the *Satyagraha* movement and condemns the policy of breaking old laws which have been till now obeyed for the sake of opposing a particular measure of the Government like the Rowlatt Act.

GODAVARI PATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 15th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

Writing on the above subject, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 25th April, remarks:—Possibly Mr. Gandhi never anticipated that his starting of the *Satyagraha* agitation would result in serious loss of life. All the same the Government and even popular leaders like Mrs. Besant now hold him responsible for that sin. We, however, fail to understand how Mahatma Gandhi can be held responsible for it. When on a previous occasion agitation was rife in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, surely there were no *Satyagrahis* to promote it! Government say that ignorant people believed in false rumours and committed excesses. But where were the Criminal Investigation Department at the time, and what were they doing?

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 25th April 1919.

Why did they not come to know of these false rumours in proper time? Did they ever attempt to contradict such rumours, and place real facts before the public? Again, when the authorities interfered with Mr. Gandhi's journey to Delhi, did they expect that he would create a rebellion there? Is it not a fact that Mr. Gandhi stoutly refused to side with the European miners in South Africa when they invited the Indian passive resisters to make common cause with them, and helped the authorities there to maintain peace and order in the country by temporarily putting a stop to the Indian agitation? It is perfectly certain that the Mahatma was going to Delhi only with a view to warn the people against offering active resistance and not to encourage them to rebel. The people have plainly told the authorities that it is the sudden firing of a bullet that created so much trouble. It is ridiculous to say that the people who remained so steadfastly loyal to the British during the anxious period of the war would now become a tool in the hands of the Bolsheviks and think of fighting against a nation grown stronger since the war. Mr. Gandhi, too, has now ordered a temporary cessation of the *Satyagraha* agitation, and, in a fraternal spirit, we offer our condolences to the families of those Europeans who have fallen victims to the outrages committed by irresponsible evil-doers.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 11th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

The *Yogakshemam*, of the 11th April, prefaces a note on the *Satyagraha* movement with the observation that the movement is evidently gaining strength as the days go by and it must be said that the heartlessness shown by the Government towards *Satyagrahis* at Delhi has strengthened the *Satyagraha* resolve of Indians.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 29th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement and Mr. Gandhi's attitude.

In the course of a leading article under "the *Satyagraha* movement and Mr. Gandhi's attitude", the *Manorama*, of the 29th April, says that the temporary suspension of the movement by the Mahatma has been a source of relief to the people of India, and commends to their care the Mahatma's advice as contained in the pamphlet issued by Mr. Gandhi on the subject of the disturbances in Northern India. The paper condemns the barbarous acts committed by the mob, points out that it is only by love and not by hatred that we can gain our object, and calls upon the people to remember that only such privileges as we secure by love will be safe in our hands.

MUKHBIR-I-DAKHAN, Hyderabad, 33rd April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* revolt.

The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 23rd April, has a leader on the marginally-noted subject of which the following is a summary:—During the late war the condition of the country was comparatively satisfactory, but it is regrettable that our beloved native land has since become the centre of misfortune. The cause of it all appears to be the Rowlatt Act.

Every one expected that after the war India would receive the highest reward for her loyalty and devotion, that beneficial reforms would be introduced, and the first step towards self-government taken. But it is a matter for regret to find that owing to a few enemies of the country the Government found it necessary to pass such a drastic measure. As to Mr. Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement the paper thinks he has committed a blunder and that he should have known that the Government must have had good reasons for passing the Rowlatt Act. There is no reason why peace-loving people should fear it. Moreover it is not to be enforced all of a sudden unless the Governor-General is convinced that crimes of a revolutionary or anarchical character have been committed in a certain part of the country. If, however, the people regard the measure as extremely detrimental to themselves, they should adopt constitutional methods to oppose it, instead of causing loss to the country under the pretext of benefiting it.

The writer gives an account of the recent occurrences and says: "A few Europeans have been killed, while hundreds of the people of the country have been involved in difficulties. Can this be an advantage to the country accruing from the act of the *Satyagrihists?* The Government has not suffered, on the contrary it is fully prepared to effectively deal with these crimes as it has already done in Egypt."

The writer, in commenting on the subject at length, says: "At present India is between two fires—the wrath of the Government and the *Satyagraha*

thunder bolts. He prays that God may order things well, otherwise it is greatly to be feared that India will be hurled hundreds of miles back from the path of progress.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 19th April 1919.

Bolshevism and India.

20. Referring to the efforts made to prevent the spread of Bolshevism in England, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th April, observes:—If Bolshevik principles are not to spread in India, it is necessary that there should be harmony between the rulers and the ruled. Though our Government too admit this, they do not try to strengthen that harmony. If the Government want that Bolshevism should not take root in India, it is essential that the discontent and unrest of the Indians should be removed. But our Viceroy is angry. What can we do?

Swadesamitran, Madras, 18th April 1919.

Mr. Norton on the Congress.

21. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th April, reproduces in Tamil the remarks of Mr. Eardley Norton in the *Looker On* under the heading 'My Reminiscences', which appear in the *Hindu* of the 16th idem.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 19th April 1919.

The disturbances at Delhi, etc.

22. Referring with appreciation to the action of the Commissioner at Delhi having consented to act on the advice of the popular leaders in the matter of restoring order in the place and to the communiqué of the Bombay Government recognising the labours of Mr. Gandhi in putting down unrest and establishing order in that province the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 19th April, invites the attention of the Punjab Government and the Government of India to the attitude of the Bombay Government and adds:—They were under the impression that the arrival of Mr. Gandhi in any place would create unrest therein. This impression is wrong. Does not the whole world now see that Mr. Gandhi's presence will only restore peace and order? The *Servant of India* has remarked that Mr. Gandhi's presence will be more effective than anything else in restoring order in Lahore and Amritsar and that the peace of the country, which the Government are anxious to preserve, will only be disturbed, resulting in unrest by their imposing restrictions on Mr. Gandhi. Had the bureaucrats, who initiated the restrictive orders against Mr. Gandhi, been intelligent men, they should have realized the truth of the statement of the *Servant of India*. If they have failed to realize it till now, we trust that at least the quiet and order restored in Bombay and Ahmedabad by his efforts will make them realize his greatness. We would point out that great benefit will result by publishing and circulating pamphlets about the work of Mr. Gandhi in all places where unrest is rife.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 19th April 1919.

The disturbances at Delhi, etc.

Observing that it is only mean-minded persons, jealous of Mr. Gandhi, that will attribute these disturbances to the *Satyagraha* movement, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th April, also refers to the action of the authorities in Delhi and Ahmedabad in taking the popular leaders into their confidence for restoring order there and remarks:—The authorities were originally under the impression that the disturbances in different places were due to the *Satyagraha* movement and it was their distrust of Mr. Gandhi that made them prevent his proceeding to Delhi. Why did it not strike them that the presence of Mr. Gandhi in any disturbed area would only do good and not harm, as observed by the *Times of India*? They will only be guided by wrong notions, acting on the advice of evil ministers, and will not pay heed to a sound suggestion. Those who blindly attribute this trouble to the *Satyagraha* movement should understand clearly that this movement is based on soul-force and that it cannot therefore have anything to do with the evils caused by brute force. We hope the good sense now exhibited by the Government of Bombay will soon be shared by the Government of India and that of the Punjab. What the bureaucrats were not able to achieve during several days with the help of guns and bombs, *Mahatma* Gandhi has achieved in a moment by means of his soul-force. The people of countries acting on the principle of materialism will, of course, be surprised at the soul-force of the *Mahatma*. If a Gandhi appears in every civilised country, the condition of the world will undergo a complete change and the liberty, equality and fraternity desired by President Wilson will be found everywhere. We hope the authorities will realize hereafter at least that soul-force is superior to brute force and adapt their administrative policy to the times.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 19th April 1919.

The disturbances at Delhi, etc.

The *Dravidan*, of the 19th April, reproduces in Tamil the comments of the *Justice* of the 17th idem on this subject pointing out that it is misrepresentations about the Rowlatt Law that have led to these disturbances and suggesting the desirability of the Government publishing for the information of the public the aims and objects of this Law in the vernaculars.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th April 1919

The food situation.

23. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th April, publishes an article, from the pen of a correspondent, in which he lays stress on the necessity of the Government staying in the metropolis now to do the needful to relieve the distress caused to people by the scarcity and high prices of foodstuffs and remarking that the Government do not seem to have paid any heed to the resolution passed at the public meeting recently held in Madras requesting them to abstain from the exodus to the hills this year and to the suggestions made by the Provincial Congress Committee regarding the measures to be adopted by the Government now, says:—Our Governor has left for the hills and no communiqué has been issued officially about the arrangements made to relieve the hardships of the people. It is really our misfortune that the bureaucrats are acting according to their sweet will and pleasure, not caring in the least for public opinion. When the people are suffering from want of food, it is not easy to understand the reasons that actuated the Government to go to the hills. Could they have acted in this manner, if a Government responsible to the people had been established in this country?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th April 1919.

The food situation.

Observing that the announcement by the Director of Civil Supplies that, under the arrangements made as a result of the decision of the Foodstuffs Conference, only 30,000 bags of rice would be supplied to this Presidency from the Delta tracts will cause keen disappointment to many that are aware of the hardships caused by the food situation, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th April, says:—Over 80,000 bags of boiled rice are consumed every month in Madras. If only 30,000 bags are supplied, where are the people to go for the remainder? As it is the rice from the Kistna district that sells cheapest in Madras, the merchants pray that the Director of Civil Supplies should be a little more liberal as regards Madras. The Foodstuffs Conference effected some improvement in regard to rice trade which, however, has been hampered by the short supply of rice from Rangoon. The price of rice there has suddenly gone up to the maximum fixed by the Controller of Foodstuffs and the merchants refuse to sell rice even for those prices unless they can have paddy in return. At this rate it is wrong to expect that rice will be continuously imported from Rangoon. Will this not lead to a rise in price throughout? If Kistna rice can be sold at 4 measures per rupee in Madras from next week, it will certainly lower a little the prices obtaining here. Still, will not the prices increase on account of the diminution of the supply from Rangoon? This needs the immediate attention of the authorities.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 26th April, publishes a communication from the pen of a correspondent who complains of the price of gingelly oil still selling at the high price of Rs. 1-8-0 per viss in spite of the price of sesamum having gone down from Rs. 35 or Rs. 36 to Rs. 23 or Rs. 24 per bag and remarks:—The poor are suffering innumerable hardships on account of this and it is regrettable that the Government are indifferent in this matter, without taking any notice of the representations made by the people. We learn that some persons have been employed to verify if rice is sold in Madras for the price prescribed by the Director of Civil Supplies, and that the Commissioner of Police has made arrangements for boiled rice from the Delta tracts and Rangoon rice being sold at not less than 4 measures per rupee. But nothing seems to have been done practically. The authorities should see that the new staff is a source of help to the people and not a burden to them.

VIVEKACHINTAMANI, Madras, March 1919.

Lord Pentland.

24. The *Vivekachintamani*, for March, observes:—Though, when Lord Pentland came to Madras, it was expected that a good time was in store for the people of this Presidency, it came to nothing. He was a good man in his own way; but there were many obstacles in the way of his good intentions being carried out. He had not the capacity, like Lord Carmichael, of giving effect to his views, overcoming all

difficulties in the way. There is no comparison whatever between Lord Pentland and Lord Carmichael in their turn of mind. It was a very easy matter for the officials surrounding the former to bring him round to their way. His administration for six years has not been such as to bring any credit to him. It is patent that he was helpless to put down the growing excesses and reform the administration.

Acquittal of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

25. While welcoming the acquittal of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu by the High Court, the *Yatharthavachani*, of the 7th April, observes:—The prosecution of the doctor is one of the mistakes committed during the regimē of Lord Pentland. This case proves that a slight error on the part of the authorities results in great harm to the people. Imprisonment is deemed to be a punishment only because those committed to prison fall low in the estimation of the public. But, if an innocent person happens to be imprisoned for having begun to do patriotic service to the world, this only raises him in the eyes of the public. So let the Government consider deeply before they launch a prosecution against any one for sedition.

YATHARTHAVACHANI, Kumbakonam, 7th April 1919.

Higher appointments in this Presidency.

26. Remarking that it is the duty of a Government to treat all people alike, be they high or low, and confer equal political privileges on them, the *Dravidan*, of the 19th April, complains that the Madras Government have been favouring a particular class of people, the Brahmans, and neglecting the other classes in the matter of conferring appointments and, quoting some figures given by a correspondent to the *Justice* to substantiate this complaint, adds:—It is because the Brahman officials preponderate in public service in this Presidency that they wield inordinate influence. As most of the officials who come in contact with the villagers and know their grievances are Brahmans and those ryots who toil day and night for their living are non-Brahmans and there is a gulf between the two, the interests of the latter are not at all considered. In fact the Brahmans are even prepared to cause hardship to the non-Brahmans. We have to condemn this and invite the attention of the Government to it.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 19th April 1919.

The Second Uttankarai Taluk Conference.

27. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th, 17th, 22nd and 23rd April, and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th, 17th, 21st and 22nd idem publish the proceedings of this conference held on the 14th and 15th idem, while the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 17th idem, publishes an abstract of these proceedings. The following observations find place in the address delivered by Mr. T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar as President of this conference:—Nearly 2,000 years ago, the people in western countries had no idea whatever of civilization and preferred to live a brutish life. But it is in India that knowledge and love originated. . . The westerns and some others foster the body in an atheistic spirit. But India relies upon God. . . In ancient India, the Government was conducted by means of truth and not weapons. The system of Home Rule was in vogue. . . It is from India that the west copied civilization and the administrative system. . . Our present rulers, the British, are really good people. . . They promise, in every country conquered by them, to teach the people of the country how to administer it and then leave the administration in their hands. . . They have done this in the case of small countries such as Australia and Canada. But India is in a pitiable condition under their rule. The average age of the Indian is between 25 and 30 and his average daily income is one anna. Poverty, famine and disease exist in the country. All these evils are the result of our not being ruled by the British direct, but by their agents, the bureaucrats. We entreat these bureaucrats humbly to redress our grievances and we find fault with them for blocking our request. Our grievances are many. We should agitate for their removal, without being afraid of those directly governing us. Thousands of leaders should go to prison. . . Time was when Indian goods found a sale in western markets. The English merchants began to obstruct the export of Indian goods. At first they levied a duty on these goods alone. Seeing that these goods still sold for a cheap price, the Indian trade itself was hampered, by means of repressive laws. These laws have made slaves of us. India is a fertile

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 16th, 17th, 22nd & 23rd April 1919; DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th, 17th, 21st and 22nd April 1919 & HINDU NESAN, Madras, 17th April 1919.

country and is capable of supplying anything. Western officials and white merchants are taking away what all they want from India. They draw higher salaries, while very few Indians are paid so high. . . The bureaucrats have the capacity of dividing and ruling. Very soon the Tamils and Telugus may fall out. We should no longer give room for such dissensions. . . We cannot improve under the existing system of administration. Many industries were taken to the west only from our country and we were fools enough to lose all. Mr. R. C. Dutt himself has declared that the westerns ruin the industries of every country in which they enter.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th April 1919.

Repression in India.

28. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th April, reproduces an extract from the *Herald*, which characterises the passing of the Rowlatt Law in India as a serious political blunder and makes the following observations among others:—After promising to give a good government to India, we try to suppress the nationalist spirit by applying repressive laws. What wonder is there, then, in the Indians in England having refused to applaud the appointment of Lord Sinha as Under Secretary of State and sing the national anthem? Will our rulers never realize that repression and peace cannot go together, and that the present condition of Ireland is due only to the refusal of the British Government to do justice to her?

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 21st April 1919.

Excesses by soldiers.

29. Referring to the excesses said to have been committed by the soldiers upon innocent and unarmed people on the 6th April at the Fort maidan and on the beach, the *Lokopakari*, of the 21st April, lays stress upon the necessity of authorities taking prompt steps to nip such mischief in the bud, as such occurrences are likely to provoke and excite the people.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th April 1919.

The excesses of soldiers.

Referring to the Anglo-Indian soldiers in the city having attacked some people on the *Satyagraha* day and to the action of some European soldiers in the north having stopped a mail motor van in the middle of its course and forced the driver to take them to the destination, asking all the passengers therein to a light, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th April, says:—What is the reason for soldiers belonging to the British race, which professes to be highly civilised, conducting themselves in this manner? These, who pretend to be very polite to women, are reported to have made even the women and children alight from the van and it appears they had to stand in the sun till the van returned to take them. Will the authorities in the different places control the soldiers at least hereafter and train them to behave like men?

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 21st April 1919.

Newspapers in India.

30. The *Lokopakari*, of the 21st April, reproduces in its own language the comments of the *Desabhaktan* of the 9th idem on this subject abstracted in paragraph 42 of Report No. 16 of 1919, and adds that it is only newspapers that are conducted by Indians that suffer all manner of difficulties.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 21st April 1919.

State expenditure on churches.

31. The *Lokopakari*, of the 21st April, takes exception to the allotment of 22 lakhs of rupees for expenditure on Christian churches on the ground that the public have a right to ask whether it is justifiable to incur such a heavy expenditure from Indian revenues on Christian churches which are hostile to Hinduism, and adds that, if it is argued that churches are intended for the Christians who have come into India, the proper course will be to collect the necessary funds therefor from those attending them.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 21st April 1919.

Asylum for beggars.

32. The *Lokopakari*, of the 21st April, refers to the failure of the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. T. Ranga Achariyar on this subject and says:—Is it not the primary duty of the Government to provide a living for those who are unable to make a living by manual labour? Does the State exists only to look on indifferently when the poople are dying of starvation? It is essential that the authorities should realize that the wealth of the country is intended only to relieve the hardships of the people.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 21st April 1919.

Lord Sinha.

33. Adverting to the statement of the London correspondent of the *Servant of India* that it is probable that Lord Sinha will be appointed Governor of an Indian province after the

Indian Reform Bill is passed, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 21st April, observes :— Lord Sinha's continuance as a member of the House of Lords and Under Secretary of State is a great honour and support for India. But his appointment as a Governor in this country will not only be welcomed gladly by the Indians but will also indicate the liberal policy of the British. It will add to the love of the Indian people for the British Government, and, increasing the feeling of affinity between the British and the Indians, bring them closer.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme.

34. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th April, reproduces in Tamil an article contributed to the *Commonweal* by St. Nihal Singh on this subject.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th April 1919.

The resignation of members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

35. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th April, extracts in Tamil an article from the *Independent* which exhorts all the elected members of this Council to follow the footsteps of the four gentlemen who have already resigned their seats, as otherwise they would be giving handle to the creation of a wrong impression in England that there is still a harmony between the popular representatives in the Council and the Government and, remarking that such a resignation is the best way of apprising the Imperial Government of the fact that the Government of India have lost the confidence of the people and securing the repeal of the Rowlatt Law, declares that, as the Government of India are guided by the words of the bureaucrats the members should not delay their resignations any longer and that no Indian should co-operate with the Government until the latter pay due regard to public opinion and cancel the Rowlatt Law.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th April 1919.

The present situation.

36. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th and 21st April, publish in Tamil the proceedings of a meeting of the Madras Liberal League held in Madras on the 18th idem to consider the present situation, the former in full and the latter in abstract, while these papers publish in their issue of the 21st idem the substance of the lecture said to have been delivered on the 20th idem on this subject by the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar at Royapetta.

SWADESAMITRAN, & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th & 21st April 1919.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 21st April, also views that it was the thoughtless act of the Government in having prevented Mr. Gandhi from going to Delhi and their deportation of some leaders of Lahore that led to the people committing excesses and adds :—The recent disturbances clearly prove that the Government should not insult those held in high esteem by the people. The authorities cannot but realize the extent of influence wielded by the leaders over the people, from the fact that the mere appearance of Mr. Gandhi and the words of popular leaders quelled a disturbance, which could not be put down by means of rifles, machine-guns and æroplanes. If the executive officials of the Government begin to act on the words of the popular leaders, no unrest of any kind will occur in the country. If the authorities had, out of consideration for the unanimous opinion of the public, abstained from passing the Rowlatt Law, the recent occurrences, detested alike by the Government and the people, would never have occurred. Though Mr. Gandhi has not completely abandoned the *Satyagraha* movement, it is magnanimous of him to have agreed to suspend it for a time for it will restore quiet in the country. If the Government also would come forward to cancel the Rowlatt Law, it will create immense satisfaction to India. There are already several laws to put down any kind of riot, as is seen from the steps taken by the authorities during the past two weeks. Is it not superfluous to say that, in addition to all these, the Rowlatt Law also is necessary ? It is the duty of the Government to dispel their wrong impression that repression will help to restore order, and try to secure quietude in the country abolishing the Rowlatt Law.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 21st April 1919.

The present situation.

The *Dravidan*, of the 22nd April, reproduces the sentiments of the *Justice* of the 21st idem in its leader under the heading "*Satyagraha* and after" which regrets at Mr. Gandhi not being quite clear in suspending his movement even after noting the serious consequences that have occurred and, referring to the statement of the *Times of India* that the recent disturbances were engineered from behind by some people, suggests that the Government should institute inquiries and find out such persons,

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

so as to prevent the recurrence of such mishaps not only in Bombay but throughout India, as there are such wirepullers even in this and other provinces, and also expresses its satisfaction at the Government of India having undertaken to issue pamphlets in vernaculars explaining the object of the Rowlatt Act, as it will successfully remove the wrong impressions of the people about this Act.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

The present situation.

The *Dravidan*, of the 23rd April, reproduces in Tamil some of the sentiments expressed by the *Justice* in its leader on the 22nd idem under the heading 'The Straight Path' condemning the Moderates as practically helping the Extremists in that they, while saying outwardly that all disturbances should be avoided, obstruct the Government in every effort made by them to put down lawlessness and unrest.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 16th April 1919.

The present situation.

In its leader under this heading, the *Desabhimani*, of the 16th April, writes with reference to the recent disturbances in different parts of the country. . . In consequence of the opening of fire by the authorities at Delhi, many innocent people died. Who is responsible for all this unnecessary disturbance? The Government are responsible for it beyond all doubt. . . Nobody will sympathise with those who created these disturbances. It is left to the Government to find them out and punish them. . . The Government state in their communiqué that they will seek the help of repressive measures to put down unrest, and request the people to co-operate with them in that task as loyal citizens. This is the sum and substance of the Government communiqué, and every sane man will see how wrong the line of reasoning employed in it is. . . On deep consideration, it will be seen that these unjust laws are the cause of the present unrest, that the disturbances which occurred subsequently are due to the passing of these laws, and that the responsibility for these disturbances, therefore, falls upon those who introduced, supported, and passed the Rowlatt Bill. . . It is our belief that there would have been no disturbance at all, if Mr. Gandhi had been allowed to go to Delhi. . . It must be understood that the only way of saving the present critical situation lies not in repression but in the repeal of the Rowlatt Legislation by the Government without being influenced by considerations of prestige. . .

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st April 1919.

The Press Act and Indian newspapers.

37. Remarking that the reason for the action taken by the Government of Bengal against the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* is stated to be the appearance therein of some comments unpalatable to the bureaucrats, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st April, refers to the view expressed by the *Patrika* that, if newspapers follow its example and write articles on such subjects, potatoes and plantains, it would be pleasing to the bureaucrats, and adds:—Who can deny the truth of this observation? As long as the arrogance of power of the bureaucrats and the Press Act continue in India, their actions will leave an indelible mark on Indian history, though they are not condemned by nationalist newspapers.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st April 1919.

The condition of mother Bharata.

38. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st April, publishes a contribution from the pen of a correspondent who describes mother Bharata as crying on account of her fallen condition and addresses her as follows:—Alas! You, who were highly civilized, are being reviled by others as being uncivilized. You, who occupied the foremost position both in political and spiritual knowledge, are now made light of by others in these very respects. The people of foreign countries, who robbed you of your culture and wealth, are now speaking disparagingly of you in those very respects. There are none to evince a sincere interest for you in this condition. It is your own foolish sons, arrogant with the idea that they are one with the bureaucrats, on account of their holding an appointment under Government, be it high or low, that harass the few true patriots who come forward to labour for your advancement and get them imprisoned. Does the modern civilization of the west imbibed by these ask them to afflict their brethren? What a foolish civilization! Your precious sons have taken to *Satyagraha* in serving you, not afraid of these fools and the bureaucarts. If those, who cannot openly join with Mr. Gandhi in his movement, abide by the principle of *Satyagraha* in every phase of their life, they will surely improve their condition.

39. In the course of a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st April, appeals to the people to help the nationalists and says :—The principle of the nationalists is to acquire *swaraj* by their own efforts, without the help of others. They detest anarchism and sedition. The moderates, on the other hand, secretly help the bureaucrats and seek to benefit the country gradually by obeying them. So practically they are not working for the advancement of the country. As the nationalists do not play false to their conscience, they are subjected to many hardships and are even imprisoned often. The bureaucrats have made it a general principle to blame the nationalist leaders unnecessarily and tease them. In the *swadesi* agitation started ten years back, the Government introduced the Minto-Morley reforms only after sending to prison many of the nationalists engaged in that agitation. It is usual for the bureaucrats to suppress the nationalits and grant a few *pseudo* reforms to the moderates, who stand by them, and for the latter to welcome such reforms with glee and praise the bureaucrats to the skies. It is this fact that makes many join the moderates. So the bureaucrats, in favouring the moderates, are practically offering a temptation to the people and they think that many will not join the nationalist camp. But the time when the nationalist party gains strength is the time of *swaraj*. This party was suppressed by the bureaucrats ten years back, but is strong in the country now. In spite of its members having had to face the ire of and become victims to the bureaucratic deity for nearly four years, the party is growing in numbers. The nationalists will not care hereafter even for the repression of the bureaucrats. They are gaining strength day by day. The bureaucrats too are creating new laws every day to suppress them. Constitutional agitation will hence forward shoot up in flames in India and continue burning. The only thing that will extinguish this fire is *swaraj*.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st April 1919.

The condition of the nationalists.

40. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st April, appreciates the action of the Governor of Bombay in having declared that these disturbances had nothing to do with the *Satyagraha* movement and, expressing its surprise at his not having followed the other Anglo-Indians in this matter, asks why other officials cannot copy the example of Sir George Lloyd and adds :—One who compares the Governor of Bombay with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab can easily understand the difference between the two As already stated by us, Sir Michael O'Dwyer is the abode of repression. He has been acting thoughtlessly and high-handedly only because he feels sure that every action of his will be approved by the Government of India, however repressive it may be. The bureaucrats should realize hereafter at least that peace cannot prevail in the country by repressing the people by means of barbarous laws, which cast a slur upon the British Government.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st April 1919.

The disturbances at Ahmedabad, etc.

41. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st April, takes exception to the statement of the *Pioneer* that the disturbances that recently occurred in India are similar to the occurrences in Egypt, and that the unrest in both the countries was due to the instigation of the enemies and remarks :—This statement will be very useful to the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats, as it will give them a handle to plead for the necessity of the Rowlatt Law in India just as the Egyptian Government behaved in such a manner as to provoke the people. The Government in India have introduced this law so as to wound the feelings of the Indians. As there is no basis whatever for the view that the people in either country are instigated by the enemies, we have to find a parallel between the two countries only in the repressive policy of their respective Governments.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st April 1919.

Egypt and India.

42. Quoting a portion of the report of the People's Committee which made an inquiry about the disturbance at Calcutta a few months back on account of the feelings of the Muhammadans having been wounded by the writings of an Anglo-Indian paper, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 21st April, observes :—The Police and troops are often present to prevent a disturbance when big crowds gather ; but experience has shown that disturbances occur only as a result of the actions of the former. This

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 21st April 1919.

Officials and the people.

appears to have been the case in Madura and the Punjab also. When even the authorities, possessing knowledge and experience, lose their patience on emergencies, who is to blame if the common people get unduly excited and commit excesses? The crowd at Calcutta consisted of the ignorant mob and it is their welfare that the bureaucrats profess to safeguard. So it should have been an easy matter for them to satisfy the crowd and disperse them. Should it not be ascertained why the authorities did not do so and gave room for a big disturbance? What inquiry was made by Lord Chelmsford to satisfy himself about the necessity of introducing martial law into the Punjab, before he permitted it? The Police should have given some information against some popular leaders, and on this the Government of the Punjab ordered their arrest and deportation. This led to the people gather at a meeting and as they did not disperse, when ordered by the Police to do so, the latter opened fire and killed many. Then came the burning of buildings and the commission of excesses by the people. Martial law was brought into force, and those disobeying the rules framed under it are said to be flogged in public. Can such actions make the people have a love for the Government? Queen Victoria deemed the affection of the people to be a greater strength than military force, and Lord Hardinge also found this true by experience. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has paid no heed to the love of the poor people. Has Lord Chelmsford gauged how far the administration of the Punjab for the last five years has been the root cause of the present serious situation? The Government should evince a spirit of moderation and patience, and secure peace by seeking the co-operation of the popular leaders. Hasty deeds and terrorising acts are not the traits of British rule.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

Public services.

43. The *Daravidan*, of the 23rd April, writes:—The object of the British Government is to conduct the administration in India in the interests of the public good. Still, people belonging to the same class have been appointed to the several departments of public service in the Presidency and this class has come to wield inordinate influence in the administration. On account of this, they do not care for the welfare of the agriculturists and labourers, who do not belong to their community and are causing them as much hardship as they can. This can be gauged from the state of affairs in the villages.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

Satyagraha and social service.

44. *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd April, reproduces in Tamil a communication addressed to the Press by Dr. S. Subrahmanya Ayyar under this heading.

DESABHAKTAN, and SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

The *swadeshi* vow.

45. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 23rd April, reproduces in Tamil the second communication addressed by Mr. Gandhi to the press on the *swadesi* vow.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd April, refers to the decision of Mr. Gandhi to take the *swadesi* vow and says:—If about 5,000 educated Indians in every province will take up this vow like Mr. Gandhi, and use only cloths manufactured in India, why will there not be signs of Indians getting rid of their poverty? If others then follow the example of these, why will not India get out of her poverty?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

The *Swadeshi* vow.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd April, reproduces in Telugu the article of Mr. Gandhi on the *Swadeshi* vow contributed to the *Bombay Chronicle*.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

The successor of Lord Chelmsford.

46. Adverting to the conjectures that are already rife in London about the successor of Lord Chelmsford, taking it for granted that he would retire soon, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd April, observes:—Whether the conjectures may be true or not, our only wish is that the successor of Lord Chelmsford should be one who can adjust himself to the change in the times. It is all the same to us whether he is Lord "L" or Duke "D".

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th April 1919.

Sir Bernard Houghton on the conduct of the officials in India.

47. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th April, extracts an article from the *India* of London contributed by Sir Bernard Houghton, in which the following observations find place:—Every effort was made by the Germans during the

period of the war to create anarchism in India. But it proved futile and the Indians rendered invaluable aid to the allies in the war, even forgetting the mistakes committed by the bureaucrats. Now the war has ended and Germany has been defeated completely. So there is no room to think that any danger will accrue to India from Germany. But all the same the Government in India have begun to enact laws like the German Government, relying upon the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission, whose report may be described better as the narration of a plot in history than as a document fit to be handled by statesmen. The German nature has been rooted out in Europe, but it is holding its flag aloft in India. . . Are the German socialists, who are really starving and are begging for sustenance from the allies, the people to incite a rebellion in India? Who else can do it? The bureaucrats in India can themselves do it, by the adoption of retrograde measures. . . They shudder at the wind of rumour and they are always suspicious like a woman. They do not hesitate to cast a slur on the loyalty of Indians. The main work of the Government of India seems to be to secure sufficient safeguards for the bureaucracy. They think that no one should be permitted to speak boldly against the bureaucracy and they are not inclined to let off lightly any one who openly condemns the bureaucracy. These are the reasons for the Rowlatt Law. It does not indicate a spirit of manliness, but a desire to hold aloft the flag of autocracy. It gives a handle for the word 'liberty' being made fun of. Are there statesmen in England? There appear to be none at Simla.

48. In a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th April, observes that agitation as used here means only agitation within constitutional limits and that this is the nature of the agitation carried on by the Congress and the Home Rule Leagues and, referring to the doubt expressed by some as to whether the *Satyagraha* agitation is a constitutional one, writes:—Some say that it is not, on the ground that the *Satyagrahis* disobey the laws of the Government. But a law is that which is not contrary to truth and justice. If it is, it cannot be a law. The *Satyagrahis* will always be against whatever is contrary to truth and justice and they will disobey only such laws as are against their conscience and morals. Their view is not to root out the Government. So the *Satyagraha* movement is a constitutional one. If the *Satyagraha* vow and the *Swadeshi* vow are taken and acted upon at the same time, we can attain *Swaraj* to-morrow. Our Presidency is now sleeping. It is shivering with cold. To get rid of this shivering, the heat of agitation should be applied to it.

Agitation.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 24th April 1919.

49. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th April, refers to the appointment of this gentleman as a non-official member of the Jail Commission and to the encomiums showered on him by the Anglo-Indian papers and remarks:—If these papers like, they can make an elephant of a cat and, if they do not, they will make a cat of an elephant. Mr. Dorairaja may have even superior qualifications to what are attributed to him by these papers. But our question is whether there are no Indians, who have a better experience in this field than he. The moment any representation is made to the Government of India, they appoint a Commission, the cost of which will be met only from the money of the Indians. So, are not the Indians justified in expecting that only capable members should be appointed to such a Commission, so that their money may be spent on a useful purpose? But their wish is not the wish of the authorities.

Mr. D. M. Dorairaja.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 24th April 1919.

50. The *Dravidan*, of the 24th April, reproduces the sentiments of the *Justice* of the 23rd idem, which agrees with the *Times* in the opinion that the recent disturbances in India are not really caused by the Rowlatt Law, and that they are engineered by some agitators, who were scheming harm to the British Government even during the period of the war and wanted to secure complete immunity for their mischief, and remarking that, if the Reform Bill which will be shortly placed before the Parliament does not provide for communal representation and is drafted in such a manner as to please the political agitators, who were even already and are still making efforts to cause serious harm, it will lead to an uncontrollable agitation in

Reforms and the riots.

Dravidan, Madras, 24th April 1919.

India, hopes that the Paliament will not give room to a new unrest in trying to put down the existing one.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 24th April 1919.

Change at the India Office.

51. Quoting a statement of the *National News* that Mr. Montagu is likely to be the President of the Finance Commission connected with the Peace Conference and that he is the best man for the place, the *Dravidan*, of the 24th April, remarks:—If Mr. Montagu wants to carry out the reforms against our wishes, we should deem it to be our fortune that he quits his present office immediately to take up the new one.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th April 1919.

The Legislative Council elections.

52. Adverting to the Notification in the *Fort St. George Gazette* about the coming election to the Legislative Council, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th April, remarks that the Government of Madras have not evidently realised the trouble entailed on both the members and the voters by an election being held twice within a short interval and, observing that Lord Pentland would not have necessitated this double process if he had realised it, says that Lord Willingdon declined to alter the decision of his predecessor under the impression perhaps that it would be a sin to do so.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 25th April 1919.

The Legislative Council elections.

The *Dravidan*, of the 25th April, reproduces the comments of the *Justice* of the 24th idem appreciating Lord Pentland's action in having decided to dissolve the present Council and to hold an election at once on the ground that the members of the existing Legislative Council are not proper representatives of the people and that a new election may bring in a better type of men who are actuated by the new spirit leavening the country since the last election, and taking exception to the action of the Viceroy in having extended the terms of the present members of the Imperial Legislative Council, without consulting the Madras Legislative Council, or the people.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th April 1919.

Corea and India.

53. Referring to the demand of the Coreans for a democratic form of Government, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th April, observes:—This war has enabled small countries and those that have not attained perfection in civilisation to acquire liberty and the powers of self-determination and it is to be noted that the credit for this goes to the British. Though India has been under the British for nearly 150 years, her children have been rendered unfit to exercise even rudimentary privileges! What can be done? How long are the Indians to occupy a low position in the eyes of the world?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th April 1919.

An Indian industrial exhibition.

54. Adverting to a circular asking for the co-operation of Indians and Europeans for an Indian industrial exhibition to be held at Bombay in 1920, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th April, feels sure that this exhibition will be highly beneficial to Indian merchants and artisans and, suggesting the desirability of a similar exhibition being held in this presidency, expects Lord Willingdon and the Indian artisans to co-operate in this matter, as such a mighty project cannot be completed without the assistance of the Government.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 25th April 1919.

A mistake rectified.

55. Referring to the acquittal by the Sessions Judge of the Central Provinces, of two gentlemen who were convicted by a District Magistrate under the Defence of India Act for having obstructed recruitment and the raising of funds for the war loan, as an instance of persons being subjected to hardships as a result of the hasty action of the bureaucrats and having to secure their liberty by fighting for it in a court of law and also to certain other cases in which that Provincial Government failed in the prosecutions launched by it, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th April, remarks:—It is easy for the bureaucrats to arrest people and launch prosecutions against them under the Defence of India Act; but it is surprising that they have not yet realised what an amount of hardship their victims have to suffer before obtaining justice.

56. Remarking that proper Government consists only in punishing people for offences committed and taking precautionary measures against the recurrence of such crimes, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 25th April, observes:—The military administration now carried on by the officers in the Punjab does not appear to be the ordinary method of administration. Revenge has never been a feature of the British Rule. The question now to be considered is whether the steps said to have been taken by the authorities there such as the throwing of bombs on the people from aeroplanes and the flogging of such persons in public as do not obey the martial law are necessary for maintaining the trait of good Government noted above. In every country, the people have risen in rebellion against the officials at all times. But there were no bombs or aeroplanes then. The rifle is the weapon commonly used to quell rebellions. Even the use of these was thought to be too much, and rules have been framed for preventing the free use of rifles. When bombs were thrown from aeroplanes by the enemies on the innocent people during the war, the whole world condemned them as savages. But the victims in this case had rifles to ward off such bombs and there were guns to fire at aeroplanes and also powerful aeroplanes from which machine-guns could be fired. Still the action of the Germans was detested and deservedly too. The people in the Punjab on whom the aeroplanes dropped bombs had not any of the aforesaid facilities. Is such throwing of bombs in keeping with a sound administrative policy? Does the law permit innocent people being killed like this? It may be stated that martial law permits it. But is there any special law like that? It is only a name given to the situation resulting from a suspension of all laws. It is only the exercise of military authority that is given the dignified appellation of martial law. So it is, we ask whether the action of the authorities in the Punjab, not caring for the panic caused among the people indicates administration or vengeance. Let us see how far flogging is consistent with civilization. This punishment was in vogue in the army in England but was abolished as a barbarous one, after an agitation was made in that matter. But the sepoys in the Indian army were not exempted from it, though the Commander-in-Chief gave an assurance a couple of years ago whe the Indian Defence Force Act was passed that he would see in his executive capacity, that this form of punishment was not inflicted. Such a despicable punishment permitted even by the Indian Penal Code only subject to many safeguards, is being freely inflicted on the people in the Punjab now. The accounts given of the situation there make us shudder. A few, either through rage or through other causes, have committed excesses. If for this, the Government, without calmly reflecting over the matter, permit the perpetration of the aforesaid acts, what will the common people think of them? The authorities seem to be acting in this manner, under the wrong impression that the 'Bolsheviks' are also present in India. It is the business of the Bolsheviks to estrange the minds of the people from the Government. If they do exist in India, would they have let slip a fitting opportunity which offered itself to them on the *Satyagraha* day, when large crowds of people gathered, and begun their work subsequently? From the very fact that no mischief was committed anywhere on that day, it is clear that there are no Bolsheviks in India. The presumption again that the removal of railway lines and the cutting off of telegraph wires are the doings of Bolsheviks, is a wrong one, as such acts have been committed during strikes among the railway employees, and they should therefore be considered to be the usual work of these employees. On the whole, it is the hasty actions of some officers that contributed mainly to the present situation. If, hereafter at least, Lord Chelmsford and his Government would calmly consider over the matter and make amends for the blunders of their subordinates, the people will have some consolation.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 25th April 1919.

The condition in the Punjab.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th April, also takes exception to bombs having been thrown on the people by aeroplanes in the Punjab and says:—The attack in England by Germany by means of aeroplanes was considered to be unjust, when the two countries were at war with each other. Now we do not know how the world will judge of the action of Sir Machael O'Dwyer in ordering the throwing of bombs on his subjects. Our brethren, who are immersed in *Satyagraha*, have not bestowed

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 25th April 1919.

The condition in the Punjab.

much attention on this. They should strongly protest against it. It is our duty to get the officials responsible for this properly punished. We think the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is quite correct in saying that it is against International law to throw bombs from aeroplanes on unarmed people.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th April, refers to the statement of the *Madras Mail* that the disturbances in the Punjab have been engineered by the Bolsheviks from behind and remarking that the object of papers like the *Mail* is only to create a wrong impression in the mind of the Government by publishing false statements, asks if there are none to check them.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th April 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th April, expresses surprise at the order passed by the military authority in the Punjab that all the college students should report themselves four times a day to him, as he believes that they are using seditious words in their conversation and remarks:—He may issue a strange order to-morrow on the ground that he suspects that the students are harbouring seditious ideas. Are these students inferior to old offenders released from prison? The Police are visiting the old offenders in their residences from time to time. But in the Punjab, the students are to visit the military authority four times a day. Let us see what further orders are going to be issued there.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras. 28th April 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th April, points to the spread of unrest in the Punjab, while it has subsided in Ahmedabad and the extension of martial law to several new districts and referring to the question raised by the *Leader* whether it is due to the system of administration followed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer for the last six years, asks if the Government of India will ascertain by means of an impartial committee the true reason of the excitement of the people of that province.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 25th April 1919.

57. Referring to the opinion expressed by the Cotton Committee in favour of increasing the cultivation of cotton in India which necessarily means an increase in the area under cotton cultivation, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 25th April, observes:—None will say that cotton cultivation should not be extended and that the quality of the cotton grown should not be improved. Cotton is an article of commerce which may bring in large profits, and mirasidars may therefore take to this. But it will reduce the cultivation of food-grains which every one should prevent, seeing that these are essentially required for India. It is possible to grow the cotton required for the needs of the British Empire without, at the same time, decreasing the Indian food crops. It is also possible to grow cotton with a long staple here without extending the area under cultivation. The committee recognises the importance of the Government interesting themselves in this matter and propose a system for making people take to cotton cultivation. We hope the committee will make such arrangements as to ensure good profits to cultivators, taking care, at the same time, to see that cotton is not cultivated on lands used for the cultivation of food-grains, as this will bring on great trouble to the whole of this country. When ground-nut fetched a tempting price in foreign markets, the mirasidars cultivated it most and it cannot be denied that this affected the food-crops and contributed to the increase in the price of foodstuffs. As already pointed out, we hold that it is quite possible to improve the yield of cotton, and its variety so as to bring it to the level of the American kind without, at the same time, increasing the extent of its cultivation.

The Cotton Committee.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 28th April 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 28th April, also comments in the same strain on this subject.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 25th April 1919.

58. Remarking that the British Government are not taking sufficient interest in improving agriculture, which is the staple industry of India, and that matters have not improved much even as a result of the work of the Agricultural Department opened by the Government, the *Dravidan*, of the 25th April, refers to the fact that almost all the agriculturists are very poor, suffering indescribable hardships, and pointing to the Mysore Darbar having entrusted the head of the Agricultural Department there with Rs. 50,000 to be utilized for advancing *takhavi* loans to the agriculturists for the purchase of seed-grains, hopes that, as many agriculturists are unable to purchase seed-grains even in British territory, the Government will make proper arrangements in the matter.

Agricultural loans.

Sir Reginald Craddock on the situation in India.

59. Referring to certain 'absurd' statements, as the paper puts it, said to have been recently made by Sir Reginald Craddock about the situation in India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th April, writes:—He is reported to have stated that the opposition of the Indian leaders to the Rowlatt Law is the greatest blunder committed in the history of Indian political life and that it has given an impetus to the anarchist movement. It may be he holds a different view from the Indian leaders about the Rowlatt Law or other things. But how is he justified on that account in making the statement noted above? The people and the newspapers are punished if they make objectionable statements about the Government or their representatives. But are there none to check the bureaucrats, who represent the Government, if they make similar statements? Perhaps Sir Reginald thinks that the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Council are there only to nod their head to whatever the Government say. He seems to have stated again that newspapers conducted by Indians are publishing false news and making mistaken demands. Is this the language to be used by the responsible ruler of a province? Will such words secure peace or increase discontent? The Indian newspapers are subject to the hatred and curse of the bureaucrats. How will the saints, who are jealous of these papers, even when there are the Press Act to curb them and officials like Sir Reginald Craddock to apply it indiscriminately, put up with these papers being granted complete liberty? Who will not be pained at the statement of this Lieutenant-Governor that the liberty, demanded by the papers and to secure which Mr. Gandhi has taken a vow, is likely to spoil hundreds of youths and to leave society to the tender mercies of criminals? Have not the Government of India realised the harm that may result from officials like Sir Craddock speaking anything they like? Quiet life is a desirable thing for the people. If this rare quality is shared also by the officials, will not many of the existing difficulties disappear? The climate of this country does not easily suit those coming here from cold countries. So the mind of Sir Reginald Craddock has perhaps been unhinged like that of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, not being able to bear the heat. It is the duty of the Government of India to get him properly treated or appoint another person of sound mind in his place. As times are changing rapidly, the officials too should alter their old blind views and be capable of acting according to the wishes of the people. If, instead of this, they are insane like our friend Sir Raginald Craddock, we warn the Government that even the existing peace in the country will be disturbed and unrest will increase.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 25th April 1919.

Enrolment of special constables at Delhi.

60. Adverting to the enrolment of some of the prominent persons at Delhi as special Police constables, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 25th April, while admitting that the object of the law in making provision for the enrolment of special constables is a very laudable one, observes that the way in which this provision is put into practice is detestable and adds:—Those enrolled as special constables are treated only like the ordinary Police, even though they may be cultured men having a high status. It is contrary to law for those selected as special constables to refuse to serve as such. These have to discharge their duties wearing the ordinary Police uniform and salute head constables and Sub-Inspectors! This is a great indignity indeed to those selected as special constables.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 25th April 1919.

Stamping out unrest.

61. In the course of its leader under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 22nd April, observes that the Home Rule agitation is at the root of the *Satyagraha* movement which is responsible for the present unrest, that Mr. Gandhi is now working exactly on the same lines as were followed by Mrs. Besant, that the present disturbances may be attributed to the circulation of unfounded rumours such as that there is scope in the Rowlatt Act to enable the confidential servants of the King to make slaves of the people, that there would have been no unrest, if the Government had adopted their present policy long ago, and that their mildness alone is responsible for the present situation. It says. that far from seeing anything in the Rowlatt Act, which will be subversive of the freedom of the people, it is convinced that

Andhraprakasika, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

every country must provide itself with such an Act to stamp out unrest. In conclusion, the paper appeals to all wise citizens to help the Government in protecting the lives and property of the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

A favourable development.

62. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd April, publishes in Telugu the statement communicated to the *Hindu* by Mr. Govardhandas about the Punjab disturbances and commenting on it in its leader under this heading, it observes:—. . . The statement of Shraddhananda has conveyed to some extent the truth about the Delhi disturbances. It was not possible to know the truth about the Punjab disturbances on account of the censorship existing in that province. The statement now communicated by Mr. Govardhandas says that fire was opened on the 10th instant on unarmed and innocent persons, that the people did not oppose the police or the military, and that Messrs. Harikishan Lal and Rambhoj Dutt were arrested when they went to the District Magistrate to confer with him on behalf of the people. In these circumstances, the urgent necessity for a commission of inquiry, composed of official and non-official members becomes apparent. The people should now co-operate with the Government in the restoration of peace, and it is the duty of the Government to ascertain the root causes of the unrest and remove them at once.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

The *Andhra* country and a Medical College.

63. Referring to the objections raised by the Surgeon-General in the last session of the Local Legislative Council to the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju, requesting the Government to establish a Medical College for the *Andhra* country, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd April, appeals to the delegates to the ensuing Andhra Provincial Conference to take up the matter into their earnest consideration and urge it on the Government, exposing the hollowness of the Surgeon-General's objections.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

The new Viceroy.

64. Referring to the rumour that Sir Douglas Haig will be appointed as the Viceroy of India, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd April, remarks:—. . . If this be true, it will be a pity to see the administration of dependencies (Ireland, India and Egypt) entrusted to military men.

HINDUSUNDARI, Cocanada, April 1919.

Grievances.

65. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Hindusundari*, for April, observes that the ordinary people are experiencing many difficulties for want of food, clothing, kerosene oil and change for one-rupee notes, and prays to the Government to redress these grievances of the poor.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th April 1919.

The Kistna District Conference.

66. Referring to the recent Kistna District Conference held at Kovvur, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th April, writes:—. . . The Conference expressed its disapproval of the Rowlatt Bill and welcomed the *Satyagraha* movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. While deploring the disturbances that took place in various parts of the country, the Conference protested against the proclamation of martial law in the Punjab. It disapproved of the wholesale deportation of leaders in the Punjab, and while congratulating the non-official members who have resigned their seats in the Imperial Legislative Council, deplored the conduct of Mr. Sarma. The Conference has also condemned the recent attitude of Mrs. Besant. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th April 1919.

Reforms and dual Government.

67. Referring to the opinions of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh and others that the system of Diarchy will be dispensed with in the Reform Scheme, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th April, writes under this heading:—. . . If this system is to be dispensed with, either complete Provincial autonomy should be granted, as desired by the Delhi Congress, or arbitrary power should be allowed to continue. If the members of the Congress deputation now explain the importance of the Delhi Congress resolutions in the light of these circumstances, they will attain their desired object.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th April 1919.

The condition of India.

68. Referring to the opinions of English newspapers such as the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th

April, writes under this heading:— . . . These papers point out that unrest cannot be stamped out by repression alone and advise the British Government to introduce substantial reforms in India without delay. . . The gentlemen now proceeding to England on behalf of the Congress-deputation should explain to the British public the nature of unrest that will be created in this country, if no satisfactory reforms are granted. . . They should also impress upon the British people the paramount necessity of repealing all repressive Acts and of guaranteeing the preservation of the birth-rights of the people, as it will not be otherwise possible to expect a hearty reception of the reforms in this country.

69. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th April, writes:— . . . Ever since Sir Michael O'Dwyer set his foot in the Punjab, he has been trying to crush all signs of national awakening there, being unable to understand them, and thereby to establish peace. Some artificial peace was no doubt the result. Deceived by this artificial peace, Sir Michael began to speak lightly of other provinces in the Imperial Legislative Council, pointing to his province as the foremost in respect of loyalty. For this, he was criticised by the leaders of the people and the Viceroy also was obliged to disapprove of his uncalled for remarks. The story ended in the offer of an apology by Sir Michael, expressing his regret for the words used by him. . . Why should there be now in the Punjab any disturbance which is absent in provinces where vigorous political agitation has been carried on? What has necessitated the application of martial law to that province? What has necessitated the use of aeroplanes and bombs there? The truth now becomes clear that the national awakening cannot be put down by repression. The more it is repressed, the more underground will the unrest get. That such unrest is more dangerous has been admitted by all statesmen. It is no doubt necessary that the people should co-operate with the Government in restoring peace in critical times. But the Government should create conditions favourable for obtaining the co-operation of the people. It is doubtful whether the restraints imposed upon such Moderates as Mr. Manohara Lal and Mr. Kalinath Roy will conduce to the creation of these favourable conditions. There will be no practical good, if Sir Michael O'Dwyer is not sent out of the Punjab forthwith. When Sir B. Fuller was governing East Bengal highhandedly, which led to the spread of unrest in the country, Lord Morley recalled him from that province without being influenced by considerations of prestige.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th April 1919.

The new national awakening.

In these circumstances, the proposals made by the *Times* and the (*Observer*) urging the retention of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, without realizing the situation, only show a want of discriminating faculty in them. Distrust begets distrust while trust begets trust. The prolonged use of repressive measures in a spirit of distrust will only increase the unrest in the country. . . The only effective means of restoring peace is to repeal repressive measures and to grant broad and satisfactory reforms to the people. The withholding of broad reforms on some pretext or other is bound to end in loss to the Empire. Broad reforms are required more for the permanence of the Empire than for the furtherance of Indian interests. The whole world is eagerly waiting to see how the English nation which has sacrificed its men and money for the freedom of the world will now safeguard justice and liberty within its own Empire. . . We wish that Britain will show the enthusiasm for action demanded by the times.

70. Under this heading the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th April, publishes in Telugu the remarks of Mr. C. F. Andrews, condemning the flogging of persons in open streets in Lahore.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th April 1919.

Flogging in Lahore.

71. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th April, observes:— . . . From the standpoint of India, free trade seems to be better than Imperial preference. What our country wants now is commercial freedom.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th April 1919.

Imperial preference.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 19th April 1919.

A thunderbolt against a sparrow.

72. Referring to the use of the Defence of India Act against Mr. Gandhi, the *Andhravani*, of the the 19th April, writes in its leader under this heading:—The authorities have employed the Defence of India Act against Mr. Gandhi as a thunderbolt against a sparrow. . . The Government have passed the Defence of India Act as a war measure to punish persons conspiring with the enemy. It is nothing but precipitateness to use it against a person like Mr. Gandhi, virtuous in mind, weak in body and averse to violence. Perhaps, the authorities blinded by the power of office wanted to terrorise the people by passing a series of orders against him. But the results are not as expected by them. . . Considering the matter, however, minutely, we do not find it possible to defend the unwise action of the authorities. . . We cannot think that the Chelmsford Government could do a more unwise act. . . Did not the authorities like that Mr. Gandhi should go to Delhi, find out the truth about the disturbances and publish it? His presence there to pacify the people and appeal to them to be law abiding would be useful to the authorities. In these circumstances, we cannot but entertain a doubt that the authorities were for preventing Mr. Gandhi from going to Delhi and thereby adding to the unrest in the country. . . Had the Government understood that Mr. Gandhi was going to Delhi to conciliate the people and not to wage war against the authorities there, they would never have thought of resorting to the unwise step of restraining him. No good can come out of using repression in season and out of season. The action of the authorities had no other effect than that it has afforded them an opportunity to display their heroism by using a thunderbolt against a sparrow.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 19th April 1919.

The state of the country.

73. Under this heading, th *Andhravani*, of the 19th April, writes:—". . . Why should the Government forget the elementary principle that repression is not the proper duty of any Government? . . ." These are the words of advice which the *Indian Daily News* has given to the Government at the present critical juncture. . . No man, not even he who has lost his reason in feverish heat, will prattle like the *Civil and Military Gazette*. .. . Can it be statesmanship to excite unjustly a peaceful people? . . . The unnecessary interference of the bureaucracy with the *Satyagraha* movement which is essentially peaceful in its character without understanding the significance of the opinion of the people and the opening of fire on innocent and unarmed people are causing disturbance to the peace of the country. . . May the Government follow the advice given by the *Indian Daily News*, prevent unrest in the country and save the people, the honour of England and the prestige of the British Empire! . . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 19th April 1919.

Sir Ravindranath's letter to Mr. Gandhi.

74. The *Andhravani*, of the 19th April, publishes in Telugu the letter of Sir Ravindranath Tagore to Mr. Gandhi on the *Satyagraha* movement.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 19th April 1919.

Our economic condition.

75. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 19th April, writes:—Some of the remarks of Sir James Meston on the Budget Statement in the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council lead us to fear that India is on the verge of bankruptcy. . . The value of currency notes at the beginning of the war was only 55 crores of rupees, while their present value is 150 crores. From this, every intelligent person will understand that the reserve of coins is decreasing. . . Sir James Meston said that India has not yet escaped the danger of bankruptcy. If the people should press the Government for silver coins for some more months, it is feared that the Government may not be in a position to meet those demands. . . What is the chief cause that has led to this deplorable state? And how to get out of it? The slavery of the Government of India to the merchants at London is the chief cause which has brought us to this deplorable condition. There is no salvation for us, if we do not get out of this. . . To create confidence in the public mind in the paper currency system, the Government must make it known to the people that the notes can be cashed anywhere in the country. For this, the Government of India must get out of the snares of the London merchants and gain its freedom. The present anxious condition is bound to continue so long as the London merchants have the Government of India under their thumb in

financial matters. . . Will any other Government consent to submit to such an imprudent and shortsighted policy, carrying out the orders issued by some merchants from a distance of 6,000 miles. This system must be stopped. The money of Indians should be in India and not in London. . . If the Central Government has not moved to British Ministry on this subject, a dangerous state threatening the collapse of the system of administration in the country will ensue. . . May the leaders of the people bring pressure to bear on the Government in the matter and work for fiscal autonomy.

76. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd April, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the Gōdāvari District Village Officers' Conference held on the 19th instant and the resolutions passed thereat. — ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

The Gōdāvari District Village Officers' Conference.

77. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th April, publishes in Telugu the second day's proceedings of the Twenty-eighth Kistna District Conference held at Kovvur, summaries of the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed thereat. — ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th April 1919.

The Twenty-eighth Kistna District Conference.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 25th April, publishes in Telugu the third day's proceedings of the Twenty-eighth Kistna District Conference held at Kovvur, and the resolutions passed thereat. — ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 25th April 1919.

The Twenty-eighth Kistna District Conference.

Reviewing the proceedings of the twenty-eighth Kistna District Conference held at Kovvur, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 26th April observes:—There is a ring of self-restraint discernible in the speeches of the delegates, probably inspired by the influence of the *Satyagraha* of Mr. Gandhi. They disclose a resoluteness devoid of passion, a determined will that refrains from defiance. — KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 26th April 1919.

The twenty-eighth Kistna District Conference.

The article concludes with a summary of the resolutions passed at the Conference.

78. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th April, publishes in Telugu an account of the proceedings of the meeting of the Bengal Moslem League held at Mymensing. — ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th April 1919.

The Bengal Moslem League.

79. Adverting to the Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference held at Madras on the 18th instant and the following day, two correspondents to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th April, write making proposals such as that the Andhra districts should be separated and placed under the charge of one Registrar, and that the Andhra Provincial Co-operative Conference should be held separately. — ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th April 1919.

The co-operative movement.

80. Approving of the remarks of the Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hasan and others in the last session of the local Legislative Council urging the prohibition of all traffic in liquors, the *Ravi*, of the 17th April, remarks under this heading:— . . . The observations of some European members of the Council in this connexion have caused to us much humiliation and surprise. — RAVI, Cocanada, 17th April 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council and excise.

81. Referring to the ensuing elections of the local Legislative Council members, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 24th April, asks:— . . . When fresh elections will have to take place after the introduction of the new scheme of reforms, why these temporary elections now? — ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 24th April 1919.

The Council elections.

82. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 25th April, complains of temple schemes and observes that all temples in the country would soon come to ruin, if their management is left to Indians. He requests the Government to hold all scheme suits in abeyance pending the result of the petition addressed to Mr. Montagu on 9th November 1917 by temple priests and to take up the management of temples into their own hands and save the priests. — ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 25th April 1919.

Temples.

83. Referring to the recent disturbances in some parts of the country, the *Ravi*, of the 24th April, approves in its leader under this heading of the firm conduct of the authorities — RAVI, Cocanada, 24th April 1919.

Is the Government to blame?

in the disturbed localities and adds that the Government are to blame for not having taken prompt notice of agitators who have been poisoning the minds of the people for so long a time.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 28th April 1919.

Mr. Horniman has been ordered to leave India.

84. Referring to the deportation of Mr. B. G. Horinman, the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* to England, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th April, observes in its leader under this heading:— . . . Repressive measures are being used in quick succession. The manner in which martial law is being used in the Punjab, as the messages received to-day will show, cannot but disturb the calmness of the most cool-headed of men. . . All public leaders have been urging the necessity of the people co-operating with the Government in restoring order. But the passing of ridiculous orders, exceeding the actual needs of the occasion, such as the requisition on the students of the Lahore Medical College to notify their residence four times a day to the Military Commissioner and the regulation making the inmates of a house responsible for any damage done to notices affixed to such house by the military authorities, cannot but raise strange ideas among the Indians. The *Leader* is of opinion that sedition cannot be put down by such indiscriminate and harsh orders . . . and has not the least doubt in characterizing the policy now pursued in the Punjab as devoid of farsightedness.

The deportation of Mr. Horniman is the crowning act of repression. It may be said that the great offence of Mr. Horniman is his sympathy for India. He may be accorded the first place among those who have fearlessly expressed the Indian aspirations and worked incessantly for the progress of India. It is not in his nature to suppress truth or to conceal his views. . . It has become clear that the *Bombay Chronicle* stands unsurpassed in awakening the energy of the people. . . Mr. Horniman has always been quite ready on all occasions which demand national awakening, and worked in a commendable manner. . . Such men who serve as ornaments to the English race are very rare. It is by such men that the honour and glory of the English nation are upheld and that the faith of the people in British justice remains unshaken. . . The restraint imposed on an Englishman will rouse not only England but the whole civilized world. . . There is not the least doubt that the deportation of Mr. Horniman will be productive of results which will be far more useful than any that can be expected from memorials. . . Indians have never expected that such repressive orders would issue from His Excellency Lord Chelmsford. It is strange to think that unrest can be stopped by gagging the press and arresting the leaders of the people. History teaches us that this will only prove to be a means by which unrest may grow. Instead of taking the assistance of the leaders of the people and thus gaining their confidence, that the Government should commit themselves to a policy of repression is regrettable. . . We hope that the deportation of Mr. Horniman will awaken the British public and will help to bring to a close repressive legislation.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 29th April 1919.

Mr. Horniman's deportation and the *New India*.

Criticising the observations of the *New India* on the deportation of Mr. Horniman, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 29th April, writes:— . . . It is presumptuous to say that he (Mr. Horniman) has transgressed the constitutional methods of agitation. If it is considered that his writings have transgressed law, it is but proper to have him tried in a court of law. No Indian can think it just to deport editors for the writings in their papers. The defence of the *New India* cannot but cause regret. . . He recommended to the people, while confined to his bed, the temporary suspension of the *Satyagraha* programme for the restoration of peace. Such a man has now been deported. May his life, dedicated to the uplift of a foreign country, serve to strengthen the tie between England and India!

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 26th April 1919.

The deportation of Mr. Horniman.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 29th April, writes:—Yesterday heart-rending news that Mr. Horniman, editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, had suddenly been placed on boardship and sent to England was received. We express great surprise and regret at the incident, and we consider it our duty to say that it is an unfortunate example of deportation.

We thoroughly appreciate his nobility of character, independence and ability; and all we can say is that the authorities of his own race have not treated him well. The English, who eat India's salt and at the same time defame her, are exalted while those Englishmen, who are not in the employ of India, but serve her all the same, are abased."

85. In the course of its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 29th April, exhorts all deputations proceeding to England to be unanimous in their advocacy of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms as representing the minimum demand of India, then to lay special stress on the improvements which may be made in it from their respective stand points, and to urge the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and other repressive measures which are not approved of by any Indian party excepting that of Doctor Nayar. The article concludes with these observations:— . . . When the whole country is in such a disturbed condition, there is no good of shirking duty on grounds of prestige. The deputations must place the true facts before the English public and tell them how such measures will injure the progress of the Empire. If once the heart of England is roused, the wishes of Indians are sure to bear fruit. When the atmosphere of the whole world is surcharged with freedom, how long can the fulfilment of Indian aspirations, be delayed?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 29th April 1919.

The duty of deputations.

86. Under this heading the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 29th April, publishes in Telugu the manifesto addressed to the President of the Peace Conference by Mr. Tilak, urging the application of the principle of self-determination to India.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 29th April 1919.

Mr. Tilak and the Peace Conference.

87. Regarding the efficacy of the *Satyagraha* movement, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 12th April, writes in its leader under this heading:— . . . That movement alone will grow unhampered which is based on self-sacrifice. Neither the German cannon nor the British navy can obstruct it. The more the obstruction, the greater will the sacrifice grow. The man of sacrifice will not win by opposing. Just as a single light will do to kindle a hundred or a thousand lights; one saint among many ignorant men will transform them all into saints. It is in the power of a saint to make the weak bold, the rich, selfless and the princely, humble. . . Who could become legislators to bind a saint who is not afraid of the sceptre of Yama (the Lord of Death)? Has not the imprisonment of Ramadas become a sacred story? Has not the cross of Lord Christ become the holiest symbol of righteousness? It is they who give away their lives that rule. It is they who renounce that rise to the most exalted position. . . It is the self-sacrifice of that lover of truth, that great soul who went into prison for the sake of the unfortunate sons of India in South Africa, that friend of the poor who has been the *Kalpataruvu* (the all-yielding tree of Heaven) of the labouring classes in Champaran, that man of heroic action who has turned the ryots of the Kaira district into lovers of freedom, which sets aglow national life from the Cape Comorin to the Himalayas.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 12th April 1919.

Self-sacrifice.

What do Indians want so long as they have one Mahatma Gandhi? They have declared that they cannot any longer submit to cruel laws. The Punjab Government may prohibit Mr. Gandhi from entering into its province; the Government of India may order him not to go beyond the Bombay Presidency; some magistrate may imprison him within iron bars to-morrow; but this sort of policy can no longer terrorise the people of India. The police may have in their possession his body; but his soul has permeated the whole of India already. . . When such prominent persons as Srimati Sarojini Devi, Shraddhananda and Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar are ready to follow in the footsteps of this hero and to obey the call of their mother land, victory is sure, for the Empire of Right knows no defeat. Note the following brief speech of Mahatma Gandhi: ". . . The English are a great nation. They do not respect the weak. They have themselves bravely endured many hardships. They are not moved except at the sight of courageous suffering."

88. Under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 12th April, gives in Telugu accounts of the celebration of the *Satyagraha* day on 6th April 1919 at such places as Delhi, Lahore,

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 12th April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* fasts.

Poona, Calcutta, Amritsar, Karachi and Allahabad; as also the message of Mr. Gandhi at the time of his arrest.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 26th April 1919.

The Punjab disturbances.

89. In its leader under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 26th April, writes:—The recent disturbances at places such as Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Guzarawala, Kasur, Ahmedabad and Bombay have taken by fear and surprise not only the Government but also all the people. No such untoward occurrence has taken place in India since 1857. . . When the whole country was calm even during the war, nobody has ever expected that the fire of mutiny would spread in Northern India and become a source of fear at a time when the war has come to an end and the world is about to enter on an era of peace. Since the outbreak of revolution in Russia, some fear has been entertained that the borders of India may prove to be sources of danger. . . The news that the Russian Bolshevik leader Lenin has taken a vow to spread his anarchist campaign in China and India has also given some anxiety. When such is the outside environment, some seeds of unrest have spread all over the country. The first of them is the dire famine. India has never known before such abject scarcity of food and clothing as confronts her to-day. It is no exaggeration to say that the people are starving for want of food. . . A sort of discontent and indignation has spread in the Muhammadan community since the defeat of Turkey. No Muhammadan likes in the least the liberation of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Palestine from the domination of the Sultan of Turkey. The Turkish Kaliphate is like the soul of the Muhammadan community. The least harm done to it would convulse the whole Moslem world. There is no good of hiding the truth. The Government also know what resentment smoulders to-day among the Muhammadans. It is understood that there is some discontent among the Sikhs also. The Sikhs have all along been noted for their loyalty. It was really they who saved the British Government from the Mutiny of 1857. Again, it was they who rendered unique service to the Government in the recent European war and contributed to the victory of the Empire. But either from German overtures or for some other reason ideas of revolt made their appearance among some Sikhs at the beginning of the war. A revolutionary society called the Gadhr Society, which was formed among the Sikh emigrants in America, sowed the seeds of disloyalty in the Sikh community. . . The firing of many of the passengers in the *Komagatamaru* and the internment of the rest might have been instrumental to a certain extent in creating unrest among the Sikhs. . . Many of the Sikhs may be those who have just returned from the victorious battle fields of Europe and Africa Since they fought with a courage and valour equal to that of Westerners, it is possible that they cherish a confidence that the western people are not superior to them in the art of war. . . From incidents such as the Bolshevism in Russia, the new Government in Afghanistan, the dire famine in the country, the discontent among the Muhammadans, the new spirit of the Sikhs, the lack of gold and silver coins and the increased use of the paper-currency, it will be clear to even the dullest intellect that there are already seeds among the people, which are hostile to peace and loyalty. . . During the war, the truth has been brought home that England is as much under the protection of India as India under hers. The Indian army, the Indian money and the Indian food-stuffs have saved the British Empire from disruption. There is nothing strange in a sense of equality arising in the minds of the people the moment they have come to realize this mutual dependence. The fear and the suspicion that the Montagu reforms cannot satisfy their wants have spread among them; and the opening speech of His Excellency the Viceroy in the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council has aggravated that fear. At present, all the administrative power is vested in the hands of the Indian Civil Service. The Viceroy has given an assurance that the power of this service will not be impaired, and everybody could understand that to concede freedom to the people without impairing the power and prestige of the Indian Civil Service officials would be meaningless. The Viceroy has similarly patted the Anglo-Indian merchant community, assuring the safeguarding of its commercial facilities. How, then, to improve indigenous industries? In these circumstances, there is nothing strange in a

sort of despair seizing upon the people with regard to reforms. The order prohibiting the Congress deputation from proceeding to England has strengthened this suspicion. The report of the Industrial Commission has also caused disappointment. Above all the Rowlatt Commission and the Rowlatt Bills have fallen on the people like a thunderbolt and broken their hearts . . . The prestige of British justice and of the British Government rests upon the principle that an accused person should be presumed to be innocent until his guilt is proved by evidence. What wonder is there, if the people regard those laws framed after a rule of 150 years carried on this fundamental principle and on the eve of the grant of self-government, with the object of setting aside the open trial of law-courts and setting up an artificial inquiry in camera against the can nons of British jurisprudence itself on a charge of an undefined anarchical crime, as the poisonous fruits of a repressive policy? . . . The very fact that the Government have passed a repressive law in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of all national leaders, is in itself sufficient to shock the people. There is no dullard in India who does not know that India's help to the Empire in the war has been beyond her means. In these circumstances, will the attempt of the Government, to pass a repressive law in the old highhanded manner in utter defiance of the representations of the popular leaders, fail to disturb the most loyal heart? How can the people believe that the arbitrary conduct of the Government in spite of the cries of disapproval of such veterans as Sir D. E. Wacha and Sir Chandravarkar can be in the interests of the nation? Is it a fault of the people that they cannot believe that the Government can have a sense of responsibility which the leaders lack? There is reason why the people do not trust the Government in spite of their repeated promises to use this Act with great caution Such promises were given in the past in respect of the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Defence of India Act and the people have seen with their own eyes how these have been used. How can the words of the authorities dispel the suspicions of the people when they dared to apply a war-measure like the Defence of India Act against such a loyal citizen as Mrs. Besant? Under such circumstances, the Rowlatt Bills brought out the seeds of discontent that had been previously scattered wide. The leaders were helpless and their protests, cries in the wilderness. How can life then fail to be insupportable? Had the authorities been farsighted they would not have set about such measures. How can they be credited with statesmanship who could not have an idea of the measure of discontent prevailing in the country? Could not even the C.I.D. reveal the facts in their true light? It is regrettable that the Government could not note the various causes above detailed that have fostered discontent among the people, especially in Northern Hindustan. When, under such circumstances, the Government insist on rushing through the Council the Rowlatt Bills that have incensed the people, what is the duty of the leaders? The Government may shut their eyes to the discontent that has been rife in the country, confident in the might of their arms; but the leaders cannot sit calm. Mr. Gandhi had a keen insight into the critical character of the situation. He saw that *Satyagraha* (the cultivation of passivity) is alone the remedy for the glowing indignation of the people, the ready and ardent response of whom to his call has revealed the intensity of the popular excitement. A review of the course of the movement at this hour of excitement may, we believe, enhance the difficulties of the Government and we shall not enter upon it at this juncture; but our firm belief is that the recent breach of the peace of the country could have been averted if the Government had refrained from applying the Defence of India Act against Mahatma Gandhi and the police and the army from having recourse to undue interference. We are only sorry that authorities were wanting who could show so much tolerance. . . Mr. Gandhi is no ordinary leader. He is looked upon as an *avatar* (incarnation of God) in the Hindustan and his restraint readily fanned the wrath of the indignant people. There is no use of bemoaning the past. The people of the Punjab became anarchical and perpetrated lawless acts, such as setting Government office buildings on fire and murdering white men, and the Government cannot help having recourse to stern methods. But we may ventilate a doubt in this connexion—was it inevitable to have recourse to methods of destruction meant for enemies such as using machine-guns

and throwing bombs from æroplanes, in dealing with unarmed men? Another doubt also arises—what was the necessity for deporting leaders such as Mr. Ramboji Dutt and Mr. Hari Kissen Lal whom no one can believe to be the inciters of these disturbances and whose co-operation, if enlisted, could, we believe, facilitate the quelling of the disturbances. How can their restraint which is calculated to incense the people, serve to pacify them? It is not at all safe for Governments to depend upon mere repression. Cannon may suppress disturbances, but cannot win hearts. Wrath suppressed will smoulder. The ruled are more interested in averting disturbances than the rulers. If Mr. Gandhi were allowed to go to the Punjab, he could allay popular indignation and root out anarchism. The other leaders at least will do well to proceed to the Punjab and pacify the people, and the Government to revoke the martial law as early as possible. So long as the signs of disturbance do not completely disappear, the Government will not revoke martial law. The leaders have been deported. The press has stopped, who are there to lead the people into the right path? Shall we leave the task to exclusively to the cannon? The All India Congress Committee that met last at Bombay suggested three ways for allaying the unrest—to repeal the Rowlatt Acts, to set free the Punjub leaders and to allow Mr. Gandhi to go to the Punjab. These three means will, in their opinion, restore peace and they are right; but we cannot believe that Government is capable of such farsightedness. The leaders must take the task on themselves. Leaders such as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mrs. Sarojini and Mr. C. R. Dass should forthwith proceed to the Punjab to pacify the people. Our leaders are preparing to proceed to England with the cry "reforms, reforms", but are blind to the great necessity of quenching the fire of unrest in the Punjab. It is sheer injustice and a source of danger to leave the people of the Punjab to a solely military Government and there is no use blaming the rulers in this matter.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 26th April 1919.

The India Congress Committee and Lahore disturbance.

90. The *Kistnapatrika*, of the 26th April, publishes in Telugu the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee which met at Bombay recently; as also the message of Mr. Govardhana Das regarding the disturbances at Lahore.

GODAVARI PATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 15th April 1919.

The Razole Taluk Karnams' Association.

91. The *Godavari Patrika*, of the 15th April, publishes in Telugu the resolutions passed by the Razole Taluk Karnams' Association which met at Razole on 6th April 1919.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 25th April 1919.

A period of transition.

92. Under this heading the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 25th April, writes:—The present times are one of transition for India, and our country is undergoing rapid changes along with the other countries of the world as a result of the great war, the effects, good and bad of which cannot but affect one and all nations in some degree. The most important proof of this is the *Satyagraha* agitation of Mahatma Gandhi. The paper then gives details of the several acts of *Satyagraha* committed in Bombay and elsewhere by Mr. Gandhi and his followers and proceeds: "This shows how the *Satyagraha* movement has taken firm root among the people at large and is giving a new turn to their thoughts and actions. The transition is seen even more distinctly in the resignations tendered by Messrs. Jinnah and Malaviya. The world does, no doubt, undergo changes continuously and imperceptibly, but since the passing of the Rowlatt Bill and the change of vision brought about by the inauguration of the *Satyagraha* movement, as is evidenced by the readiness of the people to patiently suffer and by the unity of the Hindus and Muhammadans, India is making very rapid progress. Such a period of rapid progress appears but rarely in the history of nations, but if it holds on without being transitory, it leads those nations to great prosperity. It is trusted that the *Satyagraha* movement of Mahatma Gandhi would bring about such a result in India."

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 25th April 1919.

Medical inspection of school-going children.

93. Government have passed orders calling on the managers of schools to make arrangements for the medical inspection of children attending schools twice a year to see if any of them are suffering from any contagious

disease and to keep them under treatment, if necessary, and have also promised grants to such of them as would appoint paid medical agency for the purpose. There is, however, a suggestion in the order that the school authorities may levy a fee from the boys for the above purpose. This is like putting a drop of acid in a cup of nectar. The fees in secondary schools are heavy enough as they are, and people find it hard to bear the expense of educating their children even up to the Secondary School Leaving Certificate standard. The expenses connected with the exercise books and note books, games fees, scout dress, library fees and such other demands are ever on the increase. We wish that the Government would not spoil the effect of this excellent order by throwing a fresh burden upon the heads of the parents of school children.

94. Commenting upon a speech recently delivered by His Excellency the Governor of Bomby, a correspondent to the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 24th April, writes:—Those who rule should have perfect equanimity of mind and should neither lose their heads nor be perversely obstinate. Those who are blessed with great wisdom, high position and balance of judgment should possess great patience and act in a constitutional manner. People in responsible positions should never behave rashly. Care should be taken to see that truth and justice are fully maintained. They should weigh every word they speak and bring people under control by using only soft words. A perusal of the speeches made by His Excellency the Viceroy and many other high officials on this subject, which have appeared in print makes it clear that they are highly obsessed with the pride of autocratic powers and hope to easily bring under control 31 crores of our people by using force. It is this ignorance that is the prime cause of all these troubles. The Government as well as the people have gone beyond their legitimate bounds. The Government of India should consider calmly as to what should now be done to restore peace and order in the country and bring about good relations between the two parties. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay stated that the Rowlatt Act will not be brought into force for six months to come. This is not enough. It should publicly be stated that Government would consider as to the necessity or otherwise of enforcing the Rowlatt Act when the period of the Defence of India Act expires. People in prison should be released on their furnishing security for good behaviour. The Anglo-Indian journalists who are the cause of all misunderstanding between the Government and the people should now be shown away partiality, and all those whose writings are liable to create ill-feeling should be deported and their presses confiscated. The reforms demanded by the Congress League should be granted at once and all those European officials who are opposed to them should be recalled; and only those who are willing to promote friendly relations between the British people and the Indians and sympathise with the aspirations of the latter should be appointed to high offices such as that of the Viceroy. Such measures will create genuine love among the people for their Government and go to make the British Government in India continue for ever and ever.

How to allay the present discontent.

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 24th April 1919.

95. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 25th April, writes:—A summary of the Report of the Committee appointed to suggest ways and means to improve the quality of cotton grown in India has now appeared in the public press. . . The committee are of opinion that the cultivators can earn larger profits by growing long-stapled cotton. It is a well-known fact, however, that it is not the uneducated and ever-indebted cultivators that will reap the profits but the wholesale dealers who act as middle men. The committee recently appointed for considering the high prices of food-grains have stated in their report that the quantity of food-grains grown in the country has not increased in the same proportion as the population. Under these circumstances it is the prime duty of Government to encourage the people to grow larger quantities of grains and not tempt them to grow products like cotton and supply them raw to Lancashire and fill the pockets of millowners there. We should think of growing commodities like cotton in larger quantities only as the demand from Indian mills increases. To depend upon foreign manufacturers for the sale of our raw products is injurious to our interests, as has well been proved during the war.

The report of the Indian Cotton Committee.

Swadesabhimani, Mangalore, 25th April 1919.

KERALA JANMI, Trivandrum, 5th Medam 1094 M.E. (18th April 1919).

96. The *Kerala Janmi*, of the 5th Medam 1094 M.E. (18th April 1919), begins its leading article on this subject with the remark that the readers are more or less familiar with the fact that on account of the wicked policy followed by British (Western) officers appointed to the most important offices in the administration of India, anarchical parties have been created in India. . . Messrs. Malaviya, Jinnah and other liberal-minded and great men, members of the Imperial Legislative Council resigned their seats in the Council renouncing this shameful membership which only nominally made them partners in the administration. . . As several European administrators were aware of the fact that Mr. Gandhi could not, with immunity, be played with as other Indians, the Viceroy himself sent for Mr. Gandhi and tried to dissuade him from starting the *Satyagraha* movement. . . Although Mr. Gandhi is still going about disobeying laws, it need hardly be mentioned that he is not arrested.

Satyagraha, the Rowlatt Bill, and Mahatma Gandhi.

MALABAR ISLAM, Mattancherri, 25th April 1919.

97. In an article under the heading 'What the Indian Mussalmans want at present,' the *Malabar Islam*, of the 25th April, points out that it is against the teaching of Islam to place the country, called Jasse-rathul Arab, and other Moslem holy places under the control of people following other religions, and that therefore the prayer of Indian Mussalmans to the Government is that they should make such arrangements in the matter as may not be prejudicial to the claims of the Sultan of Turkey, because these countries should be under an independent Muhammadan Prince, refers to the counter-claims put forward by some people who are opposed to Islam, and observes that their contention that all holy places should be restored to their original owners, e.g., Constantinople to Christians, is a meaningless and shameless contention, as the war now over was not a religious war nor can such a principle be carried out outright.

What the Indian Mussalmans want at present.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 26th April 1919.

98. In the course of an editorial note, the *Samadarsi*, of the 26th April, says:—The Punjab Governor, Michael O'Dwyer, was even before, a heartless administrator, and the *Hindu* attributes all the present unrest and trouble in the Punjab to his heartless administration and policy of repression.

The unrest in India.

NAZRANI DEEPIKA, Mannanam, 25th April 1919.

The *Nazrani Deepika*, of the 25th April, states that while the real object of the Rowlatt Law is to crush anarchism in India, the *Satyagraha* movement, set on foot by Mr. Gandhi to get the law repealed, has resulted in considerable loss of life and property and has to a certain extent stained the reputation of India, refers to the Press Communiqué issued by the Government of India on the subject as well as to Mr. Gandhi's request to the people to give up the movement, and observes that it is a consolation that the unrest in India is gradually subsiding.

DESABHIMANI, Quilon, 26th April 1919.

The *Desabhimani*, of the 26th April, regrets that the *Satyagraha* movement set on foot by Mahatma Gandhi should have taken a turn quite different from what was intended or expected by him, refers to Mr. Gandhi's decision to give up the civil disobedience part of the movement and to the Government of India's recent communiqué on the subject, and calls upon the people to remember that it is the duty of all who are loyal to the King and the country to help the Government in maintaining the laws and peace of the realm.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 25th April 1919.

Writing on the same subject, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 25th April, refers to various explanations given as to the cause of the present riots and unrest in Northern India, thinks that in any case it must be admitted that several blunders have resulted from the wrong policy adopted by the Government, and hopes that the Government will try to find out the real cause of the present unrest in the country, by means of an inquiry conducted by a committee consisting of official and non-official members.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 23rd April 1919.

99. In an article under the heading 'Mahatma Gandhi,' the *Malayali*, of the 23rd April, points out that there is nothing surprising in the united efforts of the whole of India to preserve her freedom, characterises the Rowlatt Law as a measure that deprives Indians of even the freedom which they now enjoy and makes them mere puppets made to dance to the tune of the British, and hopes that the British

Mahatma Gandhi.

Government will not act rashly so as to fulfil the prophecy of the moderates regarding the *Satyagraha* movement.

The *Malayali*, of the 26th April, points out that it is in consideration of the helplessness of the Government that Mahatma Gandhi has suspended the passive resistance movement temporarily, and that he will resume it with increased vigour as soon as the present unrest abates a little.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 26th April 1919.

The Government and the *Bombay Chronicle*.

100. In a note the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 28th April, writes:—Mr. Horniman, the European editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* and a strong friend and supporter of the Home Rule movement, has been deported to England. As the Government have also ordered that all matter for publication in that paper should be passed by the Government, the Directors have stopped the paper. Alas! Alas! Where is the safety for the public press?

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 28th April 1919.

Writing on the same subject, the *Manorama*, of the 29th April, deplores the deportation of Mr. Horniman, and pays him a high tribute for his selfless endeavours for the political uplift of India. It points out that the pamphlet issued by Mahatma Gandhi on the subject speaks eloquently of Mr. Horniman's status in India as well as of the esteem in which he is held by Indians; and tries to impress upon the people that it is entirely rash on their part to create disturbances on that score, though his separation may be a matter for general grievance in India.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 29th April 1919.

Is this rebellion?

101. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 22nd April, referring to the disapproval of the Rowlatt Act by India and the inability of the Government to convince the country as to why such a strong measure should be adopted to deal with a handful of anarchists, writes:—The whole country re-echoes with expressions of disapproval of the Act, but the Government return no better reply than that it is intended only for revolutionists. India is astounded as to why the innocent should be made to suffer with the guilty.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

The public felt beforehand the coming calamity and it disturbed their peace of mind. They expressed disapproval both by words and deeds, and of course they were unable to control their tempers and in the enthusiasm of their belief they forgot all about foresight.

We are aware that by their improper action they have disturbed the peace and caused loss to life and property, but we ask who can say that they rebelled or started a revolution?

The authorities, however, have treated them as anarchists and revolutionists and in certain places they were dealt with as enemies of the State for whose destruction they have recourse to martial law.

The Anglo-Indian papers are of opinion that this is rebellion and revolution which should be ruthlessly eradicated. These gentlemen who are loyal to King and country suggest that no leniency should be shown to the rebels and that the revolt should be nipped in the bud.

The people have certainly adopted a lawless and coercive procedure. Are they disloyal to the Crown and the Throne or to the Rowlatt Act only? Have they announced any change of Government and the substitution of a European or an Asiatic Government for the present one, or have they simply asked the present Government not to pass but reject the Act?

When the people disapprove of a law and have erred by committing improper acts, it is the duty of the Government to exercise patience and practise conciliation in order to correct erroneous ideas. Can the country, that defeated the enemies of the King, or the people, who gave their lives and property for the Empire's cause, now be regarded as rebels? It is astounding! aye indeed astounding!!

Our Anglo-Indian friends are our well-wishers and as well as those of our country. Some think that the Viceroy should be recalled because he is too lenient towards Indians. Others are clamouring for the protection of India in this great danger. While there are others who think the country should be reconquered and governed with a firm hand.

We are opposed to rebellion, murder and rapine, and desire that mischief-mongers, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, should be dealt with as they deserve.

We are against *Satyagraha*, but we cannot support the foolish idea that India is now in danger.

We are aware that there are a few anarchists and revolutionists in the country who are a source of danger to the Empire, and devoutly wish that they may be arrested, and deported to some outlandish place, but it is a deplorable blunder to mistake loyal subjects for anarchists and to fire on them.

We appeal to the Government to grasp the inwardness of the present situation and to treat the public leniently instead of adopting drastic measures against them. It is an error to charge Indians with the odious crime of rebellion and to try to suppress their anger by force of arms. India is undoubtedly loyal and her loyalty is genuine.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 17th April 1919.

The question of the Khalifate and Mussalmans.

102. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 17th April, has a leader on the marginally-noted subject of which the following is a summary:—A meeting of the Anjumani-Himayatul-Islam of Chukkapul, Tanjore, was held on the 12th instant at which the President, Moulvi Haji Ziauddin Muhammad, referred to the question of the Khalifate and said that no interference of any kind with Islam should be made.

A mass meeting of Mussalmans was held in Madras under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hasan in support of the Khalifate in which the President proved Mussalmans could not view with complaisance the decline of the Khalifate.

The writer says that Mussalmans are discharging their duty fully and faithfully, it is incumbent on the Government to see to it that no mistake is made with reference to the question of the Holy places and Islamic countries. Mussalmans can never acquiesce in any Peace that destroys the powers of religion. If the Government make a mistake it will offend nearly six crores of Mussalmans. Moreover it is feared that the Hindus will also join them, and the question will form a part of Indian Mussalman politics. It is worthy of serious reflection that Mr. C. S. Krishnaswami Ayyar in discussing this subject said that Hindus and Muhammadans should unite on the question of the Khalifate.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 20th April 1919.

Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali: the committee's appeal rejected by Government.

103. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 20th April, commenting on the committee's appeal regarding the internment of Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali that Government is justified in its action considering the detenu's aims and actions both before and after their internment, observes:—We do not understand what aims and actions of Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali were revealed to the committee to convince it that the Government was justified in its action.

The editor, referring to the committee's report regarding the other side of the question as to whether both internees may not now be released, writes:—

The committee's opinion is to a certain extent right and proper and the public had hoped that the Government would concur. But the authorities have paid no heed to their advisers and rejected their verdict. The Government was pleased to accept the Rowlatt Committee's report and frame Black Law based upon it, but it turns down the committee's report on internees and consigns it to the waste paper basket, and reaffirms its decision not to release Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. Passing strange!

There can be nothing more disappointing, hopeless, perplexing and unsatisfactory than to find that the Government does not rely even on the committee's decision. Non-Muhammadans have been released in spite of a Governor's objection, but Muhammadans are not set free even on the recommendation of a properly constituted committee. Muhammadans should take to heart the lesson this incident teaches, and repent of their sins before Almighty God.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 21st April 1919.

The recognition of the Khalifate and an announcement.

104. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 21st April, in a leader on this subject, writes:—We have been receiving information regarding the mention of the name of the Kalifa in the Friday sermons.

We regret to find that some of the Mutawallis and Paish Imams are under the impression that it will upset their loyal sentiments towards His Majesty the King and incur the displeasure of the authorities. For persons entertaining such

ideas, we can only pray that God the Most High may rightly guide them. Just as it is our duty to offer our prayers and sacrifices which by the way do not make the Government angry, in like manner, it is not displeased at the recognition of the Kalifa. The British are not so narrow-minded and unjust as to interfere in the religious beliefs of their subjects.

105. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 23rd April, referring to the decision of the committee in favour of the release of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali and the refusal of the Government to accept the recommendation, writes:—It appears that this stubbornness is due to the influence of a few enemies. The correspondent of our contemporary *Searchlight* says that even the Secretary of State for India was willing that Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali should be released but Sir James Meston and Sir Charles Clevland suggested that they should not be let go until after the peace is concluded. It is surprising that the Government's justice and freedom should have given place to envy and selfishness. Does not this fickleness affect the prestige of the Government?

The release of Ali Brothers.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

106. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 23rd April, referring to recent rumours that Lord Ampthill or Lord Willingdon will be the next Viceroy, and to another more recent report that Sir Douglas Haig is desirous of obtaining the office, observes:—We know what qualities a Viceroy should possess, but if only highhandedness and the mailed fist are to be relied upon, we should understand that it will be difficult to convince the world and to treat democratic ideas like so many scraps of paper which may be scattered to the winds.

The next Viceroy.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 23rd April 1919.

107. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 24th April, in a leading article on the marginally-noted subject, writes:—Despite the fact that we have openly opposed Mr. Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement we think it necessary, at this critical juncture, to publish an extract from his address to some of his obstinate followers delivered at Ahmadabad on Monday last with this prefatory remark, the *Jaridah* gives a translation of the address.

Mr. Gandhi's advice.

Jaridah-i-Rozgar, Madras, 24th April 1919.

III.—Legislation.

108. Referring to a statement of the London correspondent to the *Servant of India* that the Rowlatt Law is a serious impediment to the introduction of political reforms and their resulting in any good and that the passive resistance movement started by Mr. Gandhi is the best means of opposing this law, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th April, observes:—This statement has been made by a correspondent of a moderate paper, who echoes the views of the moderates. The same correspondent also says that the Government of India have, by introducing the Rowlatt Legislation, betrayed their incapacity to steer through a stressful period, with foresight and sympathy. Will the bureaucrats here be glad at getting the testimonial given to them by this correspondent?

The Rowlatt Law and reforms.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 18th April 1919.

109. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th April, reiterates its arguments against the Rowlatt Law and pointing to the objection raised to it by even Europeans like Mr. Polak, observes:—It does not appear that the British Government and the British public are aware of the situation here. The whole country is seething with excitement. Is England aware of it? If so, will the Secretary of State dare to approve this Rowlatt Law? If he does so, he will be committing an act likely to injure the confidence of the people in the British rule. Let the authorities reconsider the matter and, giving up their obstinacy, take steps to cancel this law. The action of Lord Hardinge in undoing what happened in the Cawnpore mosque affair only increased the confidence of the people in the Government but did not lower their regard for it. Even now, if Lord Chelmsford should revoke this law, it will increase the confidence of the people in British justice. If it is a fact that Lord Chelmsford is in favour of establishing responsible government in India, let him cancel this law, out of regard for the wishes of the public. If, instead of this, he gets unnecessarily excited, and losing his patience, suppresses newspapers and

The Rowlatt Law.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 19th April 1919.

leaders, it will lead to disastrous consequences. This is borne out by experience in this country as elsewhere.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st April 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st April, quotes the opinion said to have been expressed by the lawyers of Bombay recently, that this law is entirely contradictory to the principles of British justice, and, remarking that it is lawyers that can best gauge the merits or otherwise of any law, asks whether the Anglo-Indians will give up at least hereafter their cry that the Indians condemn the Rowlatt Law without understanding it.

The same paper refers elsewhere to many telegrams sent to the Secretary of State from here about this law not having reached him and observes:—What is the reason for this? Have the Government of India suppressed some important telegrams, or has any demon midway between India and England swallowed these? No information is forthcoming on this point. How are the Government of India going to account for the non-receipt of these telegrams in England?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

Referring to a recent statement of the Government of India that the Rowlatt Act would come into force only after they notify the areas in which the Act will apply, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd April, reports the *Indian Social Reformer* to question the accuracy of this statement and contains the following:—There is a clause in the Rowlatt Act which says that, though the Defence of India Act ceases to exist, those persons who have been dealt with under this Act while it was in force will be deemed to be such as are living in areas to which the Rowlatt Act applies. Those to whom the Regulation of 1818 has been applied will also be considered in the same light. So it is obvious that the Rowlatt Act will come into force in respect of the above people on the day on which the Defence of India Act ceases to operate even without a notification of the Government of India. Some may say that the aforesaid people are revolutionaries and ask whether mercy can be shown to them. But they have been confined without their offences being proved. The power of so confining people was taken by the Government only in view of the emergency of the war and the popular representatives agreed to it only on that ground. Can the people consent to their being kept in confinement without trial even after the war has ended?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd April, reiterates the view that, though the assurance of the authorities that this law will be applied only to anarchists may be accepted, the experience of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act makes it opine that it will be applied, in practice, to suppress the patriots and adds:—There is no doubt whatever that this law will destroy the liberty of man and increase that of the Police. Is it just to punish offenders without a judicial trial, without a vakil and without an appeal? It is quite natural that even loyalists may appear to the Police to be anarchists. The Viceroy may think that the Rowlatt Law is intended to suppress only the anarchists. But it is not fair on his part to argue, without realizing the nature of those who will apply this law in practice. Is not the Press Act applied as the Magistrates will it? Who are those that twist the lectures delivered by the patriots with the best of intentions and alarm the superior officials? The power of the British Government is already centered in the hands of the Police. It is only the popular leaders that know what excesses will be committed by the Police, when the Rowlatt Law is enforced and that is why they try to get it repealed. It is an eighth wonder that the Viceroy and others still support the Rowlatt Law, without realizing its oppressive nature. According to a recent communiqué of the Government, the Provincial Governments have been ordered to get the Rowlatt Law translated in easy style in the vernaculars and distributed to the public, for them to understand its real significance. It is really laudable that they have begun to do a work which we should do. But it is not known what interpretations will be made by petty officials in the meantime. So we would impress on *Satyagrahis* the necessity of their being very careful. The *Satyagraha* sabha in different places should also translate this law into the vernaculars and publish it, giving such particulars as will make the people understand the evils arising from it. Many patriots should be ready to distribute this translation. Let the public judge for themselves the words of the Government and those of *Satyagrahis* and realizing the truth, act as they deem fit.

110. In describing the *Satyagraha* day at Kumbakōnam, the *Yatharthavachani*, of the 7th April, refers to the passing of the Rowlatt Law by the Imperial Legislative Council against the opposition of the non-official members, and remarks that it is the determination of the English officials as evidenced by their words and actions to carry on the administration as they like without seeking the co-operation of the public, that has made the popular leaders, even the moderates among them, take exception to the attitude of the Government.

YATHARTHAVACHANI, Kumbakōnam, 7th April 1919.

The Rowlatt Law and *Satyagraha*.

111. In the course of a lengthy leading article under the heading 'God-made laws and man-made laws', the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 18th April, after explaining how the laws of nature which are also the laws of God are immutable, while laws made by man are only tentative and liable to alteration according to the needs of the times, observes:—When viewed from this standpoint we clearly find that it is wrong to suppose that the laws framed by men are perfect in every way, that they are best adapted for the well-being of the society and the country and that therefore society should obey them implicitly. Mr. Gandhi has begun to solve the riddle of the Rowlatt Act from this point of view. He says that this law is unnecessary because it is opposed to God's law, even though the authorities think otherwise. The *Satyagraha* movement of Mr. Gandhi teaches both the Government and the people at the same time to ponder over the fact that even though the laws of God are not changeable, those of man are. Man-made laws are fundamentally imperfect; such being the case, is it not inconsistent to suppose that laws like the Rowlatt Act are perfect? The authorities should bear this in mind while framing laws. To suppose that whatever they do is solely for the good of the people is the height of self-conceit. It is the desire of all people that the Rowlatt Act should be thrown out by the Government themselves, and hence the innumerable meetings in all parts of the country begging His Majesty and his ministers to veto the Act.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 18th April 1919.

The Rowlatt Act.

Under this heading, the *Godavari Patrika*, of the 15th April, observes that the passing of the Rowlatt Bill in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the people is a blunder and that the repealing of it will not compromise the prestige of Government but will, on the other hand, remove stain on the Government.

GODAVARI PATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 15th April 1919.

The Rowlatt Act.

The *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 23rd April, regrets that at this juncture when India was gratified, and its prestige rose, with the termination of the terrible world war in a complete victory to Britain, the Government should have passed a law that curtails the liberties of India, and hopes that both the leaders of the people and the Government will adopt such measures as will make the recurrence of such agitation and unrest in India, as was caused by the passing of the Rowlatt Law, impossible for all time.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 23rd April 1919.

In a note the same paper says that even though in the present circumstances the law in question may be, to a certain extent, severe, the people have misunderstood its scope, and hopes that the leaders of the people will co-operate with the Government whole-heartedly to do all in their power to remove the misunderstanding.

The *Malabar Islam*, of the 25th April, refers to the passing of the Rowlatt Law, which was inopportune and unnecessary, to the *Satyagraha* movement set on foot by Mr. Gandhi, and to the disturbances in Northern India consequent upon the arrest of some leading persons, and observes that it is a source of relief that the attention of the liberal-hearted and loyal members of Parliament has been drawn to the law in question.

MALABAR ISLAM, Mattancherri, 25th April 1919.

ERRATA.

Report No. 16.

Page 625, paragraph 92, line 6, *insert* 'the' *before* 'Arabian Peninsula'.
,, 625 ,, 92 ,, 15, *substitute* 'Zulkadar' *for* 'Urus'.
,, 626 ,, 93 ,, 5, *insert* 'will' *after* 'themselves'.
,, 626 ,, 93 ,, 17, *substitute* 'An' *for* 'A'.
,, 626 ,, 93 ,, 22, *insert* 'the' *before* 'Khalifate'.
,, 626 ,, 93 ,, 23, *insert* 'that' *before* 'it'.
,, 626 ,, 94 ,, 10, *omit* 'at' *after* 'regret'.

Report No. 17.

Page 645, line 2, from the bottom, *for* 'not all' *read* 'not at all'.
,, 655, paragraph 75, line 8, *for* 'foul force' *read* 'soul force'.

[Issued, the 7th May 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 19 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 10th May 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

1. The *Hindu*, of the 7th May, says:—"The actions taken under the so-called Martial Law are such as would ordinarily have been deemed incredible. The notices issued from day to day by the Military officer constituting new offences, which in some cases are said to have been given retrospective effect, show that arbitrariness and terrorism reign rampant in the province."

Martial Law in the Punjab.

Hindu, Madras, 7th May 1919.

2. *United India and Indian States*, for week ending 7th May, writes:—"We regret to note that the Governments in India, Provincial as well as Imperial, have been scared unnecessarily by recent events. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the present attitude of repression throughout India towards the representatives of the people. If Lord Chelmsford favours reform, we submit that this is a bad beginning: there is a feeling of irritation in this country over recent events which the Government is unwise not to pacify. The deportation of Mr. Horniman is ill-advised; and we are sorry that Lord Chelmsford's reputation is being undermined by unjustifiable acts of this kind. We hope that things are not as hopeless as they seem and that calmer counsels will soon prevail."

The Government of India and the present situation.

United India & Indian States, Madras, 7th May 1919.

The *Hindu*, of the 8th May, has the following:—"As the steady trickle of carefully filtered news from the Punjab accumulates, one gathers that things are being done in the name of law and order which, unless their necessity is established to a far more convincing extent than at present, are bound to have very grave consequences for the future peace and contentment of this country. Public opinion, always ready to support strong measures in the restoration of order, is beginning to view with resentment and dismay the manner in which martial law is being applied. Tyrannical methods are not sanctified because they are applied by a British Colonel and sanctioned by an Irish Satrap. . . Meanwhile the Central Government has apparently taken a holiday. It maintains a sphinx-like silence, its only incursions into the work-a-day world being if rumour speaks aright, an occasional descent from Olympian heights to force the hands of a too lenient Governor. . . There is a rapidly growing feeling that the enthusiasm of Lord Chelmsford for reforms has cooled down and that he has allowed himself to be snowed under by the forces of reaction and repression. If that feeling becomes at all widespread it would constitute one of the gravest menaces to the integrity of the British connection and the consequent happiness of India. The continuance of martial law when the conviction is widespread that it has outstayed a necessity none too clearly demonstrated at its introduction, and the action being taken under it is producing an intense bitterness of spirit which is aggravated by the provocative writings of the panic press. . . The Indian public has had grave doubts as to whether the state of things in the Punjab at any time justified the title 'Open rebellion'. They have no doubt that at present such a title is an absolute misnomer. Sir M. O'Dwyer has had his fling. Is it not possible for the Viceroy to frame a policy that will alleviate the bitterness in the public mind?"

Hindu, Madras, 8th May 1919.

3. *Justice*, of the 8th May, observes:—"Let us remember that the disturbances such as those that took place in Northern India—disturbances which were occassioned by the dastardly lies circulated by the disaffected Indian agitators, are being made use of outside India for disturbing the peace of this country. Can then the men who were responsible for the recent riots be completely absolved from blame in the matter of the storm which is said to be brewing on the North-West Frontier? However that may be, the duty of the Government is plain. The situation and the mischief-makers, high and low, both the inspirers and the active perpetrators of the misdeeds, should be dealt with firmly, drastically and unhesitatingly."

Unrest in the Punjab.

Justice, Madras, 8th May 1919.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 3rd May 1919.

The unfortunate condition of Indians in South Africa.

4. Referring to the resolutions of the First South African Indian Conference, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd May, observes in its leader under this heading:— . . . Soon after the close of the war, India has had to face repressive laws, and the grievances of Indians in South Africa have assumed again the old form, as may be seen from the resolutions passed by the First South African Indian Conference. . . If the administration of the German colonies is to be entrusted to the South African Government which has caused so many troubles to Indians, it may be imagined what the lot of Indians living in those colonies will be. In view of these facts, it is but just that the Imperial Government should deeply consider this subject, redress the grievances of Indians and safeguard their rights before making over new lands to them. . . The grievances of Indians in South Africa, which had existed before the Boer War such as the order prohibiting the alienation of land in certain places to Indians in any manner, the difficulties of marriage and succession, and the taking of thumb-impressions of Indians for purposes of recognition, are still continuing. Speaking at the South African Indian Conference, Doctor Barucha regretted the existence of the habit of officers removing the veils off the faces of the Hindu and Muhammadan women for the purpose of identification. Such an unfortunate state cannot but be very humiliating to Indians. The system of issuing temporary passports for admission into South Africa looks like a system which applies to prisoners. . . The successors to the estate of a well-to-do Indian in Natal who happend to live in Mauritius and India were refused permission by the South African Government to go and stop in South Africa for three months in order to facilitate the execution of the trust of the deceased person even on the offer of good security. . . In South Africa, Indians are not accorded a better place than that of coolies equal to slaves. How long is this unfortunate state of affairs to continue. The doubt arises whether Indians in South Africa can have salvation at any time. . . If the Indians are to be respected by the South Africans, the former should get a footing of equality with the latter. Even the South Africans cannot treat other nations enjoying freedom as lightly as they do Indians. . .

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 5th May 1919.

The Peace Conference and differences of opinion.

5. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th May, objects to the claim of Italy to Finne on two grounds, namely, that it is based on a secret treaty between Italy, France and Great Britain, the recognition of which is opposed to the principles formulated by President Wilson, and that its compliance would be against the objects of the Peace Conference and the principle that the rights of small nations shall be safeguarded as zealously as those of any great Power. The paper regrets that Japan, the only Power which counts in Asia, should drop the question of equality of nations.

With reference to the disposal of Kiaochan, the paper observes:— . . . This decision cannot but be disappointing to the Chinese representatives. But who is there to heed the cry of the weak? In conclusion, we anxiously wait to see how the decisions of the Peace Conference may develop.

Yogakshemam, Trichur, 2nd May 1919.

Peace conference.

6. A note in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 2nd May, points out that in the telegrams regarding the Peace negotiations it has been made clear that there is a clause in the treaty declaring that the losses of the allies should be paid in money by the enemy, and says:—Some people have now begun to express the doubt whether a part of the money thus obtained should not be given to India. What cause is there for such a doubt? There is no reason to think that, in calculating the amount of the losses, the British Ministers will forget the losses sustained by Indians.

II.—Home Administration.

(a) *Police.*

The pay of the Indian Police.

7. Remarking that the poorly paid police constables find it hard to make both ends meet in these days of high prices of foodstuffs and clothing, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 6th May, refers, with satisfaction, to the reply of Mr. Montagu to the question of Colonel Yates in the House of Commons, whether, in view of the fact that the safety and welfare of India depend on the contentment and loyalty of the Police, Mr. Montagu would ask the Government of India to increase, without delay, the pay of the subordinate ranks of the Police department, that it is a matter for the consideration of the Provincial Governments, and hopes that as the Local Government are well aware of the condition of the poor here, they will afford sufficient facilities for increasing the pay of the subordinate Police, now that the question is under their consideration.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 6th May 1919.

(d) *Education.*

The Tamil Pandit of the Presidency College.

8. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th April, reverts to this subject and writes:—Mr. Swaminadha Ayyar, the previous incumbent, was in the grade of Rs. 80—100 and we wish to know the reason for this grade having been reduced to Rs. 60—75. Perhaps the salary of Tamil Pandits is gradually going down, even as the grandeur of the language itself is waning! Then again where is the necessity for a Tamil Pandit to have a knowledge of Sanskrit as required in the notification? Is there any rule insisting upon an English Professor knowing Tamil or an Arabic Professor knowing Sanskrit? It is reasonable to expect that one teaching a language is a scholar in it. If the Government themselves notify that they require a Tamil Pandit, having a knowledge of Sanskrit and English, how can those who have studied Tamil well come up? This notification only confirms the view of many that the Government are themselves ruining the growth of the Tamil language. Now many who have not made a deep study of Tamil are spoiling the language by getting the post of Tamil Pandits in Colleges. For this, we have to blame only the University and the Government, for it is they that lay down the rules in these matters. Evidently the Government have not yet realised that Tamil is an independent language. We have often laid stress upon this fact. But perhaps it is only portions of the *Desabhaktan*, that find fault with the Government that reach His Excellency. If the Government want to understand the real condition of the Tamil land, they should read the *Desabhaktan* daily. The Tamil language is not spoken in any other province. It is only the Madras Government and the Madras University that should support this language. The Presidency College, being a Government institution, should be a model for other colleges to follow. It is really disgraceful that the Tamil Pandit of this college does not get even a third of the salary of the Pandit in Pachaiyappa's College. It will be nobler to get Rs. 30 in some other institution and eke out one's livelihood than to get Rs. 60 in the Presidency College and insult the Tamil language. The Tamil Pandits should not sell their dignity, deeming the panditship of the Presidency College as a royal position.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 29th April 1919.

The School Final examinations.

9. Referring to the holding of re-examinations in English, English History and Mathematics for School-Final candidates in the Kistna, Gōdāvari, Guntūr, Vizagapatam and Ganjām districts, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st May, writes that it is not possible for the students in the above districts to get scent of the examination papers without the same leaking out first in Madras, that under these circumstances it is not just to punish some particular districts and that re-examinations should be held for the whole Presidency. The paper also observes that though the Andhra districts do not participate in the profits of the Presidency, they largely bear its losses.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 1st May 1919.

The School Final Examination.

Referring to the holding of a re-examination of the School Final candidates in the Northern Circars, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd May, writes in its leader under this heading:—

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 2nd May 1919.

. . . We do not know what reasons the Board has to think that the leakage of question papers has been confined only to the five districts of the Northern Circars and not to the others. When all the question papers are printed in Madras, it is difficult to imagine that their contents leaked out only to the far off students of Guntūr, Kistna, Gōdāvari, Vizagapatam and Ganjām districts without reaching the knowledge of students in Madras or in the neighbourhood. If there is any truth about the leakage of question papers at all, it must have been widespread all over the Presidency, inasmuch as the examiners who set these papers belong more to Madras and the Southern parts than to the Northern Circars. . . It is gathered from rumours that there has been leakage in the whole Presidency. . . Apart from the trouble which the Circars students are required to bear unlike their brethren in other districts, this casts a slur specially on the Andhra country. The time given for the re-examination is too insufficient for candidates to make adequate preparation. . . It is but proper that in consideration of the trouble which many innocent candidates will have to suffer for the fault of a few, the School Final Board should drop the re-examination altogether. Otherwise, we request that a general re-examination may be held throughout the Presidency without casting any slur on the Northen Circars especially and that the date of examination may be put off to a month hence.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th May 1919.

A new University.

10. Referring to the proposal for the establishment of a University in the Baroda State, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th May, remarks:—Though the Andhras have been agitating for a separate university for themselves, their efforts do not yet seem to have borne any fruit.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 2nd May 1919.

The education of the Panchamas.

11. The *Manorama*, of the 2nd May, refers to the various causes which check the progress of education among the Panchamas, as revealed by the recent enquiry conducted by the Education Department and by the Government, and to the Government Orders trying to remove these causes, points out that it is highly unjust that the Panchamas alone are not able to enjoy in full the benefits of the huge expenditure incurred by the Government on education, and observes that it is a matter for gratification that this matter is receiving the attention of the Madras Government. It however thinks that as the Panchamas have to depend on others for winning their daily bread they cannot pay sufficient attention to the education of their children even if all their other difficulties are removed, and concludes with the remark that the Government Orders on the subject will produce beneficial results only if the Government grant them lands at cheap rent.

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 5th May 1919.

Panchama education.

In a leading article in English, the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 5th May, generally approves of the recent Government Order on the subject of Panchama education, and says:—We are quite in agreement with the policy of the Government in the matter, and hope that even schools under private management, which are fairly in excess of those under local bodies, will, in due course, willingly admit these (Panchama) pupils into their institutions. Surely, their appeal for the active help of local bodies and enlightened sections of the community, in removing prejudicial social influences, deserves to be cordially responded to.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 3rd May 1919.

The Headmastership of the Madrasa-i-Azam.

12. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 3rd May, on this subject, writes:—Mr. Moss has retired, and the appointment of his successor is awaited. The community is sure that the office will be conferred upon a Muhammadan or the services of an experienced English educationist secured. If the Government desire the community to throw in its lot with the Madrasa-i-Azam, there is only one thing to do, and that is, to appoint a qualified Muhammadan who will be able to infuse the national spirit into education.

The community is not opposed to the appointment of a European Headmaster, but he should be a man who understands Muhammadans and is acquainted with the special character of Islamic education, but they will never agree to the appointment of an ordinary person simply because of his present or past influence. The Aligarh College incident is sufficient to wake up the Government and the community.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 4th May, on the same subject, writes:—In this fell and progressive age we are amazed as to how the Government can contemplate the appointment of a European. Qaumi Report, Madras, 4th May 1919.

The other day a Hindu was appointed as Official Assignee at the High Court of Judicature, Madras, and Mr. Asaf Ali as Secretary to the Punjab Government. The Headmastership of the Madrasa-i-Azam has not at any time been reserved for a European. The fact of the matter is the proposal of the Educational Conference appears to have become out of date. At present there are several able and deserving Muhammadans in the community who are capable of holding a higher post than that of a Headmaster. The Government may take note of the substantial progress the Islamic Madrasa at Vaniyambadi is making under its Muhammadan Headmaster, Mr. Gulam Dastagir.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

13. Concluding from the Government Order reviewing the administration of municipalities in the presidency during 1917–18, that the interest of the people in municipal administration is increasing gradually, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd May, observes:—If the present restrictions on the municipalities are removed and greater liberty is granted to them, the efficiency of the administration will improve and the interest of the public therein will increase. It is a serious defect that only 3 per cent of the residents in municipalities are eligible for voting. We hope that, when the Bill to amend the District Municipalities Act is considered by the Legislative Council, the representative members and the Government will note this fact and increase the number of voters, as it is only an extension of franchise, that will make the people take an interest in local self-government. It is seen that nearly half of the members of municipalities at the end of last year were either Government officials or those nominated by the Government. It is no doubt necessary that there should be a few officials on the Councils, so that these may have the benefit of their experience and advice. We will also concede the necessity for the Government nominating some persons to represent certain minor sections of the community. But where is the need for the Government nominating half the number of councillors? They will vote only in accordance with the wishes of the Revenue Divisional officer. How can it, then, be said that the local administration is being carried on by the people? If this point is noted when the District Municipalities Act is amended and a provision is introduced therein that the Revenue Divisional officers can only offer advice and that the Government should not nominate more than an eighth of the total number of councillors, the municipal administration will become one conducted by the people. Only 61 out of the 72 municipalities had the right of electing the councillors and only 47 had the right of electing their chairmen. If the Government thus keep all powers in their hands and prevent the municipalities from exercising their privileges, it is not known when these can learn to discharge their responsibility. If the Government sincerely wish that the municipalities should gain a good name by doing their work efficiently, the only course is to reform their constitution, by extending the franchise and securing an elected majority in the councils. The power of nomination should be exercised only for securing the representation of minor classes and should not be allowed to be used by Collectors and Divisional officers in honouring their satellites. The evils arising from nomination will be remedied a little, if it is laid down that, for each vacancy, two or three names should be proposed by the elected members and that only one of these should be nominated by the Government. Let these points be noted by the authorities and the members of the Legislative Councils. The reason for a good number of municipalities being heavily indebted is that they have to incur huge expenditure on projects like water-works and drainage and they have not the necessary funds. If they go in for loans repayable in annual instalments, the balance left after they pay the instalments is not sufficient to meet their other necessary expenditure. So the fact that the work of the municipalities cannot be efficient, unless the Government allow them to have a share of a revenue increasing year by year, should be borne in mind when the Act is amended. As the Government have stated that the chairmen of several municipalities have done their work very efficiently, it is

Swadesamitran, Madras, 2nd May 1919.

The municipal administration.

certain that, if sufficient facilities are afforded, the Indians can manage their affairs.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 6th May 1919.

The Malabar Local Boards.

14. In a leading article under the heading 'the Malabar Local Boards', the *Malayala Manorama*, of the 6th May, writes in a strain more or less similar to that of the *Yogakshemam* reported on page 597 of Report No. 16. The paper regrets that, in spite of the existence of facilities and funds, the Malabar District Board has not yet thought it advisable to open a railway line of its own, and observes that such matters also should receive the attention of the Board.

(h) *Railways.*

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st May 1919.

Atrocities on railways.

15. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st May, refers to a young woman said to have been dragged to a private place by an Anglo-Indian ticket collector while she got down from a train in Northern India and observes:—There is nothing strange in the Anglo-Indians holding petty appointments on Railways behaving brutishly like this, for they have neither culture nor character. We often hear of such unjust deeds being committed on the South Indian and Southern Mahratta Railways. Proper steps should be taken at least hereafter to prevent helpless Indian women losing their honour at the hands of these wretched men Will the Railway authorities turn their attention to this injustice?

(k) *General.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd April 1919.

The present situation.

16. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd April, publishes in Tamil the substance of an article in the *Mahratta*, which dwells at length on the events that led up to the recent disturbances in the country and attributes them to the orders passed by the Government against Mr. Gandhi and others. It further points to peace having been restored in Bombay and Bengal by the Governors of these Provinces and describing Sir Michael O'Dwyer as an incarnation of autocracy and condemning his administration, observes that the Government of India have a greater responsibility than he in this matter and suggests that he should be either sent home, as was done in the case of Sir Bamfyde Fuller, or subjected to certain restrictions.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 28th April 1919.

The present situation.

Adverting to the opinion of some that the present unrest in the country may be due to Bolshevism, the *Lokopakari*, of the 28th April, observes:—Whatever may be the cause of the unrest, the Government should come forward to remove the discontent caused by the Rowlatt Law, in view of the new spirit of liberty that has appeared in the world as a result of the war, and of the unanimous opinion of the Indians who are expecting to have the right of self-determination. Sound administration consists only in restoring peace in the country by repealing a measure which leads to riot and discontent. If, instead of this, the Government create discontent among the people, they should note that, though the mischievous acts committed on account of that discontent may be put down at present by means of repressive measures and military force, the tendency for mischief will effervesce secretly and lead to untoward consequences. A Government can prosper only if confidence is placed in the people and the administration is conducted sympathetically.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 29th April 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th April, quotes the statement of Sir Bernard Houghton, that there are no statesmen in Simla, that the Rowlatt Law is based on the principles of the authorities at Berlin and that the Prussian despotism, which was razed to the ground in Europe, is cropping up in India and, characterizing this as a very good certificate for the Government of India with Lord Chelmsford at its head, adds:—The Government have driven out of India Mr. Horniman, an excellent Englishman who spoke out the truth. What are they going to do with Sir Bernard Houghton, who has spoken the truth more forcibly than Mr. Horniman? But he is in England!

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 30th April 1919.

The present situation.

Presuming from a recent speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar at Bombay that he is afraid that the recent events will be a great obstacle in the way of the people

demanding reforms even according to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, the *Swdesamitran*, of the 30th April, observes :—It is our opinion that the recent events will serve as a great example to show that no reform will be useful unless the constitution of the central Government called the Government of India is reformed. In spite of the unanimous opposition of the representative members, the Government of India persistently passed the Rowlatt Law in hot haste, holding even a night session of the Council for the purpose, and this embittered the feelings of the people all over the country and led them to take to the *Satyagraha* movement, and to commit excesses in different places. Though we do not justify the action of the people, the actions of the Government officials were also one of the main causes that created a situation which led to the commission of such excesses. The case of the Punjab can be quoted as an example to prove this. It was in this province that the disturbances were very serious and yet it was this province which rendered great military assistance during the war and helped the Government. For such a province to dare to commit cruel acts in opposition to the Government, the reason should be nothing but a sense of self-respect of the people of that province. Will Mr. Sastriyar inform the British public and statesmen that this is the truth about the recent disturbances, that the unnecessary obstinacy of the Government has pained the whole country and that, to put down the mischief committed by many in the agitation that followed, the Government have ventured to introduce martial law and treat their subjects as people of the enemy countries? The *Satyagraha* movement was started only after the Rowlatt Law was passed. Even granting that it was wrong, is it due to a defect in the administrative policy or to the decree of fate that, after the 150 years of British rule, the people should be in a condition to take to *Satyagraha* and that it should be possible for the Government to enforce martial law on the pretext of the disturbances that occurred at the commencement of this movement? If all those, who go to England on deputation, should impress the above facts on the mind of the British people, they will be doing a great service to their country. The people have to patiently put up with the actions of the authorities done without caring in the least for their feelings. Which Indian will not shed tears when he hears of the details connected with the deportation of Mr. Horniman, who was espousing the popular cause? Will not the Indian heart be pained to read the news furnished by Mr. Andrews about the flogging of a helpless boy? If all these facts are not laid before the English public and relief sought for, what matters it whether we get the reforms or not?

The present situation.

Remarking that the Anglo-Indian newspapers, and especially the *Pioneer*, are bent upon spreading false reports about the occurrences in India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st May, refers to the *Pioneer* having written to the effect that the recent disturbances in the Punjab were caused by educated Indians, whom the Bolsheviks have got into their hands by giving them gold, and observes :—The object of these papers in spreading false stories like this is only to create a wrong opinion in the mind of the English about the Indians. If the British are made to believe that the Indians are a riotous sort of people, they will naturally think that the authorities acted justly in having shot them and treated them cruelly. While we wish with the *Pioneer* that, if any one had incited innocent people to commit a riot, he should be found out by the Government and properly punished, we condemn its view that the political agitators are the cause of the disturbances. The attacks of the *Pioneer* on the people are well answered by the *Indian Daily News* which raises the question as to why the people should hear the words of the agitators, even granting that it is the latter that incite them, when they are kept under subjection by a number of officers from the village headman up to the Collector and points out that, if the Britishers have not within two hundred years understood the truth that repression however mild will be condemned by all, they will never do so. If the British want to secure the entire affection of the Indians, they should alter a little their behaviour towards them. If they would, instead of keeping aloof as belonging to the ruling race, move with the Indians closely and sympathise with them, there is no doubt whatever that the latter would love them sincerely. Love and sympathy will only prevent the loyalty of the Indians from waning, while repression will not increase it. If the bureaucrats will conduct themselves towards

Desabhaktan, Madras, 1st May 1919.

the Indians in accordance with Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, no other subjects in the British Empire will be as loyal as the Indians. If such an affinity is created between the rulers and the ruled, unrest will entirely disappear from India.

The same paper refers to the arrest of the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri and some other leading men and says:—Repressive measures seem to be resorted to in almost every place in Northern India. Though it is necessary that we should, as directed by *Mahatma* Gandhi, co-operate with the Government at this juncture to prevent disturbances cropping up in the country, we pray that the authorities also should refrain from resorting to repressive measures as they like. It is a very easy matter to create an intense excitement in the country. But the bureaucrats should know that it is difficult to allay such excitement.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1st May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 1st May, also refers to the arrest of the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri as well as to the demand of security from the *Independent*, the forfeiture of the security of the *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, and such other events to show that repression is growing strong in several provinces and observes:—As the same policy is being adopted in every province, the responsibility for this should rest with the Government of India. This policy may appear very useful now and may even be appreciated by a few Anglo-Indians, but it behoves the Government of India, who are responsible for the administration of this country, to consider whether it will not create a long standing wound in the mind of the people and whether this is compatible with a good Government. The Bihar Planters' Association has, in its letter to the Government of India, stated that the strong measures adopted in the Punjab have been very effective in that they have altered the tone of the leaders of the agitation and that of the Indian newspapers. We would ask these planters whether if they had been in the condition of the Indians and the rulers of the country did not belong to their nationality, their tone would not have changed. Does the mere fact of a change in tone indicate that they have become satisfied? Is it proper to presume that the people have become terrified by the all-powerful Government beginning to exercise all their powers? If the people are reduced to that position, how can it be a strength to the Government? Pain which cannot be expressed will grow intense inward and consume the heart. A representation to the Government of India about the afflictions caused by local officials and a prayer for an impartial inquiry are not heeded by them and they seem to take the word of these local officials as gospel. There is no other course left to us than to make a representation to His Majesty's Ministers and the British public. But when it is now found hard to communicate news from one place to another even within India, there is no reason to believe that information about the events here will reach England promptly. Still it is our duty to make a trial. News is received to-day of our moderate friends having met at Calcutta and sent a message to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State condemning the policy now adopted by the Government. When a body including Sir Sivaswami Ayyar, who was once a member of a Provincial Government and knows all the responsibilities of the Government, has condemned this policy, we need not dilate upon its repressive nature. The resolution passed at the above meeting of the moderates represents the real attitude of the people. Will the Government of India and the Secretary of State realise this and appoint a committee consisting of officials and non-officials to make an inquiry into the recent events, as urged by all the parties in the country? We would put Lord Chelmsford in mind of the advice given by Lord Morley to Lord Minto that a repressive policy will not lead to any permanent good. The Government of India should note the request of the moderates that Sir Michael O'Dwyer should no longer be continued as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Will Lord Chelmsford note that Lord Canning, who was Viceroy of India in 1858, regretted eventually that he was duped by his subordinates.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st May 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st May, also invites the attention of the Government to the resolutions passed by the moderates about the present situation and says:—When the moderate leaders, who are in the confidence of the Government of India, have expressed this opinion, why should not Lord Chelmsford listen to it? Will the Government act upon the advice of the moderates at a critical juncture that has occurred in the country?

The *Desabhaktan*, in its issue of the 2nd May, reverts to the situation in the Punjab and remarking that the policy adopted by the authorities there and the opinions expressed by the Anglo-Indian papers put one in mind of the troubles during the Sepoy Mutiny, adds:—We cannot believe that either in Lahore or in Amritsar or in any other portion of the Punjab, there is any rebellion against the Government. The restrictions imposed upon the people in the Punjab and the measures adopted by the authorities raise many questions in the mind of the public. It is necessary that the Government of India should hereafter at least promptly inform the people whether there was or is or will be any rebellion in the Punjab against the Government of His Majesty. Though the actions of the officials there make others believe that there is a horrible rebellious spirit in the Punjab, a little consideration will dispel that belief. So, if the Government do not openly state that the people of the Punjab did commit a mistake and that they are being justly punished for it, we are afraid that the Indians, who are already discontented, will grow more discontented. The official communiqué issued by the Punjab Government itself makes it clear that the disturbances occurred only after certain definite action taken by the authorities and an impartial judge will therefore attribute them only to certain special circumstances and not to a preconceived plan. We think the Government of India have committed a mistake in allowing Sir Michael O'Dwyer continue in the Punjab after his term was over; for he has unfortunately not at all gained the love of his subjects. Of all the Governors who have come to India till now, he is detested most. Compared with him, even Lord Pentland is a good man. We do not think his continuance in office will allay the unrest. Though it may disappear on account of his repressive measures, we do not think permanent peace will be restored. So we suggest that he should be relieved and his successor allowed to take charge, which, we feel sure, will get rid of all unrest. As often urged by us, it is only love and not repression that will bring the rulers and the ruled together, and, unless there is a close affinity between the rulers and the ruled, peace will not prevail in the country. The discontent in the Punjab will not stop there. Will the people of the Madras, the Bengal, and the Bombay Presidencies be quietly seeing the hardships suffered by their brethren and sisters in the Punjab? It is necessary that the Government should publish without delay the full details about the disturbances in the Punjab.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd May 1919.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 3rd May, publish the proceedings of the public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall on the 2nd idem to protest against the present policy adopted by the Government in the Northern India and the deportation of Mr. Horniman and the former comments on this meeting in the following strain:—The President, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur T. Ranga Achariyar, was not at all justified in stating that the disturbances in the Punjab and elsewhere were due to *Satyagraha*. The people say that Mr. T. Ranga Achariyar is an aspirant for the place of a minister when the reforms are introduced. Quite in consonance with this he seeks the favour of the authorities and speaks disparagingly of true patriots and we are afraid this will cause discontent among the Indians.

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 3rd May 1919.

The present situation.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 3rd May, and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th idem, publish in Tamil the remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hasan at an entertainment given in his honour, on the occasion of his departure to England as one of the Moslem deputation, and the former paper invites the attention of the authorities and others, who blame the *Satyagraha* movement, to the statement made by him in the course of his remarks that it was this movement that prevented the occurrence of more serious disturbances in Delhi and other places and that, but for this movement and Mr. Gandhi's advice, far worse mishaps would have happened.

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 3rd & 5th May 1919.

Adverting to the propaganda work now carried on by the Government with the idea that the false statements of the agitators have created wrong impressions in the mind of the people about the Rowlatt Law, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th May, writes:—The pamphlets issued by the Provincial Government and the Government of India do not explain the Rowlatt Law correctly. The authorities only assure the people that this or that thing would not be done. This does not satisfy the people. And again, they wish to learn about this law only from their leaders and are not prepared to listen to Government officials on the matter. All the

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th May 1919.

same no sincere worker for India will hesitate to co-operate with the Government at this juncture to secure peace and quietude in the country. But this co-operation will be of any use only, if there is mutual love and confidence between the rulers and the ruled. The authorities rely on pseudo-patriots among the Indians, who care only for titles and status, and who have no settled principles. If they understand the real object of these people, they will not allow them to approach them. It is the *Satyagrahis* that seek the peace of the country like the authorities and almost all the leaders belong to this class. So it is the co-operation of these that the authorities should secure for maintaining peace in the country. While the union of the Government with real leaders of the people is sure to lead to victory, their co-operation with false leaders will not confer any benefit on either the people or the Government. If there is no change in the present disturbed atmosphere, there can be no love between the authorities and the people. As the authorities conduct the administration here as the representatives of the British Government and as it is necessary that the people should be affectionate towards the authorities, the existing rupture between the two should be healed and the authorities can secure the affection of the people only if they secure the co-operation of the popular leaders. Do not they realise that it is only union that will secure victory?

The same paper refers to the order served under the Defence of India Act upon a gentleman, who was staying with the Ali brothers at Chindwara, that he should leave the place within 24 hours and says:—The Defence of India Act is thus applied in unjust ways. If we write about this, the bureaucrats get provoked. It is not possible to speak out the truth in these days. What can be done?

Desabhaktan, Madras, 6th May 1919.

Anent the news that there is an anarchist association of Indians in Russia and that the members thereof were trying to foment rebellion in India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th May, observes:—We do not know if this is a fact or a clever concoction of the press correspondents in England. News received to-day from London shows that it is believed that the Bolsheviks have sent money to India. It is not clear how this can be done or who receives it in India. Are the Secret Police, who are expert spies, sleeping? If this is true, the Indians should not only condemn it but also bring to light those that are connected with such a movement. But a suspicion arises in our mind, whether this is only the outcome of the usual attempt of the Anglo-Indians to make much of any unrest in India and, attributing it to most absurd causes, create a panic among the people and in the authorities.

Desabhaktan Madras, 24th April 1991

The Tilak case.

17. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th April, reproduces the view of the London correspondent of *New India* about this case, questioning the attitude of the Judge who tried the case from the very beginning and the justice of the Government of India having deputed one of its officials to help Sir Valentine Chirol in this case. This appears in the London letter in *New India* of the 12th idem.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 26th April 1919.

Is there happiness in India?

18. In a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th April, makes the following observations among others:—All the people in India now enjoy only the pleasure resulting from hearing the word happiness. Food and clothing are essential for man and the prices at which the articles connected with these are sold now are known to all. The wages of the labourers in villages and towns range between Rs. 8 and Rs. 14 per month and how can they maintain their wives and children with this small sum? If a census is taken about how many in a poor family have only one meal a day, how many starve and how many subsist only on greens and water, the happiness of India will become patent. Those who quote figures for these items will become victims to the *mountain deities*. What can be done? When in villages even cattle, which were happy, grazing the grass in forests and drinking water in the rivers, are starving like men, is any reply needed for the question whether there is happiness in India? Poor people having petty incomes are sending their children to factories and for doing mean work under Europeans, on account of their hard living and these children become useless to the world when they come of age. Now how do the officials fare? The word 'officials' indicates

those who, wearing a coat and a turban, do slavish work. Every office can be compared to a forest. Just as stronger beasts are teasing the weaker in the forest, the higher officials in an office are practically killing their subordinates daily. The truth about the material condition of the families of many officials, who dress decently, is that they are immersed in debt. How can these officials be happy? It is a question whether students, having no family burden, are happy. It is a patent fact that the existing Universities in India instil a feeling of fear and dejection in the mind of the student. So it is no exaggeration to say that even students do not have happiness in India. It is only those in the nether world that will credit the patriots and editors of newspapers here with any happiness. No one suffers as many hardships in India as these patriots and editors. A true patriot and a conscientious editor are expecting danger every day and are dreaming of it. Ah! What are we to say of the happiness of India!! Some *deities* may be provoked at our complaining about it. But if these *deities* would give up enjoying the sea breeze and having a pleasant time of it on the hills and go round the villages with us for some time, they will not be angry with us. It is not known when India will see happiness. How can she come to have it? Mr. Gandhi will show the way.

Lord Sinha.

19. Referring to the rumour that Lord Sinha may be appointed as the Governor of a Province here, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th April, says:—There is nothing strange in Mr. Sinha, who has been made a Lord and appointed as Under Secretary of State for India, becoming the Governor of a Province! He has been given the high position now occupied by him, only with the idea that no racial difference should be made in conferring high appointments. Perhaps it is because no Indian has been appointed as Governor till now, that the British Government have decided to appoint Lord Sinha as such, even though it is inferior to the position now occupied by him.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

Steamship companies and Indian enterprise.

20. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th April, reproduces in Tamil a letter written to the Press by Rao Bahadur K. S. Venkatarama Ayyar of Negapatam laying stress on the Indians starting steamship companies and the Government giving them a helping hand in this matter.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

The 'Montagu-moderates'.

21. Describing those who have joined the Madras Liberal League as belonging to the party of the 'Montagu-moderates,' the *Dravidan*, of the 26th April, says that some of the members of this League have never taken any part till now in politics or public work and that their intention in coming out now is only the hope of getting some high appointments when the 'Montford' reforms are passed, and, remarking that they want only political liberties without the corresponding responsibilities as is evidenced by their opposition to the Rowlatt Law and their condemnation of the action of the Government in the matter of the recent disturbances, observes that Mr. Montagu will lose his faith in these moderates and understand their deceitful intentions as soon as he sees their cables about the present situation, and even if his attachment for them makes him disinclined to expose their defects. the British public are sure to know their nature and begin to detest them.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

The milk problem.

22. Referring to the sanction accorded by the Government for the purchase of four bulls of a high breed arriving from England and the permission given for their use by the local cowherds for purposes of crossing so as to improve the breed of cows generally which is a *sine qua non* for solving the milk problem in the city, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 26th April, disapproves of the system proposed of the Government reserving a right to purchase the calves born of such crossing for a fixed price and suggesting that as the calves will remain amidst unhealthy surroundings during the period that they are with the cowherds, the Government will do well to purchase calves of good breed from Ongole soon after they are born and rear them in Government farms, observes that, if the bulls of a superior breed, such as are now brought by the Government, are purchased and maintained by the Corporation, it would be a help to milk-dealers in the city to secure and rear a good breed of cows.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

23. The *Dravidan*, of the 26th April, reproduces in Tamil an article contributed by Mr. Har Dayal in the *New Statesman* which is published in the *Justice* of the 25th April 1919.

India and Indians.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

24. The *Dravidan*, of the 26th April, also reproduces in Tamil the comments of the *Justice* of the 25th idem, under this heading appreciating the endeavours of the Government to ameliorate the condition of the depressed classes and, pointing out the different ways in which the object of the Government can be secured such as the introduction of free primary education, free gift of books to *Panchama* boys, award of scholarships and also rendering financial aid to these classes.

Depressed classes.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 28th, 29th & 30th April 1919.

25. The *Dravidan*, in its issues of the 28th, 29th and 30th April, publishes the address delivered by Doctor Nayar at a meeting held on the 25th idem in the *Justice* office to concert measures to send a non-Brahman deputation to England and to carry on propaganda work on a more extensive scale.

The non-Brahman deputation to England.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 26th April 1919.

26. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 26th April, quotes a communication sent to the *Leader* by Mr. C. F. Andrews about those contravening the martial law in the Punjab being flogged in the public street, wherein he says that the military authorities should realise that the people of this country would deem such a punishment to be a worse indignity to them than even death and that such occurrences are neither excusable nor forgettable and asks if it is not possible for the Viceroy to show that his powers are superior to martial law and prevent the continuance of this punishment.

The condition of the Punjab.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th April 1919.

Referring to the above communication, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th April, remarks that it is brutal to flog persons who had committed petty offences under martial law and horrible to do this in the open.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 29th April 1919.

Remarking that the recent events in the Punjab would naturally bring to mind the rule of Cromwell in England, though the Martial Law now in force in the Punjab and the military rule of Cromwell do not agree, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th April, says:—What amount of hardship the English suffered under the military rule of Cromwell! But that was in the seventeenth century. That Martial Law should be enforced in this twentieth century, when the light of civilization is deemed to have spread throughout the world and engendered in all people feelings of equality and fraternity, and that in India under the rule of the British, who combine benevolence and justice and protect liberty and righteousness, will cause grievous pain not only to the Indians but to all true British citizens. Every one, in whose veins true British blood is running, is bound to detest the flogging in the Punjab.

The condition in the Punjab.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 1st May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 1st May, reproduces a communication addressed to the *Benglee* by Mr. A. Giles of Calcutta condemning the flogging in the Punjab in strong terms, wherein he says:—The conduct of the authorities in Lahore, actuated by military arrogance, will bring disgrace on the British rule in India. Will those who think they can achieve anything by military strength lay their hands upon their conscience and reply to these two questions, viz.:—

The condition of the Punjab.

(1) Have the measures adopted by the authorities, as a result of military arrogance, altered human nature in any part of the world at any time?

(2) Are the measures adopted by the authorities now in India compatible with the position of His Majesty the King-Emperor as the Protector of the Faith?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 5th May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th May, has a long leader on the situation in the Punjab wherein it questions the necessity for the declaration of martial law there in the very beginning, quoting extracts from the communiqué of that Government itself to support its view, and dwelling at length upon the orders issued by the officer in charge, the latest of which authorizes the removal of all electric lights and fans in private buildings for the use of the troops garrisoned there, refers to the impropriety of continuing the martial law, seeing that no attempt has been

made there after the 16th April, either to create a riot or to overthrow the Government.

27. Anent the demand of a security of Rs. 2,000 from the *Sind Advocate*, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th April, says :—Demand of security is the talk everywhere now. The bureaucrats are utilising a barbarous Press Act for threatening printers and editors. We do not think, and the impartial world is sure to agree with us, that a Government, which conducts the administration by threatening the people not to express their grievances, does not deserve that name. How long are the bureaucrats going to afflict the newspapers by means of this Act? We would apprise the Government that their action in this matter will weaken the foundation of the British rule.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th April 1919.

The application of the Press Act.

Referring to the action taken recently against some of the newspapers in Northern India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd May, says :—All the papers that have suffered during the last week are nationalist ones. The Government, perhaps, think that they can restore peace in India by means of these repressive measures or believe that the people would be afraid of such measures. The history of the world teaches that repression never leads to peace and contentment but only increases discontent and unrest. It is regrettable that Lord Chelmsford, unaware of this truth, is giving room to rudeness. Every one will admit that the cause of the present disturbed condition of India is Lord Chelmsford's system of administration. It is not known when he will acquire good sense and change his system. Our readers may understand one thing from his regimé and that is that he his fitted only to be the Commander-in-Chief of an army and not to govern a big country like India with skill and forethought. This is the opinion of the literate.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd May 1919.

The application of the Press Act.

The *Desabhaktan* refers, in its issue of the 5th May, to the *Tribune* of Lahore appearing without a leader for the last few days and the *Punjabi* being controlled by the authorities and observes :—The British pay no attention to the fact that it does not become their race to deprive the Indians alone of the liberty of speaking, writing and meeting within the free British Empire. Perhaps they crush the Indian papers and editors on the impression that it is derogatory to their prestige that the latter should enjoy the privileges enjoyed by them.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th May 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th May, writes :—The court martial at Lahore has sentenced one to transportation for life for having spread a false rumour. But the *Englishman* is making haphazard statements about the disturbances here, such as that the Bolsheviks have come here from New York and that it is at their instigation that the Indians are now committing these disturbances. Such false rumours will create a panic not only among the people but also in the authorities, and it is necessary that papers spreading such rumours should be punished. Perhapas the Press Act does not apply to the Anglo-Indian papers which mischievously make irresponsible statements.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th May 1919.

28. Pointing to an observation of a correspondent to the *Herald* that the cause of the excitement of the people throughout Egypt is the action of the British bureaucrats there in having prevented the people from exercising the right of free speech or holding public meetings and suppressed the nationalist newspapers, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th April, observes :—Even here, in India, we are prevented from holding public meetings and expressing our grievances in the matter of the suppression of our nationalist papers. Unrest, discontent and anger are spreading throughout India as in Egypt. The Viceroy is trying to resort to rudeness, unable to satisfy the Indians. Those that are incapable of governing the Indians quietly exercise power here! This is nothing but our misfortune.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th April 1919.

Egypt and India.

29. Referring to the cessation of the *Bombay Chronicle*, on account of the 'disgraceful' restrictions imposed on it by that Government and the deportation of Mr. Horniman, its editor, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th April, writes :—This is a curious time indeed! It has become usual for the Government to adopt unexpected and unnecessary measures. We do not see what necessity

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 28th April 1919.

The deportation of Mr. Horniman.

there is for resorting to repression in Bombay, seeing that even the small excitement that was caused there immediately after the arrest of Mr. Gandhi has now cooled down and the *Satyagraha* movement also has been suspended. At this juncture it does not seem to be sound statesmanship to suppress a paper which favoured the people and deport Mr. Horniman who was doing his work conscientiously, without having any racial difference. Mr. Horniman deserves the same treatment from the Government as Mr. Gandhi, for he was as much responsible for suspending the civil disobedience to laws as Mr. Gandhi, and the deportation of such a person shows a complete lack of statesmanship on the part of the Government. We have to presume from the starting of repression in quiet Bombay as is done in the tumultuous Punjab that the Government have decided to extend it throughout the country. The cessation of the *Chronicle* will greatly weaken the nationalist party in Bombay. The order against this paper was passed under the Defence of India Act. None of the Indians ever dreamt when this Act was passed that it would be applied to matters like this. They thought and the authorities also expressed in effect, that it would be used only against the enemies of the king. But now it has been used so as to make political propaganda work impossible. How can we believe that the Rowlatt Law would not be applied like this? The order against Mr. Horniman might have been issued under the Defence of India Act or an old Regulation passed in the time of the East India Company, empowering the Government to deport some Europeans. who committed misdeeds here for the purpose of making money, so as to prevent their fleecing the people here. If Mr. Horniman had been deported under the latter Regulation, its application should be deemed to be curious indeed. If a law intended to protect the people from mischievous persons is applied to a friend of the people, it makes us doubt if we are under British rule in the twentieth century. As the authorities conducting our Government are highly cultured we have a doubt to be cleared by them. The people of many countries have struggled for obtaining their rights and those in power there have resorted to repression. But have the authorities won in the end anywhere? Was it not the popular party that won in every country eventually? We request the authorities to answer these queries with reference to history. What if the *Bombay Chronicle* stops or Mr. Horniman is deported? Both these events will be more prejudicial than beneficial to the Government. They will create a deep wound in the mind of the Indians. Can this add to the strength of the Government? Let the authorities note the words in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria that it cannot.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th April 1919.

In commenting upon the same subject, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th April, says:—It is really the misfortune of India that, at a time when the whole world is wishing for peace and quietude, Lord Chelmsford happens to be Viceroy here, so as to injure that peace and quietude in this country. In Government by repression, Lord Chelmsford surpasses Lord Curzon. His actions cannot surely maintain a peaceful atmosphere in India. He seems to favour the atrocity of shooting down innocent people. History will not fail to record that the cruelties of Lord Pentland and Sir Michael O'Dwyer were committed during the regimé of Lord Chelmsford and it is patent that this Viceroy has agreed to Sir Michael in his actions. It is a rule observed by Indian Kings that no arrow should be aimed at an unarmed enemy during a war. It is the principle of Lord Chelmsford perhaps to use guns and bombs against unarmed people. The British observe it as a principle that the public should not be fired upon. But events contrary to this principle are occurring in the regimé of Lord Chelmsford, who will doubtless discharge the duties of a Commander-in-Chief more efficiently than those of a Viceroy. It is really strange that he is not moved even after realising many innocent lives having become victims to bombs. In the rule of Lord Chelmsford, the Defence of India Act is afflicting only patriots and newspapers and it is for the readers to judge herefrom what feats will be performed by him with the help of the Rowlatt Law. Perhaps Lord Chelmsford deems patriots to be anarchists! His policy is plainly to suppress all those who work for the progress of the country sincerely, and the deportation of Mr. Horniman proves this. Being an Englishman, Mr. Horniman will never seek to injure the English rule. Seeing that the bureaucrats in India acted against English principles, he was condemning their action, on account of his strong attachment to the English rule. He has

never spoken or written about anarchism, nor was he ever a party to an anarchist movement. Instead of condemning the Indians like some Anglo-Indians, he deemed the former to be British subjects and attempted to get rid of their grievances. All true Englishmen will detest the conduct of the bureaucrats. When Lord Chelmsford has deported even an Englishman, who strove for the progress of India, without joining the anarchists or seditionists, need we say what orders he will pass against Indian patriots? Without stopping with the deportation of Mr. Horniman, the bureaucrats have practically stopped the *Bombay Chronicle* too. The suppression of this paper may be said to injure the progress of the country in a way. But the more the nationalist papers that become victims to the bureaucrats, the greater will be the benefit to India in the future. We do not know if Lord Chelmsford thinks that the deportation of Mr. Horniman and the suppression of the *Chronicle* will bring down agitation in India and that, if the people agitate, he can put them down by means of bombs. There is no doubt that the repressive policy of Lord Chelmsford will go on increasing unrest and disturbances in India. We will stop with the remark that it is against principles of humanity that, having ignorantly resorted to a repressive policy, Lord Chelmsford should suppress the agitation resulting therefrom, by means of weapons. It is after all good that Mr. Horniman is proceeding to England, for he can work for India there along with our representatives. He can explain to the British public the cruel acts committed by the bureaucrats in India. Our people should not be afraid of the action taken by the Government against Mr. Horniman and the *Chronicle*, nor should they create any disturbance. Patriots and nationalist papers should be prepared to undergo punishment, until the bureaucracy gets tired of punishing them. We should not give up constitutional agitation until Lord Chelmsford abandons his repressive policy and takes to a kind one.

The deportation of Mr. Horniman.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 3rd May 1919.

While protesting against the deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman to England, the *Andhravani*, of the 3rd May, observes that his fearless articles in the *Bombay Chronicle* bear testimony to his sympathy towards India, and that it is not well for the Government to create an impression that the authorities are having recourse to such an unjust measure, being unable to prove the guilt of the persons concerned.

Mr Horniman's deportation.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 1st May 1919.

Referring to the deportation of Mr. Horniman and to Mr. Gandhi's pamphlet on the subject, the *Malayala Manorama*, of the 1st May, says:—Mr. Gandhi's pamphlet raises Mr. Horniman to the heavens, but does not try to reveal that he has any fault. We do not see any reason to think that the statement of Mr. Gandhi that all the people of India will be greatly pained on this account, cannot but appear to be meaningless except to the extremists in India.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 3rd May. 1919.

Writing on the same subject, the *Samadarsi*, of the 3rd May, observes that the deportation of Mr. Horniman, which is an irreparable loss to India, and the stopping of the publication of the *Bombay Chronicle* have caused intense pain to Indians, especially to the people of Bombay.

The fibre industry in India.

VIVEKABODHINI Madras, February 1919.

30. Referring to the appointment of an expert by the Government to investigate the condition of the fibre industry throughout India, with a view to find out the further uses to which the hemp fibre manufactured in the mills in Bengal may be put, the *Vivekabodhini*, for February, observes:—Though the investigations of this expert will be carried on all over this country, he is empowered only to submit recommendations. With Dacca as his headquarters, it seems, he will commence his investigations with the hemp plant. If he devotes his attention to the new uses to which the plantain and other fibres available in South India may be put, he will, besides conferring a great benefit on the Indians, secure a good profit for the Government. At present these fibres are used only to make cloths, canvas and ropes. We understand from ancient works that the fibres of certain trees were being utilised for rare purposes. Is it not within the province of this expert to investigate about all this? So will it not be very appropriate, if only one acquainted with the habits and customs of our country is made to deal with such subjects?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 29th April 1919.

The food situation.

31. In reproducing the remarks of *New India* of the 28th idem, discussing the attitude of the merchants in Rangoon regarding the price of rice and pointing out that Mr. Innes, the new Controller of Foodstuffs, should definitely inform these merchants that the price of rice already prescribed cannot be altered on any account, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 29th April, refers to the loopholes that now exist for the dealers in Rangoon in making abnormal profits on account of all kinds of rice not having been controlled, and insists upon Mr. Innes making the mill-owners and paddy merchants there understand that, if they are bent on making profits by evading the rule, they may have to face the complete stoppage of their export trade.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th April 1919.

The Madras Tramways.

32. Remarking that the increase of fares by the Madras Tramway Company with effect from the 1st May is sure to cause a serious hardship to the public and more especially to the petty officials, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th April, does not accept the two main reasons alleged for the increase, namely, the payment of enhanced wages for the staff, and the increased cost of the materials purchased by the company, as satisfactory ones, and adds that it is the absence of a provision in the agreement of the Tramway Company with the Corporation prohibiting constant changes in the fares without the consent of the Corporation, that gives room for the company to alter the rates frequently.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th April 1919.

Ireland and India.

33. Referring to the fact that a petition signed by 140 Military officers in Ireland has been sent to the Prime Minister for being submitted to the King-Emperor, taking exception to the law which links Ireland with England and stating that the latter is now demanding her rights, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th April, asks:—What will be the result if Military officers in India present a similar petition?

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 29th April 1919.

The trade of India.

34. Remarking that, if the Austrians and the Germans, who held the major portion of this trade before the war, should come into the field again for having a share in this trade with the Japanese and the Americans, who hold the major portion of it now, there is no chance whatever for the industrial and commercial pursuits of the Indians coming up, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 29th April, refers to the fact, ascertained from the statistics regarding trade in 1917–18, that India had to pay 23 per cent more for the European goods imported by her, while she got 18 per cent less for those exported by her and observes:—This may be attributed to the war. But this state of affairs will have to continue at least until the different countries are reconstituted. If it is decided that the Austrians and the Germans should have no share in the Indian trade, it will reduce the demand for the Indian raw products and thereby the Indians will have to pay a high price for the goods imported by them, while getting a low price for their raw products India is not capable of bearing this loss and, if the trade of India should be carried on like this for some years, some are afraid that her condition may become pitiable. It will not do to say that the Indians were greatly benefited by the war and that the industries of the country began to improve on account of it. If the Indians are to come up in trade, they should have the liberty of improving their industries and trade as they think best. The object of the Indians is to increase the wealth of the country and thereby be a tower of strength to the British Empire. The industries of the country can be improved only if the raw products available here are manufactured into several marketable commodities here alone. The wealth of this country cannot be increased by the development of industries here with the aid of capital and labour of foreigners.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th April 1919.

Our work.

35. In a leaderette the *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th April, lays stress upon the necessity of union among the Indians especially at this juncture when there is every likelihood of the Indian Reforms Bill being introduced in the Parliament shortly and remarks:—The Rowlatt Law resembles a mountain-snake in the way of India's acquisition of Home Rule, and quite naturally the attention of the Indians was centred, after the introduction of this law, on devising means to get rid of it. Thus, though this law aims at destroying the primary rights of Indians, it has, at the same time created such a feeling of unity among them, as was not witnessed till now. The

Satyagraha movement started by the people to express their opposition to the Rowlatt Law has spread from one end of India to the other. But a few traitors, trying to hamper the progress of India, took advantage of this opportunity to incite the ignorant people at Delhi and elsewhere to create a disturbance and it is to put down such disturbances and restore peace that Mr. Gandhi has suspended certain phases of this movement. At present, the Indians are in the hands of Mr. Gandhi and it is only he that can secure union among them. Without such union the efforts of our representatives proceeding to England will be of no avail.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 29th April 1919.

The order of the Madras Government on the present situation.

36. Remarking that, though the recent communiqué of the Government of India says that some people have created misapprehensions in the minds of the public about the provisions in the Rowlatt Law, and professes to explain these provisions correctly, many among us having a knowledge of law cannot accept that this communiqué points out the provisions of the law correctly, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th April, refers to the order issued by the Local Government in pursuance of this communiqué and observes :—It is noteworthy that, while republishing the communiqué of the Government of India, our Government have not stated that agitators attempted to increase the unrest by spreading false notions about the Rowlatt Law among the people. To the best of our knowledge, nothing of the kind happened in this Presidency. We, as well as other Indian newspapers. have been only pointing out that the Rowlatt Law has deprived the accused of the privileges he has under the ordinary laws. So, Lord Willingdon's Government can very well understand that, as far as this Presidency is concerned, there are no grounds to justify the statement that misapprehension about the Rowlatt Law has been created. It does not appear that this Government thinks it necessary to use here the Defence of India Act and some old Regulations, as has been done by the other Provincial Governments. But we doubt whether some assurances given in their order to the District Magistrates and other officials, may not be misinterpreted by them to mean the grant of absolute powers to them to a large extent. There is no need for this Provincial Government to have assured the District officers of their readiness to support their actions in using their powers for putting down and punishing persons creating preconceived riots, etc On the strength of this assurance much fuss might be made by some District Magistrates. There is no reason whatever to apprehend the commission of either riots or any acts affecting public peace in this Presidency. Ordinary propaganda work will be carried on quietly and, if on the strength of the above order, any Magistrate should interfere in such work, it will excite the people. When the Government are not inclined to prevent meetings connected with the *Satyagraha* movement or the expression of public opinion in other ways, where is the necessity for telling the Magistrates that they have power to stop meetings if they consider such to be prejudicial to public peace? They have such power already and therefore this reminder may make some hasty Magistrates think that the Government want them to use this power. So, it would have been better if the Government had expressed their views more clearly.

Then, again, the statement in the order that, as looting, etc., may occur again soon after the harvest and other agricultural operations are over, on account of the speeches and writings of the agitators especially in the vernacular papers with a view to lower the prestige of the Government, emergent steps should be taken to prevent such disturbances, shows that the Government have not correctly understood the causes of looting last year. We are not aware of any newspaper having permitted in the past the publication of articles lowering the prestige of the Government. Nor do we think that such articles will be permitted in the future. The last looting was due to the hardships caused by the sudden rise in the prices, the reasons for which were not known to the people, and to the impression that the merchants had by a compact increased the prices. The Government might have prevented the looting by explaining the real situation to the people, and by imposing restrictions on the merchants. But they paid no heed to the warnings given. Even now, their responsibility cannot cease by the issue of this order. What provision have the Government made to enable the labourers to make a living when labour becomes scarce? We request the Government to do something for giving them relief.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 29th April 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th April, also refers to this order of the Local Government and says:—We expected that Lord Willingdon's rule would be glorious but considering the way in which he is proceeding we have to think otherwise. We are greatly surprised at Lord Willingdon having issued a foolish order under the impression that a fearful agitation might crop up, and that the executive officials should therefore be given large powers as a precautionary measure, without realising that the people of this Presidency are a very quiet lot by nature. The Indian leaders are as anxious to preserve peace and order in the country as Lord Willingdon who came yesterday. Let him therefore refrain from giving effect to this rude order and conduct the administration with the support of the Indian leaders Let him take courage from the fact that the people of this Presidency are now ready to co-operate with the Government in obedience to the command of their leader *Mahatma* Gandhi. Lord Willingdon has evidently become perplexed without understanding the attitude of the people here, as is seen from a reference made in his order to the prospect of a repetition of last year's looting. What is the use of engendering unnecessary fear and creating a panic among the people? We request Lord Willingdon to judge facts with a calm mind and conduct the administration quietly. He makes again a thoughtless statement in the order that the newspapers especially the vernacular ones are misinterpreting the laws of the Government to the people. We have condemned the action of the Government in often blaming the vernacular papers unnecessarily. Taking, for example, the Rowlatt Law, can the Government prove that any vernacular paper or papers misquoted this law? If any paper had done so, why cannot the Government specify it? It is cruel to bring a blind accusation against vernacular papers generally. As far as we are concerned, we are ready, as directed by Mr. Gandhi to co-operate with the Government at this critical juncture and we believe other vernacular papers will do the same. It is also stated in the above order that the closure of shops, strikes and obstructing traffic and trade are undesirable things, and that notice will be taken of any who commit such acts hereafter. No one appears to have obstructed trade or traffic in the city even on the *Satyagraha* day. Why should Lord Willingdon refer to things which never happened and why should he again presume that what did not occur till now will occur hereafter? We ask whether this is a foretaste of the policy of this Governor. There is a rumour that some leaders of this province are going to be dealt with under the Defence of India Act. If the Government do contemplate any such thing, we pray Lord Willingdon to give up such an idea. We appeal to his good sense not to make the situation worse by committing several evil acts and wounding the minds of the people.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th April 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th April, points especially to the statement in the order that the lootings of last year may be repeated this year and observes:—The Government have only marked out the repressive measures in anticipation of such disturbance but have made no mention of any remedial measures adopted by them to prevent a recurrence of the situation. What can the poor do? The prices of articles indispensable for living are increasing day by day and the people are finding it difficult to have even half rations. We do not know whether Lord Willingdon has paid any attention to this matter. We need not point out here that it is the foremost duty of the Government of Madras to try to relieve the hardships of the poor.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 30th April 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 30th April, however, appreciates the order and asks all loyal non-Brahmans to co-operate with the Government in putting down disorder.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 30th April 1919.

37. In a short note under this heading, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 30th April, observes:—The bureaucrats incessantly say that it is only the educated few among the Indians that evince an interest in politics and that the general public have neither interest nor enthusiasm in political matters. However, are they noting the trend of the times and the consequences of their exercise of power? What is the attitude of the public, since the passing of the terrible Rowlatt Law? How many Indians are there now who take no interest in politics? Even women whose lot, according to some, is confined to the house and the kitchen, have come forward to discharge their duties in political matters. Are our rulers aware of these facts? The

The trend of the times.

stronger the exercise of power by some authorities, the greater is the enthusiasm of women and the general public in political affairs.

Mr. Gandhi and the *swadeshi* vow.

38. The *Dravidan*, of the 30th April, reproduces in Tamil some of the sentiments of the *Justice* of the 29th idem under the heading 'The Mars of malcontents' taking exception to the *Swadeshi* vow taken by Mr. Gandhi and the propaganda work started by him in connexion therewith, and asking the Government not to tolerate his crooked ways and teachings, which are thoroughly ill-suited to India.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 30th April 1919.

Cotton trade in India.

39. Adverting to the remarks of Mr. C. N. Wadia at the annual general meeting of the Bombay Mill-owners' Association that the Indian cotton trade is likely to be injured by the competition of Japan, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 30th April, observes:—Cotton twist used to be supplied to China from India and there was a decrease of 36 per cent in the quantity of the twist usually exported to China. The Japanese not only carry away Indian cotton to their country, but also send their cotton goods to India and obtain profits by selling them in competition with the Indian weavers. The quantity of such goods has been increasing day by day and is now ten times what it was. Mr. Wadia has emphatically stated that, if the Japanese trade should go on increasing at this rate, the Indian trade with China would completely disappear in the course of ten years. So we should have our own ships to improve our trade and an export duty should be levied on all Indian cotton taken to countries outside the British Empire. We hope the Government will render assistance to the Indian merchants in regard to these two items.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 30th April 1919.

Indian medical profession.

40. Referring to the fact that over 900 of the Indian medical graduates did service in the recent war cheerfully and valiantly, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 30th April, points to the high officers in the Indian medical service, created for the benefit of the Indian troops, being usually selected in England and observes that it will give immense pleasure and satisfaction to the Indian troops if they are treated by Indian doctors. The paper refers to the call of the Government of the Punjab in June 1918 to Indians versed in English medicine to take military service in view of the fact that the Indian soldiers have a claim to get treatment at the hands of the Indian doctors who are conversant with the vernaculars and can well understand their temperament, and concluding therefrom that the British Government also have begun to share the opinion of the Indians that it is better that medical men attached to the Indian troops are Indians, urges upon the Government the justice of conferring the higher posts in the Medical Service on Indians when the department is reconstituted.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 30th April 1919.

Satyagraha.

41. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th April, reproduces in Tamil a communication addressed to the *Independent* of Allahabad by a vakil of Nagpur, in which he suggests that *Satyagraha* should be applied to reduce the income of the Government and of the classes that are making big profits in India, and, referring to the different sources of income to these two parties, points to the feasibility of (1) people reducing their income to below Rs. 2,000, the taxable minimum so as to avoid paying income-tax to Government, (2) vakils and Barristers trying to suspend their business for at least six months, (3) doctors refraining from demanding fees from patients, (4) all vakils refraining from taking new work or cases which may not succeed for some months and influencing people not to go to court, (5) people, especially the rich, giving up the habit of consuming foreign liquor and (6) people not purchasing foreign articles such as piece-goods, tea, cherroot and motor-cars. The correspondent himself takes a vow not to appear for any new cases till January 1920, not to wear European dress and not to purchase the foreign articles noted above and says that, if his suggestions are adopted, the Rowlatt Law is sure to be repealed within six or seven months and the reforms introduced in 1919.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th April 1919.

The same paper invites the attention of the vakils here to the vow taken by the vakil in the above communication and says:—Why should not all the vakils, who clearly realise that the Rowlatt Law is an unjust one, refrain from appearing in courts of law until this law is repealed, following the example of our Nagpur

friend? If they will do this, that law is sure to be repealed soon. But have our vakils the courage to establish justice like this?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 29th April 1919.

Irrigational facilities in Southern India.

42. Adverting to the fact that the Government of the Punjab are contemplating the expenditure of crores of rupees on improving the irrigational facilities there, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th April, remarks that neither the Government nor the popular leaders pay any attention to several irrigational projects in Southern India which will cost only some lakhs of rupees and adds:—In portions of Pattukkōttai and of the districts of Tinnevelly and Madura there are no wet lands at all on account of absence of irrigational facilities, and this causes no little hardship to the people. Such facilities can be afforded in these places and the work will also create a living for the poor in these days of famine. The Buckingham Canal and some other canals in the south came into existence only to create a living for the people in famine times and the names of the officials who were responsible for these works are recorded in history. Now there are no officials of that type and all the attention of the existing officials is centred on keeping the people under subjection.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th April 1919.

The present situation and the Government of India.

43. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th April, writes:—The communiqué recently issued by the Government of India says that there is a rebellious spirit in some places in the Punjab. We do not know on what basis they came to this conclusion. None of the telegrams received from the Punjab indicates the existence of such a spirit. The occurrences in the Punjab are only ordinary disturbances resulting from differences between the people and the authorities. It is true, loss of life and property was indiscriminately caused by ignorant people; but these were so excited that they had no idea whatever of the consequences of their acts. No one appears to have attempted to attack the officials of the Government or to overthrow the Government of His Majesty established under law in this country. These disturbances can be said to indicate the existence of a rebellious spirit only if those who created them harboured such ideas. It is not at all proper to describe the disturbances which resulted in the loss of a few European lives as rebellion and try to suppress them by unsympathetic measures. The authorities at Lahore and Simla have, we think, become unnecessarily frightened by the disturbances of the people. There was no disturbance whatever in any part of India during the four years of the war. If, as deemed by some Anglo-Indian newspapers and thoughtless officials, the Indians are carrying on an anarchical agitation, they should have resorted to it only during the period of the war. The whole world knows that one of the main aims of Germany during that period was to bring about a rebellion in India. If the Indians were disgusted with the British Government, would they not have fallen victims to the evil devices of the enemy? But, which classes in India hesitated to render aid to the British in the war? In spite of the fact that they were suffering immeasurable hardships under the officials of His Majesty the King-Emperor, the Indians helped the Empire with men and money for the war, under the impression that that was not the time to express their grievances. This help of the Indian people and princes was appreciated both by the British public and the bureaucrats in India and the loyalty of the Indians was openly applauded. But what does the present communiqué of the Government of India show? Is this the reward for the loyalty of the Indians? The use of guns and throwing of bombs from aeroplanes should be resorted to only in a period of war. This is the first time in modern history that such cruel measures have been adopted to suppress the disturbances of the people and those who resorted to these measures had to allege the existence of anarchism before doing so. . . But the officials seem to have forgotten one thing. What reply can they give to the public when they are asked, after quiet is restored, about the reason for the disturbances in the Punjab and the propriety of the measures adopted by them to suppress those disturbances? Though the Anglo-Indian newspapers and petty officials have no responsibility in this matter, can the Viceroy representing His Majesty here escape from such responsibility? He quietly allowed Sir Michael O'Dwyer to have his own way. We hope that, if the Viceroy has a real interest in the progress of India and the welfare of the British Government, he will wake up at

least now and do the needful. The Government may punish the people, but are they not at the same time responsible to them ?

44. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st May, refers to the appointment of the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Achariyar as Vice-President of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George and remarks:—We hope Mr. P. Rajagopala Achariyar will conduct himself in this seat agreeably to the progress of this Presidency. We expect that he will not exhibit his cavilling tendency in public matters, even in the time of Lord Willingdon, as he did in that of Lord Pentland.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st May 1919.

The Vice-President of the Madras Council.

Referring to the appointment of Mr. P. Rajagopala Achariyar as the Vice-President of the Madras Legislative Council, the *Manorama*, of the 2nd May, points out that up to this time, no Indian had been appointed to this post, and congratulates the Government on this appointment.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 2nd May 1919.

The Vice-President of the Madras Legislative Council.

45. Referring to the recent order of the Government of Madras, regarding the preparation of electoral rolls for municipalities, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 5th May, observes:—No special amendment in either the District Municipalities Act or the Local Boards Act is necessary for increasing the number of voters, because there is a provision in the Acts themselves, empowering the Government to frame rules from time to time for the election of members of such bodies. If the Government, who have now come forward to extend the franchise, had done it some years back, many would have got trained in election matters and acquired a capacity in administrative methods. But the Government have been very slow till now in developing self-government. The fact that the franchise is not sufficiently wide is urged as an objection to grant self-government to India. If the number of voters had been increased 20 years ago, far wider electorates would have come into existence by the time the Southborough Committee came here, than what was really the case. The party hostile to India want to hamper the reforms on the ground that the franchise is limited and that the existing electors have not the required experience. How can a large number of people gain experience in choosing representatives, unless they are given the power of voting ? Is it the fault of the Indians that they have not a training in self-government ? It may, perhaps, be argued that want of sufficient education was the cause for not extending the franchise to many till now. But this argument cannot stand. As no educational qualification has been prescribed for a voter, it is clear that education is not necessary for local self-government. Even the right of voting enjoyed by the graduates in the Madras city has been recently taken away. So want of education could not have hampered the extension of franchise. Anyhow, we are grateful to the authorities for increasing the municipal franchise at least this year.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 5th May 1919.

Franchise in municipalities.

46. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 1st May, publishes a summary of the proceedings of a meeting held at Paramakudi on the 27th ultimo under the auspices of the Paramakudi Home Rule League, at which Mr. B. V. Hanumanta Rao of Tiruppur is reported to have stated that the people have no responsibility whatever in the existing system of administration, that they have to pay many taxes, that industries, etc., indispensable for life have become ruined on account of several causes, and that responsible Government is necessary for India to get rid of all these evils and condemning the Rowlatt Law, appealed to the people to observe the *Satyagraha* vow of Mr. Gandhi till this law was repealed and to be prepared to become the guests of His Majesty by entering the prison if necessary. All those assembled are reported to have then taken the *swadeshi* vow, as suggested by the above speaker.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 1st May 1919.

A meeting at Paramakudi.

47. Referring to the statement of the London *Times* that the Reforms Bill would not be drafted on the lines of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, but may be based on it, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd May, observes:—The meaning of this statement is that India will be granted a Government responsible to the people gradually according to the declaration of the 20th August 1917, which is the basis of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The British statesmen will take their stand on this

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd May 1919.

The Indian reforms.

declaration and altering their position suitably to the times and interpreting it accordingly, carry their point in the end. So we can easily presume from the statement of the *Times* that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme will be abandoned. The *Times* again says that the opinion of the Provincial Governments may prevail. All the Provincial Governments are already against the grant of liberal reforms to the Indians and the efforts made by the Indian Civil Service men and the European Chambers of Commerce make it clear that the Provincial Governments and the European associations are against the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. As soon as the August annoucement was made, Mr. Tilak pointed out that the meaning of the phrase 'Government responsible to the people' occurring therein was not clear, that British statesmen would interpret it as they like to suit the times and that it was therefore necessary to understand this fact in the beginning. But many of our leaders, and especially the moderates, did not pay any attention to his words. We have to presume from the statement of the *Times* that Mr. Tilak's words would now prove true.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 3rd May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 3rd May, reproduces in Tamil St. Nihal Singh's article in the *Commonweal* narrating the views of Commander Wedgewood about Indian political reforms as expressed by him in an interview the writer had with him.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 3rd May 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Hussain.

48. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 3rd May, appreciates the appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Hussain as the First Member of the Board of Revenue and remarking that he was the first Indian to be appointed as a Member of the Board, observes that his promotion now as the First Member proves the efficiency of his work as a junior Member.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 5th May 1919.

Government pensioners.

49. Referring to the fact of the head of the province of Assam having got provoked by a Member of that Legislative Council, who is a Government pensioner, having condemned the excise policy of the Government, and taunted him by remarking that he had earned nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees as salary from that Government and was receiving a pension still, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th May, observes:—The salary and pension drawn by the Honourable Member was only in lieu of work done by him and not a gratuitous gift. If it should be insisted on that those who served the Government should not criticise their actions, what should be the provocation of the Indians at those who, after holding offices in India, both high and low, and amassing much money, return to England and work against the Indians in the press and on the platform?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th May 1919.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Achariyar.

50. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th May, refers to a rumour that the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Achariyar will be appointed as a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and says:—If this is true, Mr. Achariyar is really fortunate. But we are not prepared to answer the question whether he will be in any way useful to the Indians. The Indians will not be glad, whether he be the Minister to the Viceroy or is transferred as the Secretary of State for India or even as the Minister of the South African Union Government.

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 22nd April 1919.

Ordinance No. 1 of 1919.

51. Referring to the Government of India communiqué and Ordinance No. 1 of 1919, the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 22nd April, writes under this heading:— . . . The Rowlatt Act is the root-cause of all these disturbances. The public as well as the non-official members are against it. Next come the *Satyagraha* movement and the arrest of *Mahatma* Gandhi. All these causes have contributed to the disturbances. If the Rowlatt Act had not been passed or even though it was passed, if His Excellency Lord Chelmsford had withheld his consent to it, in our opinion, there would have been no disturbance at all. At a time when the people are labouring under a mortification, it behoves His Excellency to pacify their hearts by gentle words. But to wound their feelings still further by passing these stringent orders cannot be of the least good to any one. May His Excellency be pleased even now to try for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and also the Ordinance. . . However trying it may be, the leaders should be calm and farsighted, and should direct all their energies to allay the unrest by advising the people to keep peace.

52. The *Desabhimani*, of the 23rd April, publishes in Telugu portions from the presidential address at the Gōdāvari District Conference at Tuni and with reference to the remark, that as soon as the change raising the taxable income from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 was announced, the income of those paying income-tax on Rs. 500 had increased to Rs. 1,000, makes the following comment:— . . . The President has thus shown by experience that an Act runs in one way and its operation in another. . .

The Gōdāvari District Conference.

DESABHIMANI, Guntūr, 23rd April 1919.

53. Under this heading, the *Desabhimani*, of the 23rd April, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the Ponnur Firka Ryots' Conference held at Mannava in the Guntūr district on 13th April 1919 and the resolutions passed thereat, requesting the Government to repeal the Rowlatt Bills and protesting against the proposed enhancement of water-rate.

The Rowlatt Bills and water-rate.

DESABHIMANI, Guntūr, 23rd April 1919.

54. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Vykhanasa Patrika*, of the 15th April, complains that, in certain places, Collectors are giving permission to scheme suits without hearing the parties and are thereby causing great loss to priests and that the trustees appointed in consequence of the scheme suits are misappropriating the temple funds and requests the Government not to recognize the authority of the Dharmarakshaka Sabha in religious matters, but to decide the claims of priests to temple lands on their present enjoyment, though no documents may be forthcoming. In conclusion, he prays to Collectors and to the Advocate-General to see that mischievous people do not interfere with the rights and privileges of priests by scheme suits.

Temples.

VYKHANASA PATRIKA, Egavaripalaiyam, 15th April 1919.

55. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Vykhanasa Patrika*, of the 15th April, prays that the Government may be pleased not to be prejudiced by the representations of the enemies of priests, to issue favourable orders at an early date on the memorial presented to the Secretary of State by the Vykhanasa Association and to pass a law so that neither sections 92-93 of Civil Procedure Code, nor the judgments issued under them, nor the unjust suits brought by such enemies may apply to the inams of priests.

An appeal to the Government.

VYKHANASA PATRIKA, Egavaripalaiyam, 15th April 1919.

56. Referring to the recent disturbances in the Punjab and the repressive measure which those necessitated, in its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th April, observes:— . . . Sir Michael O'Dwyer has resorted to arbitrary methods, and is praised by Europeans. The result remains to be seen. . . We have to remark that the authorities and their friends will do well to understand that it is inner disposition and not external environment which is essential for the establishment of peace. It is commendable that the Madras Government has adopted peaceful methods in this respect. But the communiqué issued by it giving instructions to its subordinate officials in pursuance of the Government of India message to allay disturbances contains some strange ideas. . . The adverse ideas about the Rowlatt Bills have been spread by the non-official members of the Legislative Council, and Mr. V. S. Sastri is openly criticising those Bills. . . The remarks made by the Madras Government on vernacular papers are not just. Whatever service the vernacular press may be doing and however free it is from the pungent remarks usually found in the English and the Anglo-Indian papers, it incurs the displeasure of the authorities and gets its reward of rebukes from the Government.

Self-sacrifice.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th April 1919.

57. Referring to the message of Mr. Gandhi condemning violence, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th April, writes under this heading:— . . . Though the war has ended, a social and economic war has broken out. When the western civilisation has failed to establish peace in the countries in its own pale, its chances of success in a foreign country are very remote. Aeroplanes, machine-guns, bombs and poisonous gases are of little use for the establishment of peace. Truth, harmlessness and righteousness are the main foundations of permanent peace. . . The communiqués issued by Government from time

The good counsel of *Mahatma* Gandhi.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th April 1919.

to time show that they have committed themselves to a policy of repression. The deportation of leaders and editors, the forfeiture of the newspaper securities, the application of martial law and such other events point to the same conclusion. It is not known who may suffer at the next moment. Murders, disturbances, and acts of rowdyism are unrighteous. The righteous can fearlessly preach the doctrine of right. The refuge of mankind is self-sacrifice which is the embodiment of truth, and not the oppression of others, which is the embodiment of falsehood. Ill-will begets ill-will, while love begets love. . . While the rulers and other leaders are in dismay Mr. Gandhi gives his counsel with a calm mind. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th April & 3rd May 1919.

The Second Bhimavaram Taluk Conference.

58. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th April and that of the 3rd May, publish in Telugu the proceedings of the Bhimavaram Taluk Conference held on 27th April 1919, summaries of the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed thereat.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th April 1919.

The Madras Legislative Council elections.

59. In the course of a letter under this heading a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th April, writes:—. . . While public men in other provinces are devoting their attention to other movements, our leaders are obliged to waste their time and energy in these election campaigns. It need hardly be pointed out that all this is the gift of the late Governor Lord Pentland. We hoped that the new Governor at least would bestow better consideration on the subject, but that hope also is gone. . . We cannot soon forget the names of the late Mr. Gillman or of Lord Pentland, the ex-Governor, or of Sir Alexander Cardew who has ceased to be a member of the governing body of the Province. There is a verse in Sanskrit which says that a man should become famous by braying like an ass or by some means or other. Just as we cherish the memory of good men, we cannot foget the names of those who have done evil. To come to the subject, these elections seem to have come about now to accentuate again the Brahman and non-Brahman differences which are fast disappearing and to strengthen the non-Brahman agitation. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1st May 1919.

Panchama boys and schools.

60. Referring to the Government Communiqué on the question of admission of Panchama boys to schools under the management of local bodies and Government, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st May, observes in its leader under this heading:—. . . Mr. J. M. Turing, the President of the Bellary District Board, writes thus: ". . . It is common with parents in any country in the world to be unwilling to allow their children at school to mix with the boys of other castes differing in customs and manners. Nowhere is this state more common than in England." Nobody would try to justify the position of Panchamas on the strength of these remarks. But the Anglo-Indian papers, the Indo-British Association, the Nairites and some social reformers, who are prone to cry always hoarse that India alone is the abode of racial distinctions and that its people are unfit for self-government on this score will do well to peruse the remarks of Mr. Turing. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1st May 1919.

The Moderates' manifesto.

61. Referring under this heading to the resolutions adopted about the present situation by the Moderates Committee which met at Calcutta, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 1st May, remarks:—. . . Leaving out the *Satyagraha* movement, there seems to be no difference between the Moderates Committee's resolutions and the All-India Congress Committee's. . When all parties in the country insist upon the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, it is the primary duty of the Government to respect the desire of the people.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 30th April 1919.

The hereditary right.

62. Referring to the proposal of Government to remove the hereditary right of village officers, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 30th April, writes:—. . . The Government think that on account of the hereditary right they are not able to get capable village officers. . . The remedy for this is to increase the qualifications of village officers. If the nearest heir does not possess these qualifications, some other member of the family should be selected for the office according to the Hindu Law of primogeniture. . . Since village officers will be unwilling to forego

their hereditary right, we think that the Government will do well to grant their prayer.

63. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatika*, of the 2nd May, observes that Bombay has been perfectly quiet under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, that any unrest would have been alleged, if the authorities had availed themselves of his assistance without imposing restrictions upon him, and that even now they may find the task of establishing peace easy with his help. The paper wishes that the advice of Mr. Gandhi may foster the spirit of self-restraint in the rulers as well as the ruled.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd May 1919.

Self-control.

64. Referring to the promotion of cordiality between the European and the Indian communities, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd May, remarks under this heading:—. . . If the social relations between the two communities are to be strengthened, the Europeans must work for the grant of a political status to Indians equal to their own.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd May 1919.

Cordiality.

65. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd May, observes that as most of the members of Co-operative Societies do not know English, it is better that Telugu-speaking people should have a separate conference and a separate Registrar for their district.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd May 1919.

An Andhra Co-operative Conference.

66. Referring to the examination of the persons of women for arms in connection with the distubances at Amritsar, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd May, writes under this heading:—. . . The Government states that men should not examine female passengers and that those found in doing such an act would be liable for punishment. When proceedings are being taken under the terrible Martial Law, it is the duty of the Government to see that its subordinate officers will not go beyond their legitimate powers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd May 1919.

The Amritsar disturbances and the Government communiqué.

67 In the course of a letter under this heading, a correspondent to the *Hitakarini*, of the 27th April, writes:—. . . An average ryot will generally have nothing but the debt bond remaining with him after paying the expenses on account of cultivation, water-rate and *mamuls* to the Public Works Department and other officials. God only knows how he is able to maintain his wife and children in these circumstances. In the great belief that ryots are hoarding thousands of rupees as a matter of course, the authorities have thought fit to act high-handedly on the pretext of controlling paddy by curtailing its export, and by forcibly taking possession of the paddy stored by merchants in towns and by ryots in villages for their private consumption in the year. To relieve famine, income-tax and the salaries of such officials as the Governor-General, the Governor, the Collector and the District Judge will have to be reduced and some posts will have to be abolished. What is the use of exercising this authority over dumb ryots? If the prices of such articles imported or otherwise as bengal-gram, chillies, sugar, kerosine-oil, cloth are reduced to their normal rates, it is impossible that the price of paddy can create any trouble. As there is no use of applying medicine to one spot, while the disease is in another, it will be well to proceed with a clear grasp of the situation. . . . In case the authorities give up their high-handedness and reduce the prices of articles specified above, the very next moment will the price of paddy fall from Rs. 10 to Rs. 6 a bag. . . In the name of famine, nothing else than an increase of officers and salaries seems to have been done. I hope that my brother-ryots will work in this movement and see that the bad practice, which is being carried on in the name of 'Control', is put an end to.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 27th April 1919.

Control of paddy and the high-handedness of authorities.

68. The *Hitakarini*, of the 27th April, publishes in Telugu the resolutions passed at the Twenty-eighth Kistna District Conference held at Kovvur.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 27 th April 1919.

The Twenty-eighth Kistna District Conference.

69. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd May, publishes in Telugu the memorial on the present situation submitted by Pandit Malavya on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee to the Premier, the Secretary of State and Lord Sinha.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd May 1919.

Tragic situation in India.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 3rd May 1919.

The representative of Uriyas.

70. Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 3rd May, recommends the name of the Raja of Mandasa (Lieutenant) to the Madras Government for nomination as a member of the local Legislative Council, if the Government have no mind to renominate the Zamindar of Sergada, and says that the Raja of Mandasa has been a member of the Taluk and District Boards for eight years.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd May 1919.

The history of a village panchayat.

71. Reviewing the history of the village panchayat of Rambakam in Villupuram taluk published by Mr. E. V. Sundara Reddi, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd May, observes under this heading:— . . . The book contains much useful information. If the proposals made by the author such as the provision of financial aid from local Boards and the Government and the grant of small powers are adopted, village panchayats are bound to prove a success.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 3rd May 1919.

A public meeting.

72. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 3rd May, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of a public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall on 2nd March 1919 to condemn the lawlessness of the people, and to pray for the repeal of Martial Law in the Punjab, summaries of the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed thereat.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th May 1919.

The chief cause.

73. Referring to the article of Mr. A. Nandi in the *Leader* on the causes of the present unrest, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th May, writes under this heading:— . . . Mr. Nandi is a moderate and his views cannot be one-sided. The official charge that the present unrest is the outcome of the false rumours spread by agitators about the Rowlatt Bills had never been made before the disturbances occurred. Moreover, the Government have ample opportunities of knowing in time these rumours and their authors through their agents. The Government have been hitherto in the habit of saying that agitators have little influence on the people. How, then, were they able to create unrest among the people all of a sudden? Even the extremists are for maintaining the British connection, for they know that India cannot have self-government otherwise. There are no reasons to suppose that there is any widespread conspiracy or Bolshevik campaign in the country. This may simply serve to explain away the present unrest somehow or other; but to get at the truth, the matter should be thought over far more deeply. There is not the least doubt that the Rowlatt Bills which have taken aback the people who look upon British justice as the richest asset of India have accentuated the unrest which is due to some other causes such as the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy referring to the position of the Indian Civil Service under the new Reforms Scheme, the opinions of Provincial Governments on the question of reforms, the rise of prices of food-stuffs, the increase of the salaries and the pensions of high-paid officials, the failure to take any action upon the recommendations of the Public Services Commission, the absence of proper endeavours for the introduction of compulsory education and for the rapid improvement of industries, the discontent among the Muhammadans regarding the Turkish question and the non-compliance with their request to have their own representative in the Peace Conference and the continuance of the internment of prominent Hindus and Muhammadans even after the war. But, however complicated the circumstances may be, it is bad that people should lose their discrimination and resort to disturbances. No Government will tolerate such excesses. We have often pointed out before that the people should co-operate with the Government in restoring peace. At the same time, it is not proper to employ more force than is required to put down disturbances. Since disturbances have been put down now, martial law should be withdrawn. There can be permanent peace only when the real causes of unrest are ascertained and removed in consultation with the leaders of the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th May 1919.

A Labour Union meeting.

74. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th May, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of a meeting of the Madras Labour Union held on 3rd May 1919 at Perambur and the speeches of Mrs. Besant, Mr. John Scurr and Mr. B. P. Wadia. A report of the same meeting appears in English in *New India* of the 5th May.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th May 1919.

News from the Andhra country.

75. Under this heading the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th May, publishes the letter of a correspondent stating that the labouring classes of Kaldindisima in Kaikalur taluk, Kistna district,

are in dire need of food and clothing, and requests the Government to open immediately some famine relief works such as the construction of wells and tanks which would be of immense relief to the suffering people there.

Godavaripatrika, Rajahmundry, 29th April 1919.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

76. Reviewing the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 29th April, writes under this heading:—. . . On the pretext of disturbances, he has introduced martial law in some localities and is harshly insulting in many ways some at least, though not all. He is about to lay down his office, and what are the results of his regimē of five years? The Rowlatt law, disturbances, censorship, flogging of men in open streets like cattle or at least rumours to that effect are the results. Do you call him capable or incapable? If he be really capable, why should there be so many disturbances? He has eaten India's salt so long, and it is time he spent the remaining years of his life in happy retirement in England. It is our firm belief that such administrators do more harm than good to the country. Till yesterday, he has been saying that there is no province in India, which is so loyal as the Punjab. Could His Excellency the Viceroy sanction without his advice the application of such cruel laws as martial law, which are generally used against men who are no better than brutes or against the people of a newly conquered country? Is he not responsible for the application of these laws? Are not those against whom these laws have been used, human beings? Have they become brutes and barbarians? Why should this law be employed against them? What is the reason for a people, once highly extolled for their loyalty, becoming so spoiled now? Is it the result of his administration? What else is it? Will there be anarchy, if the Government is good? . . . In connexion with the recent disturbances, he has pressed into service machine-guns. Why should machine-guns be used against ordinary people? Is this sanctioned by the laws of the civilised world? . . . According to Hindu military laws, no warrior should attack an unarmed man. . . In the recent disturbances, what has necessitated the use of guns and rifles? The people did not come prepared to wage war. What justice is it to kill unarmed people by means of guns? . . . The people in the Punjab are more heroic and warlike than those of any other part in India. Such warlike men should not be insulted in public streets. Lions should not be treated as kitten. The people of the Punjab belong to the race of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who was ruling till but yesterday and it is unnatural that valour will be dead in them so soon. . . This great person (Sir Michael O'Dwyer) is not fit to rule such men who are as brave as lions. A more peace-loving ruler is required for this province. . . It is hard to expect that the people of the Punjab being warlike will easily forget the wrongs done to them and their leaders. . . Their hearts will be burning with resentment as long as martial law is in force. . . The people cannot but suspect that the loss of four European lives has enraged the rulers. . . Englishmen, and especially, the rulers and the governing body must know that Indians will resent the loss of Indian lives as keenly as Europeans do the loss of European lives. Of course, Indians cannot retaliate and they should not. The law does not permit it. Still, how can the resentment within subside? You may ask what is the use of helpless people harbouring anger? There will be no danger from them, but we think that to rouse the lion-hearted people of the Punjab is not safe in the interests of statesmanship, and the present and future well-being of the country. As remedies to put down the unrest, we suggest three courses: firstly, the repeal of these cruel laws; secondly, the repeal of the Rowlatt law; thirdly, the revoking of martial law; and finally, the immediate posting of a gentle and loving ruler over the Punjab. Unless, these proposals are carried out, there will be no peace in the country; nor will it be well for the Government. The Government should treat the Punjabis as their equals and not as strangers inferior to them. Laws should not be used against them as against the people of the south. Though painful, we have said all this, as we cannot help saying it out and feel that we have discharged our duty. It now rests with the Government to do what they please.

Godavaripatrika, Rajahmundry, 29th April 1919.

Thirteenth Gōdāvari District Conference.

77. The *Godavaripatrika*, of the 29th April, publishes portions of the speeches of the President of the Thirteenth Gōdāvari District Conference and the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 3rd May 1919.

78. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 3rd May, writes:—The three hundred millions of Indians revealed the might of their hearts on the 6th April, the *Satyagraha* day, and removed the slur cast on the whole nation by the repressive laws. . . Awakened the energy hitherto lying dormant in the nation has now burst out. . . The people cannot tolerate the repressive laws which have been a blot on the mutual relations between the rulers and the ruled in this country. . . If the authorities had in the people a tithe of their faith in the might of rifles and cannons, there would have been no loss of life in Delhi. . . The authorities deserve every praise for the opportunity they have afforded through repressive legislation for the strengthening of union among the people of India and for the awakening of their national life. The Hindu-Muhammadan problem will never appear again in India. The Government of India should represent the prevailing feeling in the country to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The day of triumph.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 3rd May 1919.

79. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 3rd May, writes to the following effect:—Disturbances are more common in dependencies than in countries under popular governments. The ruling authorities in the former generally resort to repression in critical times without realizing that it does not pay. When the Punjab Government is incensing the people by applying such punitive measures against them as flogging of men in open streets and throwing bombs from æroplanes, it is the duty of the Government of India to stop them. None, however fallen, can brook such insults, though Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who is well known for his abnormal passion, may have no objection to them. We appeal to the Government to display statesmanship at the present critical time and strengthen the relations between the rulers and the ruled by conciliatory methods.

Arbitrary exercise of power.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 3rd May 1919.

80. A correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 3rd May, gives, under this heading, a review of the circumstances that have led up to the crisis. Many of his observations are echoes from the leader of the *Kistnapatrika* of the 26th April, noticed in the report for the week ending 3rd May 1919, and some articles of the previous issues of the *Andhrapatrika*. The following additions are noted:—. . . What the Americans have done among the uncivilised races of the Philippine Islands in 30 years, the British Government has failed to do in 150 years in India which has such ancient civilisation. . . Those broad ideals of renunciation and justice which were proclaimed during the war have begun to disappear after victory. This is but a trait common to materialistic nations. . . At this crisis full of despair the Government have rushed through the Council, in two weeks, and in the teeth of opposition, the unjust Rowlatt Bills. Is not the short-sightedness of Government the root cause for all the unrest now prevailing in the country? To allay the unrest, the Government should follow the advice of the *Indian Daily News*, setting aside all considerations of prestige, repeal the Rowlatt Act and cease firing on the people. Brute force and arbitrary measures cannot save a country.

The Indian crisis.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 5th May 1919.

81. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 5th May, writes:—The Maharaja of Bikanir has approved of the 'Montford' scheme of reforms. This has greatly displeased some of the Anglo-Indians. They argue that the Maharaja should himself set an example by introducing such reforms in his own State, that other Native States also should follow suit, and that when the Native States are found to have been benefited thereby it would be time enough to introduce them in British India. It is no wonder that these 'Nabobs' say so; their only wish is to continue their autocracy as long as possible by putting forward such sophisms. It is absolutely necessary that all patriotic people of British India as well as of the Native States should carry on an incessant agitation in a thoroughly constitutional manner until the British democratic institutions become firmly established in our country. The tide of such an agitation has already commenced to flow. We trust that this tide will flow steadily and strengthen the foundations of British justice, sweeping the Nabob-like autocracy away into the ocean. Some of these white 'Nabobs' of India were revelling in the idea that there was no mutual good-will between the educated Indians and the masses, and that they would not

Anglo-Indians and Indian reforms.

therefore combine with each other for any common purpose. This has now been proved to be entirely false. The passing of the Rowlatt Bill into law has shown that all those who work unselfishly for the welfare of the country, be they educated or not, are of one mind.

82. In a leading article, referring to the resolutions brought up by the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar in the meeting of the Madras Legislative Council on the subject of granting better facilities for the vernaculars being used more largely in the meetings of the Council, about the beginning of April last, the *Kantheerava* writes:—It was not that Mr. Narasimha Ayyar did not know of the fate that was in store for his three resolutions. Two of them were rejected and the third was accepted with an amendment which rendered it altogether innocuous. The pity of it all is that many of the popular representatives themselves opposed the resolutions and contrived to bring about their rejection. . . In a way we are glad that the Honourable Member moved these resolutions in the Council because we now know exactly what opinion the Madras Government holds on the subject. . . Really speaking, there is nothing in any of the Indian Regulations that would prevent the use of the vernaculars in the Legislative Councils. If only the different Provincial Governments would permit the vernaculars to occupy their proper place in our administrative system, they would at once take the place of English and help to bring about speedy popular progress in this country. . . It is the duty of Government to make the general public understand at least the more important features of their administrative work, and this they can best accomplish only through the help of the vernaculars. It is no use arguing that there is no demand from the public for such information. People are undoubtedly anxious to hear such news; and even the unlettered among them, try to learn something from the newspapers read out to them. . . Again freedom to use the vernaculars in the Councils would widen the field for selection of popular representatives and would remove the stigma that lawyers are overwhelmingly predominant in the Legislative Council. It is desirable that this problem should be settled once for all before the 'Montford' scheme of Reforms is brought into operation.

KANTHEERAVA, Mangalore, 29th April 1919.

The use of vernaculars in the Legislative Council.

83. The *Kantheerava*, of the 6th May, welcomes the appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. P. Rajagopala Achariyar as Vice-President of the Madras Legislative Council, and in pointing out that it is for the first time that an Indian occupies that place in Madras, trusts that this Presidency will show progress during his tenure of office. It also refers with pleasure to the appointment of another Indian—Mr. M. A. Tirunarayana Achariyar—for the first time, though for a short period, as Official Assignee in Madras, and, seeing that both the high posts have fallen to the share of the Brahmanas, asks whether there were no suitable non-Brahmanas to occupy the places.

KANTHEERAVA, Mangalore, 6th May 1919.

Two high places conferred upon Indians.

84. A note in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 2nd May, refers to the inconvenience caused to the ryots of the interior parts of the country on account of the scarcity of small coins and the consequent difficulty in exchanging notes, points out that according to the statement of the Government made in December last coins to the extent of nearly sixty-eight crores of rupees should now be in circulation and asks whether these new coins have not been found sufficient to be sent to these parts.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 2nd May 1919.

Scarcity of small coins.

85. Referring to the unrest at several important centres in Northern India, a note in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 2nd May, points out that difference of opinion exists as to the cause of this unrest, and says:—Be the cause what it may, the country has been affected and the skill of the Government consists in finding the proper remedy for the evil.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 2nd May 1919.

Indian unrest.

Referring to the unrest in Northern India and to the proclamation of martial law in Amritsar, Delhi and other places, the *Malayali*, of the 30th April, observes that it has to be noted that the unrest is assuming serious proportions.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 30th April 1919.

In a note the *Samadarsi*, of the 3rd May, writes:—Though nothing is heard about the existence of terrible disturbances in the Punjab, it is seen that several

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 3rd May 1919.

people are deported and punished, and that martial law has been proclaimed there. The Punjab Government have notified that the rule that local news should be published only after scrutiny by Government, is applicable not only to Indian-owned papers but to all newspapers there. To hold meetings, to conduct marriage processions, to walk during nights, and even to hold a gathering of a few friends permission of Government is necessary. Everyone of the many suspected citizens and students should report to the authorities whenever they move about. The punishment inflicted according to the martial law there is terrible. The offenders, be their status what it may, are, it is said, brought on the public roads and cruelly whipped. Though the Government are proclaiming day by day that the Punjab is calm and quiet, is it to preserve this calm that those who are devoted to the cause of the country are arrested in lots?

Manorama, Calicut, 2nd May 1919.

The Calicut Municipal Hospital.

86. The *Manorama*, of the 2nd May, expresses satisfaction at the decision of the Calicut Municipal Council to hand over the management of the Municipal Hospital at Calicut to Government and at that of the Government to retain the medical school at Calicut itself and to establish a new one at Coimbatore.

Kerala Sanchari, Calicut, 30th April 1919.

The election to the local Legislative Council.

87. Referring to the Government Order regarding the election of Members to the Madras Legislative Council for the term ending with the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 30th April, points out that it must be Lord Pentland, the ex-Governor of Madras, and his Council that must have thought that the holding of the new elections before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, a procedure different from that adopted by the heads of other provinces, is necessary in Madras, and observes that as the reforms will be introduced in the near future, it will cause considerable trouble and loss to those who stand for election.

Margadarsi, Calicut, 2nd May 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement and the Indian public.

88. In an article under the heading 'the *Satyagraha* movement and the Indian public', the *Margadarsi*, of the 2nd May, points out that the ignorant people have been moved to commit excesses by the sweet words of some of the leaders, and regrets that as a result thereof the people in general have to undergo many a hardship and inconvenience, and that the amount necessary for maintaining the military will be collected from the poverty-stricken people by the imposition of a new tax It is of opinion that the unrest and agitation has resulted only in creating mistrust and hatred of the British, and that the messages of regret addressed to the people by the leaders as well as the meetings convened by them will not in any way help to mitigate the sufferings of the people nor to pacify the anger of the administrators, and calls upon the people to remember that the present agitation and unrest will in no way tend to advance the cause of the Indian reforms.

Kerala Sanchari, Calicut, 30th April 1919.

Government water-supply.

89. In the course of an article under the heading 'Government water-supply', the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 30th April, points out that agriculture is the chief occupation of the people in almost all parts of the world, that India, especially Malabar, is chiefly an agricultural country and that water is essential for agriculture, and regrets that, while in various parts of India the Government are giving facilities to the ryots for having a constant supply of water, they have till now neglected to do so in Malabar. It is of opinion that the amounts invested by Government on railways and water-supply have been proving equally lucrative to them and that the soil of Malabar is suitable for conducting agricultural operations on a large scale, and asks why the Government that spend a large amount on railways should be miserly in spending money for providing a constant supply of water to cultivators. The paper then refers to the failure of this year's dry crop in Malabar for want of timely rains, thinks that the Ponnāni river will be an excellent source for irrigating the lands adjoining it, and invites the attention of the Government to the matter.

90. Referring to the unrest in Northern India, the *Keraleeyabhimani*, of the 30th April, points out that the *Satyagraha* movement set on foot by Mahatma Gandhi has, in the hands of some wicked persons, become a tool for harassing both the Government and the people, and observes that we cannot, without shame and regret, even think of the disturbances which are a stain on the reputation of Indians and an obstacle to their progress.

The present unrest in India.

KERALEEYABHIMANI, Mavelikkara, 30th April 1919.

91. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 1st May, highly appreciates the acting appointment of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammat Aziz-ud-din Hussain Sahib, I.S.O., C.I.E., O.B.E., as the First Member of the Board of Revenue *vice* the Hon'ble Mr. L. E. Buckley on leave, and observes that the appointment has given Muhammadans something to be proud of, and will place the whole community under a deep debt of gratitude to Government.

A suitable appointment.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 1st May 1919.

We cordially congratulate the Khan Bahadur on this promotion and hope that further advancement may be in store for him

92. The *Mushir i-Dakhan*, of the 30th April, referring to the reduction of passages by three big companies, remarks :—Only rich people think of going to Europe. Therefore only these people will be mostly benefited by this reduction. But those who travel from place to place by railways are not so well off, and the majority of them, who are third-class passengers, are poorest of all. It is surprising that there has been no thought of reducing the railway fares.

The problem of the reduction of railway fares calls for the immediate attention of the Railway Board.

MUSHIR-I-DAKHAN, Hyderabad, 30th April 1919.

Inasmuch as persons going to England have been afforded facilities by the reduction of fares, it is naturally followed that railway fares, especially the third-class fares, should also be lowered as soon as possible.

It is hoped that the Railway Board will turn its attention to the necessity of reducing the railway fares and thereby confer a boon on a large number of Indians.

93. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 3rd May, in a lengthy leader on this subject, writes :—The Muhammadans are being applauded by Europe for the examples of loyalty set by them during the war. But it is regrettable to find that some ignorant Northern Indian Muhammadans besmirch the fair name of the community by supporting the cause of passive resistance, and it is obvious how they have had to suffer for it. It has always been the duty of the *Jaridah* to advise Muhammadans to remain absolutely loyal. Muhammadans should remain firm and not be led away by the oily tongues of any mischief-mongers lest they suffer like their Northern India brethren and bring disgrace upon their reputation for loyalty.

Loyalty.

JARIDAH I-ROZGAR, Madras, 3rd May 1919.

94. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 4th May, in an article on this subject, makes the following observations :—When the Punjab Government closed the Badshai Mosque at Lahore and took possession of it, we were under the impression that it was a mistake which would be rectified by an apology. But it is now being argued that the mosque was closed during the Sikh rule, and the Government, when handing it over to the Muhammadans, made the stipulation that it should remain under Military supervision, and it could be at the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief. We deplore at Sir Michael O'Dwyer's official logic, and content ourselves with the remark that if the law is opposed to religion, it should be amended, and that no Government is able to close any mosque. Now is the time for the Viceroy to do justice.

The seizure of the Badshayi mosque.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 4th May 1919.

III.—LEGISLATION.

95. Referring to the Bill introduced by the Government, making certain alterations in the status and succession of village officers, a correspondent to the *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th April, says:—It is a patent fact that the majority of the village officers are landholders possessing considerable landed property and if, in spite of their difficulty in looking to their own avocations properly on account of their

Village officers.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 28th April 1919.

holding this office, they lose their liberty and money and wait at the doors of the superior officials, it is in view of the status they have and not in view to make a living. Though the present Bill will doubtless benefit them, they are really sorry to lose their hereditary right. It is because these officers almost always happen to be leading persons in every village, others in the village obey them and are loyal to the Government. But those who become village officers under the new Bill may not command the same influence and may have to relinquish their post soon. We need not dilate on the character and status of those who are prepared to take up this office for a salary of less than Rs. 10; for if they do seek this office knowing the present high prices of all articles, it may be not because they are attracted by the salary, but because they are actuated by the avarice of fleecing money from the ryots. We do not know why any change is contemplated in the present state of affairs, which has not the defects noted above. Even regarding educational qualifications the existing village officers do not lack the ordinary education if that will do for this post. An inexperienced man, though he may be educated, cannot compare, in doing his work, with one who has a hereditary experience in it.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 29th April 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

96. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th April, reproduces in Tamil a contribution to the *Simla Times* in the form of a dialogue between an Anglo-Indian of the old type and a petty Indian merchant, about the effect of this law, which concludes with the observation that this dialogue actually took place and invites the attention of the Government to two things proved by it, viz., that a mischievous propaganda work is being carried on among the people, and that if the Government do not start propaganda work themselves to counteract this, the mind of the people will become full of misapprehensions and lead to their harbouring rancour.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 30th April 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

Referring to a public meeting of ladies held at Ajmir at which a Muhammadan lady is reported to have condemned the Rowlatt Law and, remarking that it was the want of union between the Hindus and the Muhammadans that enabled the officials to pass the Rowlatt Law, pleaded for such union, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th April, says:—Though the Government of India may plead that the Rowlatt Law is a just one, Indian men and women will not pay heed to it. We are sure the example of the women of Ajmir will be followed by the women of other places in condemning this law. Cannot the Secretary of State for India repeal the law listening at least to the prayer of women?

Margadarsi, Calicut, 2nd May 1919.

Mr. Patel's Intermarriage Bill.

97. In the course of an article under the heading 'the Intermarriage Bill', the *Margadarsi*, of the 2nd May, points out that, although Sati was abolished, widow marriages were legalised and the age of Consent Bill was passed, in spite of the protests of the people, the Hindu society has not been torn to pieces, as was prophesied by the purohits and varnashramadharmites, and that the theory that the Government should not interfere in social and religious matters had a strong hold on the people of England a century ago, and advocates the passing of Mr. Patel's Bill which does not aim at the curtailment of religious liberty but aims only at the granting of freedom to the people to act according to their wishes in the matter of marriage.

ERRATA.

Report No. 14.

Page 536, paragraph 30, line 1, *for* 'at' *read* 'a'.
" 536 " 30 " 4, *for* 'no' *read* 'not'.
" 543, line 37, *for* 'reforms. The' *read* 'reforms, the'.
" 548, paragraph 53, line 14, *for* 'out the' *read* 'out to the'.

Report No. 15.

Page 575, paragraph 35, line 17, *for* 'It is' *read* 'If it is'.

Report No. 16.

Page 606, paragraph 34, line 9, *for* 'to honour' *read* 'honour'.

Report No. 17.

Page 634, paragraph 7, line 7, *for* 'prohited' *read* 'prohibited'.
,, 636 ,, 11 ,, 1, *after* '10th' *insert* '11th'.
,, 636 ,, 11, in the third line of the marginal note, *insert* '11th' *after* '10th'.
,, 646 ,, 40, line 4, *for* 'the *Satyagrahi*' *read* 'a *Satyagrahi*'.
,, 647 ,, 41 ,, 2, *for* 'reports:—Mabaraja' *read* 'reports maharaja'.
,, 648 ,, 44 ,, 24, *delete* 'for' *after* 'danger'.
,, 649 ,, 45 ,, 6, *for* 'Conference' *read* 'confirms'.

Report No. 18.

Page 693, paragraph 94, line 25, *for* 'now' *read* 'not'.
,, 693 ,, 94 ,, 25, *for* 'away' *read* 'any'.
,, 693 ,, 94 ,, 27, *for* 'Congress League' *read* 'Congress—League'.

[Issued, the 14th May 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 20 of 1919.

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 17th May 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*d*) *Education.*

1. In concluding an article under the heading 'Official Discipline', *Justice*, of the 13th May, remarks:—"Any one who reads the addresses and the speeches delivered at the so-called Educational Conferences is bound to come to the conclusion that these are nothing less than political gatherings disguised under a different name whereat public servants may freely gather under the shelter of the disguise, discuss politics and criticise the powers-that-be. It is time that the authorities awakened to the truth and forbade their servants from attending such gatherings. Official discipline demands the prohibition and good Government invites it."

Educational Conferences as political gatherings.

Justice, Madras, 13th May 1919.

(*k*) *General.*

2. In writing under the heading 'Martial law and no D—D nonsense', the *South Indian Mail*, for the week ending 5th May, states:—"The Indian people are thoroughly unarmed and it does not redound to the credit of the true instinct of warriorship that they should be subjected to the attack of aeroplanes and machine-guns. Such an uncivilised and brutal step would expose the Government before the eyes of the world, to the consideration that the bureaucracy in their undiluted pursuit of their own interests, are bent upon treating the people of this country as no better than mere chattel. The Imperial Government and some of the Provincial Governments have been publishing their accounts of the incidents and it is well known that the people and their representatives regard all of them as only one-sided. It is painfully deplorable that the accounts published by some of the Indians who, by their position, are eminently fitted to do so are completely ignored. It is undoubted that the situation is critical and it is bound to be more so unless some effective remedy is sought to be applied."

Martial law in the Punjab.

South Indian Mail, Madura, 5th May 1919.

In an article under the heading 'The Present Situation' the *Nationalist*, for the week ending 11th May, says:—Every day the situation is developing from bad to worse in India, more particularly in the Punjab. In this province martial law yet continues. Martial law must have a justification. No civilised Government in the world should declare martial law until a state of open rebellion exists. Whether at any time during the recent events a state of rebellion did exist in Punjab the Government owes it to the public to explain. They have once used the expression and as executive needs demand a preliminary acquiescence on the part of the people, we must be prepared temporarily to accept the Government's declaration. That at one time there was a state of open rebellion cannot be a ground for the continuance of martial law. It must be a fact that a state of open rebellion does exist at every moment that martial law is in force. The authorities have never maintained that there is open rebellion in Punjab yet! . . . We appeal to Lord Chelmsford once more that physical force cannot rule a civilised country for long with any benefit either to the rulers or the ruled. Those who exercise the force may, for a while, feel a glow of triumph, but that glow can never have the satisfaction of having done the right and therefore can never give real peace even to the possessor of the highest physical power. So in the name of peace, for which England righteous England has poured out her blood and treasure, we request her representative to stay the hand of repression and once more establish in India British right."

Nationalist, Madras, 11th May 1919.

In a leader under the heading 'Peace, order and good Government in the Punjab', the *Karnataka*, of the 14th May, states:—"The Government would have us believe that the Punjabis or, to be more accurate, the people of some parts of

Karnataka, Bangalore City, 14th May 1919.

that province, are rebels and revolutionaries whose conduct has called forth stern measures. Certainly no one can accuse the authorities of squeamishness in the application of force to put down the so-called revolutionary movement. They have taken vigorous (shall we say rigorous?) steps to impress the people with the fact that *Pax Britannica* is not to be trifled with. . . One particular incident connected with these meaures affords matter for reflection to thoughtful people. It is the throwing of bombs on crowds as an effective means of dispersing them. We read about German anarchists throwing bombs on their own townspeople: but the Punjab Government have gone further for quite a good purpose, and thrown them from aeroplanes on crowds. . . For the first time in the history of British Rule in India, if not the very first time in British history, the British Government has resorted to the expediency of throwing bombs on the common people from an aeroplane in order to put down their rebellious spirit, if one must use such an expression to people who, only the other day, had received a certificate of character from their ruler. Such an achievement must be noted to the credit of the authorities in the Punjab; and the wonder is why it did not occur to those responsible for public safety in Ireland, to resort to this effective method of dealing with rebel crowds, when the danger apprehended from them was a hundredfold greater than in India. . . It is, of course, understood that no harm befell peaceful people, or if it did, it was due to some 'unfortunate accident'. But we should not anticipate the veracious historian on these points. To make the history of the event more impressive, and therefore more valuable, the Government may engage an artist to prepare true sketches of scenes connected with the suppression of the rebellion, and these sketches may be printed as pictures in authorised school books sold by the million in the Punjab as well as in other parts of India. . . An official *communiqué*, though good in its own way, might prove rather bland and not give a stirring account of the heroic conduct of public servants in dealing with Indian mobs under trying circumstances. And we are afraid that the representatives of the people might, by reason of a sneaking regard for popular rights and liberties, prove too wrong-headed to appraise the official version at its proper worth. We therefore venture to ask for an international committee to submit an authentic report on what we shall agree to call the 'Punjab Rebellion', if that expression will please the authorities. . . Let the world, including the heart of the British Empire, know the whole truth about the occurrences in the Punjab, and see what methods have been followed and are still being followed by the authorities to give the people the benefits of peace, order and good government."

West Coast Bulletin, Cochin, 9th May 1919.

The Government of India and repression.

3. In an article under the heading 'Repression in Excelsis,' *the West Coast Bulletin*, of the 9th May, observes:—"It seems that, in the opinion of the men in power, repression is a twin brother to all reforms, otherwise why should there be such a vigorous display of the 'big stick' while statesmen in England are contemplating upon the ways and means of setting India on the road to full responsible Government? Undoubtedly, there is deep unrest throughout the country but repression is scarcely the remedy for it. The evil of deportations and internments will ultimately recoil on the heads of the authors thereof, without in the least satisfying the discontents. . . In the name of law and order, the Government are prepared to go to any length. The preparations of the Government and their precaution would indicate that the country is ripe for rebellion, though not for self-rule!! Is this the picture that India has to offer to the world at the end of the war."

Karnataka, Bangalore City, 10th May 1919.

The Afghan menace.

4. The *Karnataka*, of the 10th May, observes:—"The present is a time of renovation of states and nations. At such a time, it is in one way helpful that a sickly member of the family of states should lay bare his poisonous potentialities, so that he too may be brought under regenerative influences and made healthy—not for his sake only, but also for the sake of his neighbours. No one in his senses would advocate to-day a campaign of territorial acquisition on the part of any Power. There should be no more annexation of states and no more annihilation of nationalities. But surely there must be a continuous campaign to establish civilized Government in countries where it does not exist now so that the rest of the world may

live in safety. A people distracted by dynastic feuds and left to the tender mercies of royal adventurers in every generation will do no credit and will give no peace to our civilization."

Unrest in the Punjab.

5. *Justice*, of the 10th May, in concluding an article on this subject, remarks:—"News from the frontier is meagre, but if one thing is certain it is that the Amir has thrown down the gauntlet. In seeking to divert for the present the personal danger in which he is placed, he is forcing upon himself consequences of far more serious import than what he is threatened with by his hostile subjects. . . A hundred thousand Afghans and several hundred guns, what are they before the millions of Britons who have not yet doffed their khaki, armed and equipped in the most modern style and supported by ordnance which will be a revelation to the Afghan army? The Amir's invasion of the Punjab is a mad project for which he and his followers will have to pay dearly."

JUSTICE, Madras, 10th May 1919.

Mr. Gandhi and *Satyagraha*.

6. The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 13th May, writes:—"We see that *Mahatma* Gandhi has thoughts of renewing his *Satyagraha* movement! His 'soul force' has degenerated into brute force, and, with the ruin this soul force has wrought still before him, it is indeed surprising that Mr. Gandhi has not revised his views. Indeed, this *Satyagraha* has become, to borrow the language of Artemus Ward, an 'emfatic noosance,' and we think that no modern government can tolerate it. We can very well understand a band of educated extremists breaking the civil laws and suffering the penalty without themselves assuming the militant attitude, but recent events have shown that the masses have understood *Satyagraha* as *Duragraha*."

WEST COAST SPECTATOR, Calicut, 13th May 1919.

Non-Brahmans and the Franchise Committee.

7. *Justice*, of the 16th May, says:—"It is strange that while admitting the full force of the arguments advanced in favour of communal representation for the non-Brahmans of Madras and recognising their grievances to be genuine, the Government of India suggest a remedy of which the utter uselessness has been pointed out in these columns and elsewhere a thousand times. . . Is it because the Brahmans of this Presidency are determined not to be forced into an electorate of their own that the present compromise is proposed? Yes, the influence of the Brahmans is potent and pervasive. In Madras they are the rulers and the agitators, and they have brought even the Government of India within the sphere of their influence; otherwise we could not account for the complete and studied exclusion from the Franchise Committee of non-Brahmans and the inclusion in it of so pronounced a Madras Brahman as Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the advocate in the Imperial Legislative Council of Brahman oligarchy. . . With him and Mr. Surendaranath Banerje, another Brahman, on the Franchise Committee, it was too much to expect that body to arrive at any other conclusion; and the committee and the Government, which latter, while laying down the true proposition that 'numbers count for little in India at present against social, educational, and especially religious superiority which has behind it the sanction of centuries' would still not allow the non-Brahmans to have their own electorates, have alike denied justice to the non-Brahmans of Madras in a matter of supreme concern to them at this moment."

JUSTICE, Madras, 16th May 1919.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 8th May 1919.

A riot in Paris.

8. Expressing regret at the news that 420 policemen were killed during the riot that occurred in Paris on the 1st May 1919, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th idem, remarks:—It is not known why President Poincaire did not introduce martial law at the place where such a serious riot occurred. We think he is not a good statesman in that he has not the capacity to introduce martial law, the moment there are signs of a riot! He could have proved a better statesman, if he had learnt his lesson from Sir Michael O'Dwyer! We recommend to President Poincaire that he may, hereafter at least, deem Sir Michael to be his political preceptor.

Dravidan, Madras, 8th May 1919.

The Afghan trouble.

9. Referring, with regret, to the news that the machinations of the present Amir of Afghanistan are likely to cause serious disturbances and dangerous unrest in the North-West Frontier, the *Dravidan*, of the 8th May, points to the present situation in the Punjab under the martial law and the daily arrest of seditionists and the suppression of those interfering with the safety of the public, and, laying stress on the necessity of the Government taking all possible measures to put down agitators, appeals to the people to co-operate with Government at this critical juncture, caring for the welfare of the country.

Dravidan, Madras, 9th May 1919.

The *Dravidan* reverts to this subject, in its issue of the 9th May, and referring to the news about the decision of the Amir to invade India, says:—The present Amir is evidently unaware of the efficiency of the British Government, the strength of their forces and their modern weapons of war! Perhaps he thinks that it will do if he sends two guns! We need not dilate on the result of his starting a war unnecessarily.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 12th May 1919.

The Afghan trouble.

In a leader dwelling on the proceedings of the Majlis-ul-ulama recently held at Tanjore, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th May, characterises the first resolution passed therein expressing regret at the conduct of the new Amir of Afghanistan in having begun a war without realising the hardships that may result therefrom to his own country and India, as an important one, and appreciating the action of the *majlis* in having set an example to Muslim community at this juncture, observes:—Though the Afghan army will eventually sustain only a defeat if it should invade India which is at present specially strong in military resources and modern weapons, it is certain that, until the termination of the war, many will have to suffer hardships. There is no provocation at all for the Amir to begin a war all at once. We request all people to note the attitude of the *majlis* in advising the Amir not to enter into war, and to stand firm in their convictions in the future.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 13th May 1919.

Referring to the communiqué issued by His Excellency the Viceroy detailing the state of affairs in the north-western frontier and calling upon the people to co-operate with the Government at this juncture, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 13th May, observes:—This is not the time for the people to keep aloof. Every loyal citizen should co-operate with the Government, and sinking petty differences secure the restoration of peaceful conditions. It is highly detestable that the Amir should have blindly and haughtily set about doing mischief yielding to the words of others. It is certain that the united mental strength of the loyal Indians will stand our British rulers in good stead and crush the audacity of the Amir.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 13th May 1919.

Mr. Lloyd George.

10. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th May, observes:—Mr. Lloyd George, the present Prime Minister in England, owes his position to Lord Northcliff and his papers. On account of a misunderstanding between Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Northcliff, the latter seems to be setting up his papers to oust the former from his seat. The *Weekly*

Despatch has begun to write that Mr. Lloyd George should vacate his seat and every paper will hereafter begin to revile him. It is, therefore, rather doubtful if Mr. Lloyd George will continue in his office for a long time.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 13th May 1919.

Peace terms.

11. Referring to the final terms of peace prepared by the allied countries and offered to the German representatives, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th May, observes:—When countries are readjusted according to these stipulations, the allied powers will become stronger than before and the Germans who unjustly dragged the world into war will get crippled. The League of Nations will act as a kind of check on the Allies using their new strength in avaricious directions. As even the minor States comprising it have an equal status with the larger ones in deciding questions coming up before the League, it may be an impossible affair for the peace of the world to be disturbed again. But it is not clear what has been done to relieve the distress of the different communities in the world.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 6th May 1919.

Lokamanya and the Peace Conference.

12. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th May, publishes in Telugu the memorandum of Mr. Tilak to the President of the Peace Conference urging the right of India for self-determination, and observes in its leader under this heading that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme is against the principle of self-determination, that a free and self-governing India would be a source of strength to the British Empire and the peace of the world, while a weak and dependent India would defeat the objects of the Peace Conference by being a cause of constant jealousy and war among the bigger powers, that Germany had an eye on India, that Japan is trying to capture India's commerce, and that the Reforms Scheme should be improved in accordance with the principle of self-determination which the National Congress and the Moslem League demand and which the League of Nations proposes to apply to the colonies of the enemy powers. India, the paper adds, must have self-government and commercial freedom.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 6th May 1919.

Persia and self-determination.

13. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th May, writes:— . . . It is but proper that Persia which has so commendably preserved her neutrality during the war receives the right of self-determination. But who will listen to the wishes of the weak?

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 12th May 1919.

The present situation and the troubles with Afghanistan.

14. In the course of a lengthy leader referring to the recent disturbances in the Punjab, the stringent measures adopted by Government to suppress the same and the serious developments in the political situation in Afghanistan, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 12th May, writes:—The state of the affairs in the Punjab has become deplorable. The British traditions of justice have been banished from the country and the Government of that Province has become an absolute autocracy. Thoughtful people say that the Government of India should bestow careful consideration on the present situation and adopt such measures as would strengthen the bonds of affection between the people and the Government. Some are of opinion that since Egypt, Turkey and Persia have been brought under control, these disturbances have now been created by the British only with a view to annex Afghanistan to the British Empire and thus become the rulers of the entire Moslem world. This is an unmitigated lie. The British Empire has grown because of British justice and not of their greed for land. Several countries waged war with her on their own initiative and when defeated contributed to the expansion of the Empire. If the Amir Amanullah Khan should listen to the evil advice of his courtiers and, without following the example of his father, declare war against the British, Afghanistan, too, may perhaps come to be annexed to the British Empire. But the British people cannot certainly be held responsible for it.

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 13th May 1919.

Referring to the same subject the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 13th May, writes:—The Amirs Abdul Rahiman and Habbibullah Khan were far-seeing statesmen. But the present Amir Amanulla Khan does not seem to have fully measured either the strength of his own army or that of the British Government. In consideration of the friendly relations maintained by the two previous Amirs, the Government of India were paying them an annual subsidy of Rs. 18½ lakhs,

but from the conduct of the present Amir and his Sirdars it looks as if he would forfeit not only that large sum but also his country. . . The resources of the British are immense. They have recently defeated Germany and other hostile countries and today by dint of their righteousness they stand unrivalled not only in Europe but throughout the whole world. They are more truthful, righteous and democratic than any other nation. Though the Anglo-Indians have been exhibiting extreme selfishness the British people have not allowed them to have it their own way. It is to be regretted that the Amir Amaulla Khan is making attempts to wage war with such a mighty Power as the British. Afghanistan has hitherto been an independent country, but by this war it is feared that the independence of the country will be seriously imperilled. Some are of opinion that if a war should break out in less than a month's time Afghanistan would be annexed to the British Empire, and to us that view does not appear to be unreasonable.

KARTHEERAVA, Mangalore, 13th May 1919.

Referring to the same subject, the *Kantheerava*, of the 13th May, writes:—By diverting the infuriated Sirdars of his army against India the Amir has, as it were, taken a leap from the frying pan into the fire. The Amir can very well gauge the result of this war by the results of the previous Afghan wars. On the death of an Amir or Badshah and during the early part of his successor's reign it is usual for the people to revolt in all Moslem countries of old. The British army which has already occupied the Afghan frontiers in strength will certainly not fail to teach a sound lesson to the Afghans. Having had a good training in the use of bombs, machine guns, etc., during the four years of the European war, even the Indian troops will be able to give a good account of themselves, as was evidenced by the skill with which they coped with the recent disturbances. If the Amir considers that these disturbances have given the Afghans a fitting opportunity for an invasion of India, let him also know that those very disturbances have also enabled the Government to proclaim martial law for their suppression and keep themselves ready for eventualities. Thus it is that some times good comes out of evil. Against an army of 40,000 Afghans there is an army of 41,000 Afridis and Mahamunds ready to face the enemy. If the Amir is far-sighted, he will not go in for this invasion. It is now the duty of the people, as well as their leaders, to stand by the Government, to strengthen their hands and be helpful to them.

MALABAR ISLAM, Cochin, 2nd May 1919.

Why Turkey joined the central powers.

15. The *Malabar Islam*, of the 2nd May, has a very long article on "Why Turkey joined the central powers." The writer Shaikh M. H. Kidwayi defends Turkey's action and tries to make out that England was not sufficiently straightforward or sympathetic in her transactions with Turkey.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 7th May 1919.

Great unrest in Afghanistan.

16. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 7th May, publishes without comment a translation of the news of the unrest in Afghanistan reported by the Associated Press correspondent.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) *Police.*

MALAYALI, Quilon, 7th May 1919.

Police intervention in Travancore.

17. In the course of an article under the heading 'The freedom of citizens' dealing with the order reported to have been issued by the Commissioner of Police, Travancore, insisting on police surveillance at public meetings held in support of claim for equality of civic rights, the *Malayali*, of the 7th May, discourages creation of trouble by police intervention and makes the following observations regarding the C.I.D. in British India:—Almost all the disturbances in British India have occurred through the agency of the C.I.D. It is the advent of the C.I.D. that is responsible for the creation of mutual hatred between the Government and the people and has given occasion to unceasing unrest in the country.

(c) *Jails.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 10th May 1919.

The Jail Committee.

18. Referring to the appointment of a committee to investigate into the jail administration, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 10th May, observes:—It is appropriate that an experienced

person like Sir Alexander Cardew has been appointed as President of this committee. But the reasons for appointing Mr. Durai Raja, who was a vakil in Madura, as a member thereof are not apparent. His name would not have been heard of by many before Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu's case. It is not known why, in choosing a member from this Presidency, the name of Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, who evinced a special interest in the jail administration and was instrumental in slightly alleviating the hardships suffered by the inmates of prisons, did not strike the Government. Perhaps they have forgotten his good work on the Forest Committee. However it may be, let us hope that, as a result of this committee's inquiry, the jail administration will come to be conducted in a benevolent manner. The methods obtaining in England and America to improve the character of the inmates of prisons are highly spoken of. Reform is quite necessary in the direction of separating habitual criminals from those that get into prison accidentally and in the treatment accorded to women and political prisoners. In other countries, political prisoners are considered to have committed an offence with due regard to their conscience and treated accordingly. But here no distinction is made between them and other offenders. We hope that the committee will investigate into all these points.

The *Dravidan*, of the 12th May, reproduces the sentiments of *Justice* of the 9th idem on this subject appreciating the personnel of the committee and expressing the view that nothing will be gained by making the life of prisoners too hard and that it is desirable to classify prisoners into two or three groups and give them different treatment, keeping them apart from each other, though it may be hard to base this classification on the offences committed by them

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 12th May 1919.

The Jail Commission.

Referring to the appointment of Mr. Dorai Raja of Pudukkōttai as a member of the Jail Commission, the *Manorama*, of the 9th May, doubts whether he is experienced enough in jail administration though he is connected with the administration of Pudukkōttai, and observes that inasmuch as there are only a few non-official members in the Commission, Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai, who, as a member of the local Legislative Council, had tried in various ways to improve the jail administration ought to have been appointed as a member of the Commission.

MANORMAA, Calicut, 9th May 1919.

(*d*) *Education.*

New universities.

19. Referring to the attempts made to start a separate university in Baroda, as has been done in Mysore and Hyderabad, the *Dravidan*, of the 5th May, remarks that both in British India and the Native States great attention is paid only to the development of higher education, and, pointing out that it is primary and secondary education that needs support, observes:—It is this education that has not properly spread in proportion to the population of our country and it is this that is required for the agriculturists, industrialists, merchants, etc., most of whom do not go in for higher education. The common people do not go in sufficiently even for primary education, as there are not adequate facilities for it. So it behoves the Government to see that all the people in the country get educated. It is not fair to encourage higher education, which is serviceable only to a few. The education imparted according to the present system resembles a high building raised without strengthening the foundation. Just as such a building is likely to come down soon and cause misery, this education too is likely to make it impossible for all people to have equal privileges and to cause riot and other mischief.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 5th May 1919.

An appeal to the Government of Madras and the Director of Public Instruction.

20. The *Dravidan*, of the 3rd May, publishes a long communication from the pen of a correspondent, in which the following observations find place among others:—It is the opinion of many cultured men and expert politicians that the cause of India having lost her former greatness and civilization is the fact that some who considered themselves to belong to a high order by reason of their birth kept the majority of the people immersed in ignorance. Though the Government have realized their duty, they have been bewildered by the machinations of these hard-hearted people, who are as noisy as the crows, and they are not able to do anything. There is no

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 3rd May 1919.

denying the fact that India is the most backward of all countries in point of education. The Government complain that education has not made adequate progress in the country in proportion to the huge expenditure incurred by them. The chief cause for education not spreading in the northern parts is the obstinacy of the people and that for its stagnation in the south, is the wily ways of the haughty Brahmans and some Vellala Saivites who are in league with them. These create all manner of obstacles in the way of the lower classes getting educated fearing it will make them rebel against continuing to be slavishly obedient to them. Ninety-five per cent of the Indians in the Educational Department in this Presidency are Brahmans. Though these have flocked into Government offices with the desire of amassing money, they discharge their duties in such a manner as to safeguard their birthrights. Their excesses in the Educational department know no bounds. These Brahman Supervisors and Inspectors do not explain to the Panchamas and other depressed classes the benefits conferred by the Government on those classes. They do not inspect the Panchama schools and, if by chance they happen to inspect a solitary one, they report that it is not properly conducted and does not deserve any Government aid and see that it is abolished. All this is well known to the Government and yet the state of affairs has not yet been remedied. . . Most of those who plead for the improvement of the mother tongue learn it only up to the fourth standard in elementary schools and then learn Sanskrit. Such Brahmans, of whom there are a good number in the Educational Department, begin to examine the students in schools, primary and secondary, and also colleges in their vernaculars and thereby cause great harm to those vernaculars. Though the head of the Educational Department, who knows only English and who is ignorant of the vernaculars, appoints these people without knowing their worth, what to say of these Brahmans, who knowing full well that they are wanting in the knowledge of the varnaculars compete for and accept these posts! Will the Government hereafter at least appoint non-Brahmans with a knowledge of the vernaculars for posts of inspecting officers, such as Supervisors and Sub-Assistant, Assistant and Circle Inspectors? We understand that the Government propose to send three Indians from the Educational Department to England every year to learn the new method of teaching. If this is true, we request the new Governor and the Director of Public Instruction to put their heads together and select three non-Brahmans in the department, without yielding to partiality or recommendations. Non-Brahmans are very few in this department and we can swear that even these few are not adequatelv remunerated for their work. The root of all this is the tactics played by the Brahmans immediately next to the head of this department. Even now these Brahmans will try and see that the selection is confined to Brahmans and advance many reasons therefor. They may point out that those competent to go to England should have taken the degree of M.A., because there is no non-Brahman with that degree in the department. And again they may say that only young men can go because hundreds of Brahmans are entering the department every year while the non-Brahmans find it very difficult to get into the department and even if they do, they are kept down as being inefficient. The Civil List issued by the Government contains very few non-Brahman names among the inspectorate. For example, we know of one Mr. Govindaraja Mudaliyar who is still a Sub-Assistant Inspector, in spite of his good work. Such is the case with Mr. Parthasarathi Nayakar too. Mr. S. G. Daniel again continues still an Assistant Inspector of schools though he has published two readers for the elementary schools. If a Brahman had written them, he would have become a Circle Inspector and the whole Presidency would have been flooded with those readers. Which non-Brahman would like to enter the department in the face of so many difficulties? Considering all these facts, it is the duty of the Government to choose the persons they intend to send to England from the aforesaid non-Brahmans, even by compelling them if necessary.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th May 1919.

The education of the depressed classes.

21. Appreciating the efforts made by the Mysore Darbar to improve the education of the depressed classes, as seen from the report of the Educational Department for 1917-18, and the instruction issued by the Darbar to all officials that the improvement of the education of these classes should be deemed to be the improvement of the State, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th May, observes

that, if the Government in British India also take a similar interest in the progress of the depressed classes, India will surely attain an eminent position soon.

The depressed classes.

Dravidan, Madras, 5th May 1919.

Remarking that the work of Mr. Paddison who has been placed on special duty to find out the present condition of the depressed classes will not be productive of much benefit unless those that surround him and assist him perform their duties justly and sincerely, the *Dravidan*, of the 5th May. observes:—It is likely Mr. Paddison will have some members to help him in his work and we would suggest the desirability of choosing such assistants from among those communities that are in favour of the amelioration of the depressed classes. Mr. Paddison should also secure the help of some gentlemen belonging to the depressed classes so as to complete his work. It is usual for a few to gain influence under the Government by making it appear that it is only they that take an interest in the advancement of these classes. The Government should no longer encourage such false patriots and should act justly. So we offer a timely suggestion to the Government.

Agricultural education.

Dravidan, Madras, 7th May 1919.

22. The *Dravidan*, of the 7th May, reproduces the remarks of the *Justice* of the 6th idem on the proposal of the Government to establish agricultural middle schools for improving the agricultural education in the country.

The Madras Provincial Educational Conference.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 8th May 1919.

23. The *Swadesamitran*, publishes in Tamil, in its issue of the 8th May, the address delivered by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar as the President of this Conference held at Trichinopoly on the same date and also the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee in its issue of the 9th idem.

The present system of education.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 12th May 1919.

24. Quoting an observation of Lord Haldane that men and women in the world should have a good education which would make them helpful to others even to the extent of making a sacrifice, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th May, remarks:—If education is imparted in England on this principle, the materialistic actions of the Englishmen will mostly cease to be. In ancient India education was given so as to make one imbibe the virtues of benevolence and sacrifice. We need not say that the cause of the Indians having become atheistic and gone down is the absence of the above characteristics in the present system of education. We have often observed that this system inculcates jealousy, insubordination and rudeness and we repeat it again.

The Rowlatt Law in schools.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 13th May 1919.

25. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th May, publishes in Tamil the abstract of a contribution to the *Social Reformer* of Bombay by Mr. C. F. Andrews about the decision of the heads of schools and colleges in Lahore to introduce Rowlatt Law as a regular lesson therein and comments on this decision in the following strain:—The Indians will surely think that this decision is prejudicial to the educational system itself and is likely to result in mischief. When the Rowlatt Law becomes a compulsory subject of instruction in schools, will the popular opinion about it be explained side by side with the Government's view? Is it a sound policy to give one-sided picture of a subject to the students? Need we detail the consequences of a measure introduced by compulsion? Will it not foster flattery and pretensions as pointed out by Mr. Andrews? The result will be just the opposite of what is expected. We hope that Sir Sankaran Nayar, the Educational Member of the Government of India, will note this.

Training in music.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 12th May 1919.

26. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th May, writes:—The system of education in our country is opposed to the very object of education. . . The Indian nation can have no vitality, unless this lifeless system is changed. . . The Government may believe that it will be as useless to spend any large amount of money for the promotion of music as for the promotion of the Ayurvedic system of medicine. It is doubtful how far the Government with its little aptitude for oriental arts believes in the utility of promoting eastern music. Though it has been long since universities were established in India, no attempts have been made to teach music in schools and colleges. Even in the reply of the

Madras Government to the memorial of the Narasapur Peoples' Association on the subject of music, mention has been made only of girls' schools and not of boys'. . .

DURBAR, Guntur, 1st May 1919.

Board schools.

27. The *Durbar*, of the 1st May, writes on this subject:—The schoolmasters of Board Schools spend much of the time that they ought to devote to the teaching of boys, in other ways, so much so that the education of boys in those schools is neglected and the attendance in them is very poor The attendance registers are often fabricated. When the inspecting officers visit the schools the schoolmasters go about from house to house and collect boys in order to show to the officers a large attendance. The Supervisors are not unaware of this fasle play. They see to the filling up of their diaries in some way but do not honestly carry out their official duties. The schoolmaster is paid Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 a month and this is a hardship. How could a schoolmaster, whose pay is so very low, refrain from seeking other means of eking out his livelihood? His pay should be raised to Rs. 20 at least. The Government officers do not discharge their duties properly. The Supervisor thinks that his duty is done when he has visited a school. He is the guest of the schoolmaster and as such overlooks the faults of the latter. The authorities should reduce the number of schools in charge of a Superviser and see that he does his work of supervision properly. Another evil is that even the low pay of schoolmasters is not paid to them regularly. This is a great stain in the administration of local boards. The gumastas in the Board's office do not attend to the pay bills unless they are paid their *mamuls* by schoolmasters. The schoolmasters suffer much by being required to pay these *mamuls* and by their hospitality to the inspecting officers. The Government are now taking some pains to spread education though they plead want of funds for the introduction of free and compulsory education. . . The Government may establish local committees and see that through them the schools are well managed.

DURBAR, Guntur, 1st May 1919.

School-Final re-examination.

28. Referring to the School-Final re-examination in a few Northern districts, the *Durbar*, of the 1st May, says that the interval allowed to the candidates is so short that those who had gone to their native places may not know within such short period the order directing a re-examination, for all villages do not get newspapers, and some villages do not get the post more than once or twice a week. The paper hears that the questions leaked out in the Southern districts and in Madras also. It recommends that a separate average may be fixed for the five districts in which a re-examination is to be held. It does not appear well, says the paper, that the students should be made to suffer for the fault of the printers of question papers.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 9th May 1919.

Agricultural Middle Schools.

29. The *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 9th May, writes:—A committee consisting of the Officers of the Departments of Industries and Education was appointed by Government to discuss and report as to the centres at which agricultural middle schools could be opened. The committee has submitted several curious recommendations. To the question as to where two such schools may be opened the committee has replied that for such schools to grow it is necessary that the teachers thereof should be selected from the local agricultural communities, so that they may command their respect. We wonder whether the Government have accepted this novel recommendation. . . It is the intention of this committee that these schools should not be opened in places where such teachers will not be available. . . When in June 1917 a conference was held at Simla to discuss this very subject, Sir Claude Hill said in the course of his speech that it was not desirable to open new schools without having trained teachers beforehand. The present committee has gone a step further in recommending that such schools should be opened only after obtaining teachers from castes which are in close touch with the agricultural communities. Although these principles may appear reasonable at first sight, we do not see why the caste of the teacher should be a test for his selection. Does a teacher become unsuitable merely because he belongs to a higher caste? If so, why does not the Government adopt this principle in respect of the other sections of education as well? Why does not this idea occur to the Government when they bring inferior teachers from England and place them above the local men, however highly

educated they may be? When the Government themselves are anxious to open two such schools, is it not cruel to advise the putting off of the same by offering such curious and fantastic suggestions?

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

30. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th May, writes:—A Government *communiqué* says that His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to confer on the Taluk Board of Kumbakōnam the right of electing its President. But the same *communiqué* adds that His Excellency has been pleased to withdraw the right enjoyed till now by the Board of electing its Vice-President! Perhaps this is the way in which our Government help the development of self-governing institutions.

Government and Taluk Boards.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th May 1919.

Adverting to the general principle laid down by the Government that the official members in a Taluk Board should not hereafter stand for election as President of the Board, the *Dravidan*, of the 10th May, says:—This is a very good principle indeed; for we have been told that, as it is officials like the Deputy Collector that were Presidents of these Boards till now, they have been keeping the non-official members therein under their thumb so much so that the latter have not been able to express their views freely.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 10th May 1919.

(k) *General.*

31. Remarking that the day of the departure of Lord Pentland, which was anxiously awaited by the people, has after all arrived, the *Jananukulan*, of the 29th March, observes that none of the previous Governors of this Presidency gained the esteem of the people as much as Lord Carmichael or incurred their displeasure as much as Lord Pentland, and dwelling at length upon the way in which the former mixed with the people and tried to understand things for himself quotes certain statements made by Lord Pentland soon after he assumed charge and adds:—These statements gave room for high hopes being entertained about his administration but these hopes were all blighted. Though he was in this Presidency for 6½ years, the fact that he did not secure the good-will of the people reached even England as is evident from what the *India*, a weekly published there, has stated of him. His was the solitary instance of a Governor going home without a farewell address. Let those that become Governors understand that they can gain the good-will of the people only if they freely associate with them and work for their welfare.

Lord Pentland.

JANANUKULAN, Tanjore, 29th March 1919.

32. The *Kaliyugavartamani*, of the 5th April, refers to the opposition to this movement by some leaders and says:—Even in South Africa, Mr. Gandhi had a few enemies. So some may decry his movement here too. Those patriots who have decided that there is no other course open to them than to follow this movement, cannot do anything else. Nor can they keep quiet. If the Besantine party should approve of the statement that Mr. Gandhi's movement is likely to cause danger to the country as shown by the Delhi incident, let them ask the Government about it. Let restrictions be imposed upon Mr. Gandhi so as to prevent the spread of the movement. He is prepared for it, and will not surely stop half way. We are certain that the movement has taken a deep root in the country and the people have begun to appreciate its weight. The Government also have tested the situation of the country. The matter has reached even the House of Commons. It seems the Secretary of State permitted the introduction of the Rowlatt Bill because only two members supported the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde in the Imperial Legislative Council. Does not this signify that it would not have been introduced if all the non-official members had supported the resolution of Mr. Khaparde? If this is true, it will be very creditable if the Government would recede even at this stage. Why should they make a show of doing so and yet not do it? It would have saved all trouble to Mr. Gandhi if the Bill had been suspended. It would be novel, indeed, if they say that they might withhold their consent if the *Satyagraha* movement spreads in the country. But it is not sound statesmanship. When the whole country was against a law, it ought not to have

The *Satyagraha* movement.

KALIYUGAVARTAMANI, Madras, 5th April 1919.

been introduced. This is what modern civilization teaches. Anyhow it looks as if it is the will of God that the general public should become acquainted with the tactics of the Government and the present situation. If this object is fulfilled, then that will be a great service done to the country by Mr. Gandhi.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 7th April 1919.

The acquittal of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu.

33. Referring to the acquittal of Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu by the High Court, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 7th April, echoes the view that it would have been better if the Judges had gone into the merits of the case and acquitted him thereon and adds:—One thing demonstrated to the people by this case is that no prosecution should be launched hereafter, without proper consultation with the Government. In this case, the Chief Secretary authorised the District Magistrate to prosecute, while the law requires that the Governor in Council should accord the necessary sanction. Apart from the hardships to which Varadarajulu Nayudu was subjected by this prosecution having been launched on the opinion of individuals, it is not known who is responsible for the events that followed the prosecution. Mr. Nayudu is highly esteemed by the people of South India and so the people were eagerly watching his trial. It shows indeed the carelessness of Lord Pentland's Government that these should have been shot down. How much of public money has been spent on this account and what amount of hardship the people had to suffer! It is not known who is responsible for all this.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 7th April 1919.

A lesson for the bureaucrats.

34. The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 7th April, writes:—Sir William Meyer should have felt highly disappointed indeed when he found the progress attained by the Philippinos under the rule of America, and saw that there was not even a single political prisoner there, for he was thereby deprived of an opportunity to boast of the expert administration of his colleagues in India. We trust that Sir William Meyer will communicate the result of his experience in the Philippines to his bureaucratic friends, the European Associations in India which are giving out that India is a backward country and the Sydenham party, who are deceiving the British public by saying that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms are too much for the Indians and, pointing out to them how the Philippinos who obtained liberty from America within less than 20 years are quite satisfied, and how in India even after 170 years of British rule there are differences between the rulers and the ruled necessitating the adoption of repressive measures like the Rowlatt Law and the use of machine-guns, make them adopt such a policy in India at least hereafter as will satisfy the people.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 5th May 1919.

The Hon'ble Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Sahib Bahadur.

35. The *Dravidan*, of the 5th May, also appreciates the appointment of the Hon'ble Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Sahib Bahadur as the First Member of the Board of Revenue and remarks that this appointment indicates a recognition on the part of the Government of the efficient work done by him as District Collector.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 6th May 1919.

The Indian deputations to England.

36. Referring to the doubt said to have been expressed by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel whether it was advisable for all the leaders in India to proceed to England now, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th May, observes:—India is now in a critical condition. Martial law is in force in some parts of the country. The Provincial Governments are copying each other in the adoption of a repressive policy. We have often pointed out that it is not desirable that all the popular leaders should leave India at this juncture. But the British Cabinet, the Parliament and the British public cannot understand the real condition of India from the bureaucrats or the Anglo-Indian papers. Hence it is that it is very essential that Indian representatives should now proceed to England, so as to apprise the British Government and people of the actions of the bureaucrats here. Though many Anglo-Indians and the bureaucrats here have no sympathy for the Indians, the British public will not be like this. If they understand our grievances, they will sympathise with us and devise means to redress them. When the Allies conquered the territory of the enemy during the war, they did

not authorise the throwing of bombs there from aeroplanes. The British public will tremble if they hear that the bureaucrats in India, under such a benign British Government, threw bombs on the people in Amritsar and Gujranwala. Some are afraid that the question of reforms will be spoiled, if the representatives proceeding to England are explaining to the British public about the troubles here. There is no room for such a fear. It will only be beneficial to us if the British public understand our true condition. There will be no use, however, in Indians now proceeding to England spending thousands of rupees, if they have no union among them. We have oftentimes urged that our object will be accomplished only by some followers of Mr. Tilak proceeding to England to co-operate with him there.

The Indian deputations to England.

Reiterating the view that the diversity of opinion among the numerous deputations now proceeding to England may injure India more than help Mr. Tilak, who is doing good work there to secure the progress of India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th May, remarks that, if the members comprising these deputations will put their heads together as soon as they reach England and work in union under the leardership of Mr. Tilak, the misery of mother Bharata will vanish.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th May 1919.

The Government pamphlets about the Rowlatt Law.

37. Adverting to the vernacular pamphlets issued by the different Provincial Governments to explain the Rowlatt Law to the people, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th May, writes:— Many people have been bearing tales to the Government, that the political agitators have been taking advantage of this opportunity to misinterpret the Rowlatt Law to the people and that it was at their instigation that disturbances occurred in India. But we have no grounds to believe this to be true. Further, all the people in India are not now immersed in ignorance. Though they have not advanced far in learning, they are not lacking acute intelligence So it will not do to hold that all the people in India acted on the words of the agitators and created disturbances. It is no doubt the duty of the Government to dispel the wrong impression of the public regarding the Rowlatt Law. But the pamphlet issued by the Government shows only one side of the picture and one cannot understand its merits and demerits, unless one sees the whole picture. The Government know that the Rowlatt Law has been condemned both in and outside the Legislative Council by men of all shades of opinion. Even Sir Narayan Chandravarkar and Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, who command the respect of the Government, condemn it and men who have never opposed the Government till now have gone over to the opposition in the matter of this law. The reason for this opposition is that this law confers on the executive officials powers which should be exercised only by ordinary courts of law and that, with these powers, the officials would seek to suppress even constitutional agitation and thus deprive the people of their liberty. The Government state in their pamphlet that it is foolish to entertain any such fear. But, was it owing to wisdom or foolishness that the aforesaid gentlemen opposed this law? The British public are well aware of the hardships to which the people may be subjected by the executive officials resorting to a repressive policy for their own history affords numerous instances for it. In all free countries, the power of making a judicial enquiry and punishing culprits rests only with the judicial department and it is this that protects the liberty of the people In all these countries, the executive officials are responsible to the people, and yet the latter have no confidence in the former. If even in countries like England, where prevails a government responsible to the people, the power of the executive officials is thus detested, how can the power of the executive officials in India, who are in no way responsible to the people, be harmless? The pamphlet of the Government says that those who obey the law and conduct themselves peacefully, have no reason to be afraid of this law. We too think that the people should not be unnecessarily alarmed. Still we doubt whether the assurance of the authorities will really prove useful. The pamphlet says that it is the duty of the Government to check revolutionary crimes, but does not explain what these crimes are. It does not say whether an ordinary disturbance will be deemed to be a revolutionary one. The burning of

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th May 1919.

the dress of a C.I.D. Officer was held to be a revolutionary crime in the Punjab and the offender was sentenced to transportation for life. The responsibility of deciding whether an offence is an ordinary one or a serious one rests only with the executive officials. Is it not possible for them to regard even a petty offence as a serious one and take action? Considering all these circumstances, is it not natural for the people to tremble at the Rowlatt Law?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th May 1919.

The revival of the *Satyagraha* activity.

38. Referring to the announcement by Mr. Gandhi that he will start the *Satyagraha* activity in July next, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th May, observes:—Some persons doubted whether the *Satyagraha* movement would be dropped altogether, while some made fun of Mr. Gandhi as having got afraid of the authorities. All these will now be struck with surprise and terror. *Satyagraha* will get rid of all our political ills. Mr. Gandhi is quite true when he says that, had it not been for the recent disturbances, the Rowlatt Law would have been repealed by this time. Let the *Satyagrahis* and those sympathising with *Satyagraha* act upon the advice of Mr. Gandhi at least hereafter, without giving room to rude acts, and strive for the progress of the country.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th May 1919.

The Press Act and the Anglo-Indian papers.

39. Anent the suggestion made by the *Advocate of India* that the Press Act is not severe in India, that larger amounts should be demanded as security from Indian newspapers than is done now and that a special department should be started to supervise the Indian Press, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th May, says:—There are many gutter newspapers in the western countries, especially in England and a few, who cannot get a living even in these, come to India and show their skill and evil tendency. It is no exaggeration to say that the majority of those conducting Anglo-Indian newspapers in India belong to this class and the *Advocate of India* is only one such. What are we to say of its mischievous suggestion? Every Indian paper and well-intentioned Anglo-Indian paper is sure to detest this wicked suggestion. The reason why the *Advocate of India* is arrogant enough to offer this evil advice is the fact that the authorities will not apply the Press Act to it or papers of its class. It is only such Anglo-Indian papers that are the cause of the discontent and unrest in India. They give a wrong colour to the opinions and aspirations of the people and prejudice the mind of the authorities. They condemn and revile the Indians as they like. They create class hatred among them and decry their religious principles. The authorities, while seeing all this, pretend not to do so! The Press Act should be applied to such papers and then their opinions about it noted. It is because the *Advocate of India* knows that the Act does not apply to it that it advises the authorities to suppress other papers.

SIRTIRUTTAM, Madura, 9th April 1919.

The rulers and the ruled in India.

40. The *Sirtiruttam*, of the 9th April, observes:—Many are agitating in differerent ways to establish Home Rule in India at some time and they have a wrong idea that the creation of disturbances will further their object. Such persons instigate the people to contravene authority, or their agitation teaches the people to oppose the Government and break their laws. Habit changes nature. If, later on, Home Rule is obtained by a stroke of fortune, the people may even then transgress laws and oppose the authorities. Is this habit a desirable one? Why does not this strike the so-called leaders? The fact that the people have not been steady in their opinion of their leaders as seen from the original popularity and later unpopularity of leaders like Mr. Gokhale, Sir P. M. Mehta and Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, shows that India is now drifting to a dangerous point without a pilot and without a goal. Nobody realizes this. The Government too have lost their courage; the leaders lack the strength to control the people who have taken to dangerous ways. So we are anxious about the future of our country. The Government should act bravely, the leaders should control the people and the people should also act with discretion, without being carried away by enthusiasm.

SIRTIRUTTAM, Madura, 9th April 1919.

Stray notes.

41. In the course of a number of short notes on a variety of subjects, the *Sirtiruttam*, of the 9th April, contains the following:—The rulers of India have been governing many

countries for many years and are experts in administration. Had they been farsighted and conferred timely benefits on India suitable to her condition, these cruelties would not have occurred here.

It is no easy matter to choose a minister and this work has not been properly done for the last 150 years by the Government of India. They were confident of meeting the Indian agitators by diplomacy, which would succeed in Europe and America, but not in India. It is only impartial justice and courage that will stand in India. Punishment should be meted out impartially, and privileges granted when the time comes for it.

The Indian National Congress.

42. Remarking in effect that all people joined and started the Congress originally, irrespective of race or caste, the *Sirtiruttam*, of the 9th April, describes how many of the non-Brahman workers left the Congress gradually for various reasons, which opened a way for the Brahmans to enter in large numbers and how the latter succeeded in getting certain reforms and privileges in the name of the people, though their real motive was only to gain some high offices and secure a happy life for their community and adds:—Thinking that their business will be spoiled, if they expressed their motive openly, they linked the people with them and creating discontent in their minds which led to small disturbances, passed resolutions in their name and presented many petitions. The Government became terrified by this and granted some false reforms during the times of Lord Minto and Morley. We call these reforms false because they helped only to get some high appointments to the Brahmans and did not confer any privileges on the people. The Muhammadans were able to get these appointments only after they demanded and secured communal representation. Then the Brahmans and the Muhammadans joined together and making a tool of the ignorant and irresponsible masses, renewed their agitation, which made it a little difficult for the Government who began again to adopt their old conciliatory policy towards the agitators. Just at this juncture, the people who had become discontented on account of a false idea, grew excited and could not be controlled. The agitators utilised this opportunity to their own advantage while other classes sincerely and loyally strove to educate the masses. When things had got out of control, the Government began to punish the sincere workers, leaving those who were at the bottom of the mischief. The unrest increased. Those who engineered the mischief backed out and the people who stepped in in the middle suffered and are still suffering. The condition of the people became helpless and yet the Brahman is happy. Let the Government realise this truth at least hereafter and co-operate with true patriots and the public.

SIRTIRUTTAM, Madura, 9th April 1919.

Lord Willingdon.

43. Adverting to the assumption of charge of the Governorship of Madras by Lord Willingdon, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 14th April, remarks:—Whatever might be the views of His Excellency Lord Willingdon in regard to other matters, we believe that as he has already expressed himself in favour of the unity between the British Government and the people increasing in the matter of India obtaining responsible Government, he will conduct himself in such a manner on this point as to satisfy the people. Before taking up the responsibility of the Government of a province, he has divided the people thereof into two parties, loyal and disloyal, and stated that of the two he would support the moderates and ignore the extremists. He has taken charge at a time when the mind of the people is troubled in various ways, on account of their being deprived of their liberty. It is a very difficult task to carry on the administration impartially and in a peaceful manner at this juncture. The people are expecting only a calm and just administration in view of the present situation and the welfare of the general public.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 14th April 1919.

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi.

44. The *Vaisyamitran*, of the 14th April, also takes exception to the action taken against Mr. Gandhi by the Punjab and the Delhi Government and the Government of India and demurring to the application of the Defence of India Act to him after the termination of the war, condemns its application to *Satyagrahis* in general and remarks that it is quite incompatible with the justice of the British administration to prevent the people from opposing the Rowlatt Law on the ground that it is

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 14th April 1919.

but the Defence of India Act in a different form, and that its introduction at a time when the latter Act is condemned will be prejudicial to the liberty of the public.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 7th May 1919.

The Namasudras of Bengal.

45. Observing that the feeling of the non-Brahmans appears to be the same all over the country as regards the Brahmans, the *Dravidan*, of the 7th May, agrees with the *Indian Mirror* in the opinion that though there are numerous classes in India, it is only the voice of the Brahman that prevails and, referring specially to the Namasudras of Calcutta having supported the Rowlatt Law hopes that the Government will, without still continuing to be deceived by the alluring words of these Brahmans, find out how many classes there are in the country and what their inter-relations are and shape their actions accordingly.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 7th May 1919.

The Brahmans under the British Government.

46. A correspondent of the *Dravidan*, of the 7th May, writes:—It is a fact known to all people in the world that the Brahmans, who now form an advanced community in our country, are scheming in many ways to root out the English Government. Though it is the Englishmen that conduct the administration, all powers are in the hands of the Brahmans and they do anything they like, without the least fear. Even, as officials, these Brahmans are secretly inciting disturbances helping Home Rule lecturers to do their work and obstructing Dravidian lectures. A Trichinopoly correspondent has already reported that a meeting, held by the Dravidian leaders to explain the Rowlatt Law to the people and expose the fraudulent motive of the originators of the *Satyagraha* movement, was disturbed by a Brahman vakil and stones were thrown on the meeting and that the Police did not pay any attention to it. It appears a similar disturbance was created even in Madura when a lecture was delivered about the Rowlatt Law by Mr. J. N. Ramanadhan on the 23rd April 1919. All this is due only to the partiality of the Brahman officials. The Government should note this and see that the appointments in every place are distributed between the Brahmans and the Dravidians, so as to prevent the loyal and poor Dravidians from being deluded by the Brahman officials and becoming seditionists. Otherwise these officials will, while pretending to be innocent, cause much mischief.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th May 1919.

The encouragement of Tamil.

47. Complaining that neither the Government nor the popular leaders come forward to encourage the Tamil language and attributing the present low condition of the Tamil pandits to their poverty, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th May, says:—The poverty of the Tamil pandits can be removed by the Government, if they like; for there is nothing that they cannot do. By encouraging the pandits, they will be encouraging the Tamil language. If they do not strive to improve this language they are liable to the blame that a civilized language ceased to exist in a civilized administration. They should appoint a committee to enquire into and report on the condition of this language and of the people that are speaking it and the methods of improving it. Tamil pandits, conversant with the present civilized tendency, and those taking an interest in this language should be members thereof and the recommendations made by them should be approved by the Government and the University.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th May 1919.

The District Judge of Madura and the head of a *mutt*.

48. A correspondent to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th May, reports Mr. Booty, the District Judge of Madura, to have stated during an interview with the head of the Tirugnanasambanda *mutt* that the latter should note that it is the Brahmans that are obstructing the Government and the progress of other classes and asked him whether he was also taking part in political agitation like the *sanyasis* of Northern India, to which the *Matadhipati* is said to have replied that he was not connected with any movement hostile to the Government, and remarks:—We regret at the *Matadhipati* having given this reply in order to secure the favour of an Indian Civil Service official. We hope that, hereafter at least, he will conduct himself properly without incurring the displeasure of the people by awaiting favour at the hands of the bureaucrats. We are glad that even in Southern India *sanyasis* are, like those of the Kovilur *mutt*, delivering lectures on subjects such as *Satyagraha*. We expect the heads of *mutts* also to

carry on a constitutional agitation like this without seeking the favour of the bureaucrats.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 7th May 1919.

The deportation of Mr. Horniman

49. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 7th May, reproduces some of the remarks made by "Ditcher" in the *Capital* of Calcutta on the deportation of Mr. Horniman, drawing an analogy between this incident and the deportation of Mr. James Silk Buckingham in 1823, who eventually became a Member of Parliament and made it hot for the authorities in India that were responsible for his deportation.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 30th April 1919.

The deportation of Mr. Horniman.

Referring to the deportation of Mr. Horniman, the *Desabhimani*, of the 30th April, says:—There is no doubt that the Indians are all immersed in an ocean of sorrow on account of this His unsurpassed love for India seems to be the only reason why the authorities are indignant towards him. He had been bravely voicing forth the aspirations of the Indians and candidly pointing out the defects in the administration of the country always in a constitutional way. In fighting for reforms, he had not taken advantage of the difficulties of the rulers, as is evident from his advice to the people to give up the policy of passive resistance at a time when unrest was prevailing in the country. We suppose that all the Indians will express their disapproval of the order passed against him. There is some good in every evil. On his return to his motherland, he will, with the help of his countrymen, see to this order, which is a spot on the honour of his country, and, along with it, many other repressive orders, being cancelled. He has understood the affairs of India in a manner in which no other man has understood them. He can clearly express all the defects existing here in India, and we hope much good will come out of it. Thus the order passed against him may prove to be a source of happiness to the Indians.

SWADESAMITRAN, and DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th and 9th May 1919.

The condition of the Punjab.

50. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 7th May, and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th idem, reproduce in Tamil an abstract of a contribution to the *Leader* of Allahabad by a correspondent from the Punjab about the state of affairs in Lahore, since the introduction of martial law, and the former paper comments thereon in the following strain:—This communication shows how benevolently the administration is carried on there by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. If it is a fact that men of position are taken handcuffed along the public streets, that failure to salute Military officers leads to serious consequences and that some have died as a result of flogging, the Viceroy should attend to the situation at once.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 7th May 1919.

The condition in the Punjab.

Remarking that the Government of India have, like other Governments, powers under the ordinary laws to declare martial law in the country whenever a state of war exists or an open rebellion has broken out with the idea of subverting the Government of the country and the administration of justice cannot be conducted properly with the aid of ordinary laws, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 7th May, refers to the statement in the preamble to the Emergency law promulgated by the Government on the 15th April last, that the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that there exists a state of open rebellion contravening the authority of the Government and observes:—It is the duty of the British Cabinet and the Parliament to appoint a commission to inquire into and report, to the satisfaction of the public, whether there was such a state of rebellion in the Punjab as to necessitate the introduction of martial law, and we hope they will discharge this duty promptly. Looking closely at the Emergency laws passed by the Government of India in quick succession, it looks as if they are themselves in doubt about the condition justifying the introduction of martial law. If there is an open state of rebellion in the Punjab, why should the Government of India, in applying the Regulation of 1804, prescribe lesser punishments than what are provided therein and appoint commissions of three persons, having a knowledge of law, to try the accused in place of the courts-martial mentioned in the said regulation? Even if they might not have thought that the condition does not warrant the infliction of death sentences and the holding of trials under courts-martial, they should have intended to relax

the rigour of the martial law a little. Leaving this alone, martial law can continue legally only as long as a state of war or rebellion exists. Apart from the question how far the events before the 15th April 1919 can be taken to indicate a state of war or rebellion, nothing appears to have occurred since the morning of the 16th idem indicative of a state of rebellion If so, there is room to think that martial law has been in force for a longer period than what is necessary. So it is for the commission suggested by us to ascertain whether there was any necessity for the introduction of martial law in the beginning and whether this necessity has continued to exist all the time that the said law has been in force. Then, again, when martial law is introduced, it is only offences connected with the state of war or rebellion necessitating it that can be tried by courts-martial. But in the Punjab the Government of India have passed an Emergencey law authorizing the commissions appointed by them to try even those who disobey the orders of the Military officers exercising martial law and those who commit other petty offences It is really a novel thing that martial law should be applied even to offences, which are not riotous in character, such as the disobedience of an order issued by the Military officer in charge that all electric fans should be delivered to him. This procedure was not adopted even during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, which seriously endangered the British Government in India. A separate law was passed then, as soon as the mutiny had subsided a little, authorizing civil officers appointed for the purpose to try even those connected with the mutiny along with other offenders and punish them both according to ordinary law. But, according to the Emergency laws now in force in the Punjab, the commissions are empowered to sentence one accused of disobedience to an order of the Military officer in charge to the different punishments provided, from whipping to imprisonment for seven years. There is no reason whatever for the Government of India to think that the present condition warrants the infliction of more serious punishments to offenders than those inflicted in 1857. The Anglo-Indian papers, which have been provoked by the death of some Europeans, as a result of the untoward events in the Punjab, and the demand of political rights by the Indians, may suggest the adoption of more stringent measures. But Lord Chelmsford, who is here as the representative of the King, is bound to take care that he is not deluded by such suggestions. The remark made by the *Englishman* in 1858 that there was no harm in shooting down all the sepoys was read out by Mr. John Bright in Parliament and he declared that it was a disgrace to other Englishmen that an English paper should have written in such a strain. It is usual for the Anglo-Indian papers to make absurd statements. It is the duty of the Government to ignore these and act as is best suited to the condition. In consideration of these facts, we trust the Government of India would do away with martial law immediately and the British Government would appoint a commission as suggested.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras. 9th May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran* reverts to this subject in its issue of the 9th May and, pointing to the opinion, said to have been expressed, on the application of the aforesaid Regulation of 1804 to the case of a political disturbance that occurred at Cuttack in the Bengal Presidency in 1817, by the then Advocate-General of Bengal, that the action taken under the said regulation was illegal adds:—The preamble to this regulation makes it clear that martial law can be introduced under it only for safeguarding the British Empire and that it can apply only to those that are caught with arms in their hands doing something "openly hostile" to the British Government or those that are caught "while in the act of committing" a riot or "openly" assisting or abetting an action of the enemy. The letter written by the Government of Bengal at that time, authorizing the introduction of martial law in Cuttack, clearly says that, if any one accused under Regulation X of 1804 has not been arrested while in the act of committing the offence, he should be handed over to the civil authorities. This shows that martial law can be applied only to one who is caught redhanded in the process of committing an offence under it and that, if a person is arrested while not committing such an act, he should be dealt with by the civil authorities according to the ordinary law. If this opinion is correct, the question arises as to how the application of the Regulation of 1804 to those in the Punjab,

who do not appear to have been arrested "while in the act of committing" a riotous act openly or to those who have committed other offences, can be deemed to be legal. We have to presume from the fact of the Government of India having empowered the Military commissions to try even offences other than those connected with riots, that they have not themselves clearly understood the powers of courts-martial under Regulation X of 1804. We know that, whatever mistake may be committed, the Government are empowered to pass a law for being excused for such mistake on the ground that it was committed at a dangerous period. Still, as the steps taken now in the Punjab appear to be beyond the powers conferred on the Government by law, we urge that the mistake should be remedied immediately and the punishment for the offences inflicted and relief for the public secured after an inquiry in ordinary courts of law.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 9th May 1919.

Referring to the telegram said to have been sent to the Punjab Government and the Governmrnt of India by the editors of six Indian newspapers asking for permission to send Mr. Andrews to the Punjab to ascertain the situation there personally, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 9th May, observes :—The question is whether the authorities will accede to this request. They must yield, if they wish the people to have peace and contentment. The people have no idea of the conditions in the Punjab. They are under a panic that all manner of things are being done there in the name of martial law. The whole world knows Mr. Andrews to be an impartial gentleman and he has done good service in ascertaining the true state of affairs in South Africa and the Fiji Islands and he has also settled the recent differences between the labourers and the capitalists here in an impartial manner. So he is the right sort of man to get a true account of the situation in the Punjab. No one should forget that, though action taken under the martial law may prove beneficial for the nonce, permanent benefit can accrue only by things done in accordance with the wishes of the people.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th May 1919.

The condition of the Punjab

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th May, reproduces in Tamil an article from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* condemning the conclusions come to by the Military Commissions of Inquiry in the Punjab regarding certain offences.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th May 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th May, refers to the refusal of the permission sought by the editors of six Indian newspapers to send Mr. Andrews to the Punjab as their representative to ascertain things for himself and says :—There is a loud complaint throughout the country that the actions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the military authorities in the Punjab are indeed awful. It appears the people there are suffering indescribable hardships. The refusal, therefore, of permission by the authorities to grant the above request of the Indian editors at such a juncture, will not only create great dissatisfaction in the country but also a feeling of anxiety about the condition of the people there. It is necessary that the Viceroy should interfere in this matter and do justice. If he would be meditating on the heights of Simla leaving the Punjab in the hands of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the military authorities, the evils that may result then are many. If the actions of the authorities in the Punjab are in consonance with justice and equity, and are such as cannot be found fault with by any impartial man, why should not Mr. Andrews be permitted to see with his own eyes? This is the very reason why we have to doubt the justice obtaining in the Punjab and our doubts will only become stronger hereafter. According to the Martial Law now prevailing in the Punjab, we think no one from another province can step into it. We need not dilate upon the equity of this rule.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th May 1919.

The present condition of the Punjab and martial law.

Under these headings, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th May, reproduces in Telugu the article of Mr. A. Nandi on the present condition of the Punjab contributed to the *Leader*, and also the memorandum of Mr. R. Spankie, the Advocate-General of Bengal in 1818, on martial law.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 3rd May 1919.

The Punjab disturbances.

Under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 3rd May, publishes in Telugu the cable sent by the All-India Congress Committee on the present situation to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Sinha and the Premier. The cable appears in English in *New India* of the 30th April.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th May 1919.

51. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th May, refers to the constant complaint made by some Englishmen here and by the Anglo-Indian papers that it is only the work of the extremists that increases disloyalty and sedition in the country and observes:—It is our humble opinion, and it is a correct one, that the appearance and growth of disloyalty, sedition and class hatred in India are due to the officials, who are wanting in intelligence and calmness of judgment, the Anglo-Indians and their papers. Who does not know that it was Lord Curzon that was responsible for the serious events that followed the partition of Bengal? The evils resulting from the one foolish act committed by him have increased tenfold and led to immense mischief. But the European war evoked a spirit of loyalty throughout the country and the assurances given by English statesmen during the period of war have created a feeling of satisfaction all over India, so that disloyalty and sedition can never crop up. If these evils should appear again in our country, it should be due only to the unwise act of Lord Chelmsford. The discontent and unrest that appeared in the time of Lord Curzon were dispelled by the wise regimé of Lord Hardinge. But Lord Chelmsford is now trying to resuscitate them. What a difference between statesmen! If sedition should take root in the Punjab, the responsibility for it would rest with Sir Michæl O'Dwyer, and if it should take root in India, Lord Chelmsford will be responsible for it. These two servants of the righteous British Government are doing things, which even their enemies cannot do. It is so ordanied by fate!

The cause of unrest in India.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 7th May 1919.

In an article under the heading 'the Unrest in India,' the *Malayali*, of the 7th May, points out that no paper that aims at the good of India and upholds the freedom of the people and no Indian who criticises the policy of the Government have escaped punishment from the Government, refers to the forfeiture of its security by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* as well as to the punishments given to the vernacular papers in Bombay which have been burned like flies by the wild fire of the Government, and observes that inasmuch as people have invariably later to regret for their actions done in a fit of anger it will be against all laws of nature if the Government should not have a similar experience.

The unrest in India.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 9th May 1919

52. Adverting to the news received that the economic condition in Bengal is very stressful, and to the *Bengalee* accusing the Government there of sleeping over the matter, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 9th May 1919, observes that the high prices of articles have not gone down even in this Presidency and asks whether the Government here, who are bound to safeguard the welfare of the people, pay prompt attention to it.

The food situation.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 3rd May 1919.

53. A correspondent to the *Dravidan*, of the 3rd May, takes exception to the Government purchasing a number of copies of the Tamil journal *Vivekachintamani*, and supplying it to schools, on the ground that though professing not to dabble in politics a recent issue of the journal is full of matter connected with the Rowlat Law and the *Satyagraha* movement, and that it uses more Sanskrit words than Tamil, and raising the question whether it is just on the part of the Government to purchase, with the money set apart for the improvement of the vernaculars, a journal which is useless to many and is abusing the Government themselves, hopes that hereafter at least the Government would seek the help of the non-Brahmans, and understand the real state of affairs.

Government aid to vernacular journals.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th May 1919.

54. Pointing to the fact that one David Ramsay who delivered a seditious lecture at Creighton in England as a result of which the audience conducted themselves very badly and began to sing songs sympathising with the Bolsheviks, was punished only with imprisonment for five months, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th May, remarks that for the same offence, in India, one would be sentenced to transportation for life or to death.

Punishments in England and India.

DESABHAKTAN, & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th May 1919.

55. The *Desabhaktan*, and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th May, reproduce in Tamil a letter written by Sir Rabindranath Tagore to a friend on the present situation, expressing the opinion that the root cause of all the recent disturbances in India is not the

The present situation.

system of Government or law obtaining in the country but the men entrusted with the conduct of administration, and the former paper refers to the above letter in a leaderette and remarks:—Though the Anglo-Indian papers attribute the recent disturbances to the secret work of some people, the view of Sir Rabindranath Tagore is quite correct and it will be accepted by all impartial persons. The bureaucrats may not accept it and we need not say why. It is a patent fact that it is their actions that create unrest and dissatisfaction in India and lead to the commission of seditious acts.

The same paper refers to the reply of Mr. Montagu to a question, recently asked in Parliament whether the disturbances in India were not due to the Rowlatt Law, that in the present disturbed condition of the world, they cannot be attributed to any specific cause and observes:—Though, in making this statement, Mr. Montagu did not utter a falsehood wantonly, our humble opinion is that he has uttered a falsehood, unwittingly or otherwise. It is the Rowlatt Law that is the cause of all the recent disturbances and other events here. Mr. Montagu has not stated this truth and we have to conclude that the Government of India should have so twisted matters as to make him not understand it.

The present situation.

Referring to the fact that in the Punjab alone, unlike other provinces, the unrest is continuing in spite of the repressive measures adopted, the *Lokopakari*, of the 5th May, observes:—The public opinion seems to be that it is only the repressive measures that are the cause of the continuance of the unrest there. Though it is necessary for the authorities to put down mischievous acts. it will only excite the people and not secure peace if, at a time when there is unrest in the country, the Government arrest popular leaders, keep them without trial, introduce martial law and subject the people to various restrictions. The whole country is now condemning the repressive policy now followed. The Rowlatt Bills were condemned throughout the country. But what was the use? The authorities insisted on getting them passed, without caring in the least for the opinion of the people. Though the former say that this law will not affect innocent persons, the latter are striving to get it off the statute book. It is an indisputable fact that the unrest in India is due to this law, and we hope the British Government will not give their assent to a law, which is the cause of such an unrest as did not appear even during the period of the war. If full confidence is placed in the Indians and liberty granted to them freely, in consideration of their help in the war, unrest will never appear in India. It is essential for the British Government, who are intent on granting complete liberty to uncivilized countries and communities, to grant full privileges to the highly-civilized Indians under the British Empire. If complete liberty is granted to India, it will be a great support for the Empire in establishing peace in the world in the future. It is only in view of this that the pronouncement of August 1917 was made in the British Parliament, and it is necessary for this assurance to be fulfilled soon.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 5th May 1919.

The present situation.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 7th May, has a letter from a correspondent, Moulana Abdus Subban Sahib Bahadur, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, of which the following is a summary:—It was thought that the immediate result of the war would be that the treaties would be honoured, and ratified, that various nations will be given their rights, while conquered races would be made equal. It is a fact that India entertained such hopes. She joined the British standard enthusiastically and gave life and property to attain this end. But it is an irony of fate that the day of liberty, that has dawned in Europe, has not made its appearance in India.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 7th May 1919.

Although India is anxious to obtain equal rights with other countries of the Empire, and gradual endeavours are being made for responsible government, and the Montford Scheme is still under discussion, but the Government on the spot has been pleased to bestow Rowlatt Act as a reward for all this sacrifice and devotion, in spite of the opposition of the Indian leaders. It is evident that this Act is diametrically opposed to the rights of independent citizens.

This Act, however, far-sighted it may be, is unnecessary and ill-timed. In these days such an Act, if not terrifying, is certainly not based upon wisdom. Its being on the statute book in itself is sufficient to stigmatise the nation.

However, when the Central Government and the Secretary of State have given their assent to this Act, we should submit to this misfortune and patiently await its repeal which can be brought about by constitutional agitation.

It is, however, unjust to embark upon a regular opposition which disturbs the public peace.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th May 1919.

India and reforms.

56. In a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th May, remarks that even if reforms should be introduced on the basis of the Montagu-Chelmsford report, the Indians would not be having a Government responsible to the people as the report has no signs whatever of a responsible Government and says:—It is not an easy thing for a country to obtain responsible Government from others. Those who are granting reforms to us are not fools. They will grant them only in accordance with the agitation for them in India. They will not be frightened by crowds of our people proceeding to England. The strength of the agitation in India before the visit of Mr. Montagu has gone down after his return, and the bureaucrats would surely have communicated this fact to the Secretary of State. So the reforms will only be intended to please the moderates who gagged their own mouths for fear that agitation will whittle down the reforms. Patriots who sacrificed their all for the sake of these reforms will have to suffer more and more. Messrs. Tilak and Gandhi are incessantly working in England and India, respectively, the former for the reforms and the latter for the abolition of the Rowlatt Law. If the efforts of Mr. Tilak are to succeed there, those of Mr. Gandhi should grow stronger here. The sound of the *Satyagraha* movement should always be reaching the ears of the Secretary of State for India and Mr. Tilak. It is the agitation in India that gives life to the work of Mr. Tilak in England. Let the patriots note that the salvation of India is based on *Satyagraha* and we think those who hold a contrary view are doing harm to India. What will our leaders do if the reforms are whittled down? Will they refuse to accept them and take to passive resistance? Let us wait and see.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th May 1919.

Indians and *Swadeshism*.

57. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th May, reproduces in Tamil a contribution to the *Young India* by the Hon'ble Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar about the necessity for the Indians taking to *Swadeshism* at this juncture.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th May 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, in its issue of the 13th May, points to the traces of the existence of responsible Government in ancient India and remarking that the old Indians abstained from committing sinful acts, not because they were afraid of law but because they were afraid of God, observes that it is only those leading a barbarous life that would deem the ancestors of the Indians to be savages and adds:—What is our present condition? Are we not depending upon the education of the foreigners? How much hardship did our people suffer owing to the scarcity of many indispensable necessaries of life during the period of the war! The cause of all this is our neglect of our own products and education. The English-educated people forgot their mother and began to ape the westerns, and those in the villages spoiled their life by following the examples of these educated men. Foreign cloths and foodstuffs have now spread throughout the country, and our life has become stained. The only way of purifying it is for the educated among us to evince a love for the mother-tongue and for all people in the country to develop *Swadeshism*, which will bring *Swaraj* of its own accord. The glory of our future depends on the resoluteness with which we cling to the *Swadeshi* vow.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 5th May 1919.

The Indian deputations.

58. Pointing out the necessity for the members of the various deputations proceeding to England, to sink their internal differences and represent to the British public the real condition of India, in view to her welfare, the *Lokopakari*, of the 5th May, says:—It is only then the British statesmen will attach weight to the opinion of the deputations and will be prepared to grant the reforms sought for. In England, there are Englishmen working both for and against India. If Indian leaders are unanimous in their views, it will be a source of encouragement to those Englishmen who are favourable to India. If an Indian should say in England that India should not be given liberty and that she does not deserve it, the British public will deem such a man to be either a mad man or one having no self-respect.

There can be no being in this or any other world that does not want liberty and wishes to be a slave all through. We, therefore, expect all the members of the deputation to advocate the grant of liberty to India realizing that liberty is the birthright of every individual. The liberty enjoyed by the British colonies is all that we seek for India.

Indians and the industries in India.

59. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th May, reproduces in Tamil a contribution to the *Capital* by an Engineer in which he remarks that no country which is in as degraded a condition as India industrially can be content with its wealth and be in a position to render any assistance during the period of a big war and, demurring to the view expressed in the Report of the Industries Commission that the Indians are incapable of having an industrial training, makes the following observations among others :—I do not understand in what industrial process an attempt was made to train the Indians and they were found wanting. If they have not the zeal, perseverance and sharp intelligence in industrial matters, they would not like to take to *Swadeshism*. Till now, the industries in India have been monopolised by the Anglo-Indians and Christians with the help of a few European industrial leaders and steps have been taken to prevent the Indians from carrying on any industries independently. I will venture to state that the Europeans and Anglo-Indians who are managing Indian industries, are not as intelligent as the Indians, and yet the condition of the Indians is very deplorable. They are given no facilities for carrying on industries. While it is the sons of the soil that should improve industrially, foreigners are allowed to enjoy the exclusive right of working industries on account of their birth. However capable the Indians may be in working these industries, the Europeans keep them off and offer special concessions to a European who is not better than they. With this end in view all the rules framed by the Government are most incompatible with the good of the country and reduce the sons of the soil to the position of coolies working for wages. As this differential treatment wounds the feelings of Indian industrial labourers, it makes them hate service under our countrymen. My Eurasian friends should note that unless they observe the progressive tendency of India and adapt their actions to it, they cannot continue for long to enjoy the influence they now have in industries. The time is near when it has to be recognised that the Indian industries are intended not to benefit the British Empire but to help the progress of India, and the Government have to change their policy accordingly. This will be an excellent course to get rid of political offences. If the Indians are afforded facilities and granted positions in walks which are conducive to the progress of India, the anarchist conspiracies which have been appearing in India for the last few years are sure to be rooted out.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th May 1919.

The Nambudris and the Rowlatt Law.

60. Referring to a Nambudri Conference recently held at Trichur, the *Dravidan*, of the 12th May, remarks that the Nambudris have now begun to debate even in politics and says :—At their recent conference, they condemned the Rowlatt Law. These people do not know anything about this law. It appears the *Yuvaraja* of Cochin was present at this conference. It is reprehensible that the heir-apparent of a Native State should attend a conference where British political questions are discussed. We hope he will understand hereafter at least that he should not attend such meetings.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 12th May 1919.

Kalaguragampa (Olla Podrida).

61. A correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 26th April (received on the 10th May), writes :—The wheel of time is revolving very quickly. Have we ever beheld a heavy downpour of shower, attended with peals of thunder, and dazzling lightnings, in scorching mid-summer? Have we ever heard of the people of great countries renowned for modern civilisation, needlessly, unjustly and without reason killing with bombs hurled from aeroplanes the peaceful subjects of their slave-dependency? Have we, in any age, beheld attempts having been made, in times such as these renowned for modern civilisation, to suppress national spirit, looking upon its development as a great crime, and that by countries renowned for their love of freedom?

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 26th April 1919.

* * * * * *

Selfishness prompts to any acts. Oh, selfishness, you have been spreading your despotism completely in all directions. You have been swallowing persons renowned as great men and deliverers of the country. The political condition of India cannot come to eminence unless you are exterminated. A great soul has emerged from his cottage to destroy you; and the chief means for your extermination is devotion to sacred duty. May Mahatma Gandhi, a votary of righteousness, destroy you with the *Pasupata* (an unfailing legendary missile presided over by *Siva*) of *Satyagraha*.

The whole of India is in a critical state of agitation. Wherever we turn our eyes we behold the goddess of despotism wielding her sway, with her lieutenants. The goddess of despotism has made over Delhi to her lieutenant, the Seditious Meetings Act. She has given away Calcutta and Madras to her old friend, the Press Act. She has delivered the Punjab into the hands of martial law. Enjoying the cool breeze of the hill-top, she has been paying homage to the goddess of despotism, wielding sway over her.

There is another thing still more horrible. O, vain mortal, who brag that you are civilised. You will bow down your head if you are informed of this. It is said that this is an age of civilization! but it is said that freedom and sympathy are not to be heard of in slave countries! and that, especially India, Egypt and Ireland should not aspire for freedom! It is said that laws had better be enforced which the subjects do not like and that to strongly criticise such laws is sedition! It is said that it is an essential feature of this modern civilization to kill such citizens as criticise them with bombs thrown from aeroplanes, even when they are helpless and unarmed! Hark, there is yet a greater thing.

No international laws sanction such acts. Even Germany has not perpetrated such acts. But what is justice? Is this not the age of *Kali*? Our will is justice. The confidence that there are none who will question them has been prompting the civilized races to perpetrate such exceedingly mean and cruel acts. Reader, whose is that fierce form that dazzles the eyes? I am mistaken. I should not dwell at length on this subject. Having, perhaps, heard my words to you, the administrator of the Press Act is reddening his eyes. What hope is there if he grows angry? I shall, therefore, cease to talk any more. . .

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While the whole country is discussing the Rowlatt laws, the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* has been writing leaders on potatoes and plantains, for the last three days. . . The snake of the Press Act despot has robbed the Rs. 5,000 deposited by the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* and bitten the paper. Does a paper that deals out nectar heed that snake-bite? This snake poison has become nectar after getting into the arteries of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, but the *Patrika*, knowing that certain varieties of plantains are a good antidote for snake-bite, is eating plantains for the relief of the pain of the bite. It says that the pain is slowly subsiding.

NAKSHATRAKA.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 6th May 1919.

Imperial preference.

62. Referring to the announcement of Imperial preference for England by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th May, says:— . . . If, in these circumstances, India does not get commercial freedom, she is sure to sustain heavy loss. The members of Indian deputations in England should impress this point on the British public.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 6th May 1919.

Sir Ravindranath's letter.

63. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th May, reproduces in Telugu Sir Ravindranath Tagore's letter to a friend published in the *Modern Review* for May 1919, commending the virtue of silent suffering which is the basis of the *Satyagraha* movement led by Mr. Gandhi. The *Hindu*, of the 5th May, also publishes the letter in its editorial columns.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th May 1919.

The establishment of righteousness—The League of Nations.

64. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th May, writes under this heading:—The selfishness of those nations that were engaged in the war is becoming evident. France desires to possess the territory on the Rhine, so that peace may be established. Italy wishes that Fiume should go

over to her, while Japan wants Kiaochou and Persia, Caucasus and other territories. The letter of President Wilson regarding the causes of this dispute has provoked the Italians. The Italian Minister left the Peace Conference in a threatening manner and went to his native country. It is evident that, in the Peace Conference and in the League of Nations, the spirit of selfishness is stronger than the sense of righteousness. . . Mr. Tilak wrote to the President of the Peace Conference to say that the principle of self-determination should be applied to the Indians. Though we know how matters stand in the Peace Conference, the exertions of Mr. Tilak are praiseworthy. The grand ideas contained in the letter of Mr. Tilak confirm in a thousand ways his firm patriotism.

65. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th May, says that the essential causes of the present crisis in the Punjab are the repressive acts of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the deportations and severe punishments of the leaders and that the Rowlatt laws and *Satyagraha* are but the immediate causes, and observes:—. . . To punish the innocent along with the guilty is not statesmanship. To foster love and not to strike terror will conduce to the well-being of the people. Sir Michael O'Dwyer may enforce peace in the Punjab, but not win the hearts of his subjects. Now that peace has been re-established, it is necessary to revoke martial law forthwith. . . The Government will do well to understand even now that no laws can promote the peace of the world as mercy, and to set about the establishment of lasting peace in the Punjab. . . The delay which is occurring in the matter of relieving Sir Michael O'Dwyer only shows the attitude of the Simla officials. . . The contrast between the strong agitation which followed the deportation of Mrs. Besant and the perfect quiet which prevailed in Bombay after the deportation of Mr. Horniman and the forfeiture of the security deposited by the *Bombay Chronicle*, serves as an object lesson to the leaders and the rest. Bombs, machine-guns, rifles, martial law and repressive measures have not the efficacy of the spiritual power of great souls. *Mahatma* Gandhi wants to establish this truth and to regenerate the world through India. The Government with all their faith in might will do well to understand now at least the message of *Satyagraha* and try to establish lasting peace in the country.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th May 1919.

The crisis.

Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th May, gives a Telugu rendering of the letter of Sir Ravindranath Tagore dated 26th April 1919, to a friend expressing his disapproval of the desire on the part of the authorities to use repression for the maintenance of peace and order in the country.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th May 1919.

The present crisis.

66. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th May, publishes in Telugu and English the resolutions of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee expressing its abhorrence of the lawless acts in the Punjab and the Bombay Presidency, beseeching His Majesty the King-Emperor to disallow the Rowlatt Act and requesting the Government to revoke martial law.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th May 1919.

The Bengal Provincial Council's abhorrence.

67. Referring to the Afghan disturbance, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th May, writes in its leader under this heading :—. . . If the Amir gives up his futile attempts, realising the might of the British nation, well and good. If not, the Government of India will mete out an adequate punishment to Afghanistan. All the people of that country will have to suffer, however, for the fault of the Amir. From the time of the Amir, Habib-ullah Khan, there has been strong friendship between the Afghan Government and the Government of India. Afghanistan was not accorded a place in the treaty concluded between Russia and England. Though this might serve as a grievance with Afghanistan to some extent, the late Amir did not swerve in the least from his friendship. . . It is the duty of India to use all her energy and resources to avert the Afghan scare. She has helped to save France and safeguard the British Empire from German aggression, and could conquer the German colonies and the Turkish dominions and place them in the hands of her Emperor, she will be able very soon to put an end to the peril which confronts herself at present. To secure the help of the people fully, the Government will do well to give up even now their repressive

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th May 1919.

The Afghan disturbance.

policy, and to repeal, forthwith, the Rowlatt Act unanimously condemned by the country. In the Punjab arrests of prominent men are freely going on, and the way in which martial law is being administered strikes terror. If the articles contributed by a correspondent to the *Leader* have any truth in them, it is clear that martial law should be revoked and Sir Michael O'Dwyer replaced by some one else at once. . . In the most strenuous times of the war, Lord Hardinge was able to safeguard India with an army of fifteen thousand strong. He trusted the people and the people trusted him. The present Government also should show the same trust towards the people. Though repression may establish peace for the time being, the evils arising out of it remain for ever. When the country is about to face a new danger, it is the duty of the Government to abolish all repressive measures, win the confidence of the people and create great enthusiasm among them in the matter of the defence of the country. . .

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 26th April 1919.

The fortune of India

68. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 26th April (received on the 10th May), writes:—. . . It is clear from this, that the people, though naturally peaceful, resorted to lawless acts on account of the highhandedness of some authorities. What are the reasons for the absence of disturbances in those provinces where a conciliatory policy has been adopted, and for the occurrence of lawless acts in those provinces where fire was opened on the people and loss of life was caused, on the strength of official power? . . . The Government will have to give up the policy of repression for one of conciliation.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 26th April 1919.

A baseless charge.

69. Under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 26th April, writes:— . . . Of all the reports about the recent disturbances in various parts of the country, the one which attributes them to the prevalence of a feeling of disaffection among the people towards the English is bound to cause the greatest pain. . . Even during the present disturbances, the universal love of Indians has not failed to assert itself. When the crowds were creating disturbances in a fury, Indians had protected many Europeans. It was published that an Indian had carried a wounded European on his back for 4 miles and saved him. If the Europeans give up the pride that they are the ruling race, there will be no differences between them and the Indians. An Indian does not enjoy in his own country the respect and status accorded to a European. His word counts for nothing and he has no influence. While people of various races are working for the good of the country free from official prejudice and in a friendly spirit, some Europeans would be hostile to the opinion of the people and abuse them, and the Anglo-Indian papers would be scorning their aspirations. The Government must make some effective arrangements to avert such differences. . . No statesman will accept the view expressed by some unwise people that Indians bear an ill-will towards Englishmen. The Government should condemn such absurd statements as baseless and try to prevent unnecessary excitement. As arbitrary power gives place more and more to representative Government in this country, the prejudices entertained against Indians by strangers will disappear.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 9th May 1919.

The administration of martial law.

70. Referring to the administration of martial law in the Punjab, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 9th May, writes:— . . . There are absolutely no grounds so far, for the conclusion that there is an open rebellion in the Punjab. It will be clear to every one who is watching the course of events that the punishments which are now being awarded are out of proportion to the offences committed. Transportation has been awarded for the offence of burning a C.I.D. officer's turban. The editor of the *Tribune* is being tried in courts-martial for the articles he wrote in his paper. For the tearing of notices, affixed to the Sanatana Dharma College, by some people, the students had to walk four miles, carrying their luggage. Indians should salute military officers. Those who fail to do so are being awarded flogging. Those who walk in streets bare-headed get lashes. They are taken by the Police to their stations. Even while punishing the guilty, it is but proper that the authorities should be lenient. To rely solely on repression may be effective for the time being, but its effects cannot be permanent. The Punjab Government and the Government of India may say that

they know their duty well. . . Those who have listened to the speech of Mr. Govardhanadas in Madras will have an idea of the disturbed condition of the people in the Punjab. When disturbances have ceased altogether, we trust that the Government will revoke martial law, restore ordinary laws, and try to establish peace. It will be understood on scrutiny that the administration of martial law in the Punjab is becoming ludicrous.

Hartal actions.

71. Referring to the orders issued by Mr. Johnston, the District Judge of Agra, against some pleaders who observed the 11th of April as a *Satyagraha* day and stopped from attending the court that day, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 9th May, says under this heading:— . . . A Magistrate of Calcutta only thought fit to send away some boys who tried to obstruct the passage of tramcars by lying across the rails giving them a warning. If the boys had been sentenced for sedition, they would have to undergo the punishment. It is right to administer justice according to the circumstances of a case and not according to the will of the Judge. The conduct of the Calcutta Magistrate will teach this lesson to others.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 9th May 1919.

The Twenty-eighth Guntūr District Conference.

72. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th May, publishes in Telugu the speech of the President of the Twenty-eighth Guntūr District Conference held at Dachepalli, which contains the following observations among others:—. . . We had a high standard of civilisation, when they (the British) were almost on a level with brutes. . . The question arises: have they carried out their promise? We have to answer this question in the negative. . . Are the laws of the Government made according to the opinion of the people? Is the Government income spent in accordance with the wishes of the people? Do those who steer the vessel of administration represent the people? Are Government officials responsible to the people? A single 'no' may be given in answer to all these questions. . . This is why it was possible to rush the Rowlatt Bills through the Imperial Legislative Council in defiance of the unanimous protests of the people. . . Was not the compulsory education Bill of the late Mr Gokhale rejected for want of funds? Steps could not be taken to promote indigenous commerce and industrial education for fear of Lancashire and Birmingham. It was possible for the Indian Civil Service association to prattle about the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme which aims at self-government. All these would be impossible, if the Government were responsible to the opinion of the people. . . Selfishness is common to all creatures. Had we been in the position of our rulers, we would have been doubtless, even more cautious. . . British commerce would fall, if we learn to make our own articles and cease to import them. So, it will be galling to them, if we come to have industrial and commercial facilities. This is the divine secret. Therefore, they will not be willing to forego the advantages resulting from their economic relations with us, unless the whole of India presents her unanimous desire for self-government in one solid mass. . . Whenever educated Indians advocate the imparting of free education to all, the Government would oppose it on some ground or other. . . Why is not the system of education in the hands of the people? Because the people have no responsibility in the Government. Given that responsibility, we may attain in the course of ten years to a position which can mock at that of any western country. Therefore, looked at from whatever standpoint, none of these problems can be solved except by the development of self-government. . . The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme does not contain the seeds of self-government, as has been so fondly hoped by all of us. Since we do not find therein a Legislative Council representing the opinion of the people, an executive body responsible to the Legislative Council, and fiscal autonomy to the people, agitation has been started again. . . On close examination, it will be seen that there is no difference between the moderates and the nationalists on important points. . . A loud cry has been raised by the Indian Civil Service officials that in case the Montagu scheme were to be given effect to, their power and status will be impaired; the Anglo-Indian community complains that it will have no shelter in India and the Sydenham party cries out that there would be danger to the British Empire. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th May 1919.

In my opinion, we should do well to emphasise the fact that the Montagu scheme cannot win the approval of the people, unless the modifications suggested in the Delhi Congress resolutions are embodied in it. . . As for the Rowlatt Act, it is our duty to request the Secretary of State to advise His Majesty the King-Emperor to withhold his consent to it. . . The administrative policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, his ideals and his communiqués have agitated the minds of the people of that province. . . The nature of this law (martial law?) is to rule arbitrarily without any law. They have placed restrictions on the freedom of students. Some have been killed and some have been openly flogged. . . The disturbances in Ahmedabad, Delhi and Calcutta were smoothly put down by leaders such as Mr Gandhi. This shows how the leaders are respected by the people. It is thus clear that the mistakes committed by the Government from their failure to take the leaders into their confidence, are responsible for these disturbances . . . and it is wrong to ascribe them to *Satyagraha*. . . In consequence of these disturbances, Mr. Horniman who, by his devotion to the cause of India, has been the right arm of the leaders, has been caught like a wild beast and deported to England. This is very regrettable for us. Had not the people obeyed the orders of Maharshi Gandhi in this respect, an agitation stronger than that against the Rowlatt Bills would have been skilfully carried on. . . Just as Vedantists point to ignorance as the root-cause for every kind of bondage, illiteracy is the chief obstacle to every reform. I am ashamed to say that 70 per cent of men and all mothers are illiterate. . .

In the course of its leader on the above address the paper observes:—"The fruit of *Swarajya mantra* is the attainment of *Swaraj*. Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji is its sage; the British Empire, its deity; agitation, its key; self-respect, its seed; the text that mother and mother-land are better than heaven itself, the subject of meditation; and Maharshi Gandhi, the *Guru* (minister)." The above lines give the essence of the speech of Choragudi Venkatadri Pantulu Garu, the President of the Conference. . . The remedy proposed by Mr. Montagu is little calculated to put life into the Government of India which he has characterised as inelastic and wooden. Attempts are now made in England to invent a new remedy, as India in her present weak state cannot swallow the one suggested by Mr. Montagu. . . The ignorance of the people, the absence of political training, and the selfishness of the English are the strongest obstacles to self-government. History proclaims that the people of India with their ancient civilisation can easily adjust themselves to self-governing institutions Though the establishment of self-government may cause some loss to British officials for the time being, it will be a source of strength and advantage to the British Empire. The advantage to the British Empire from a self-governing India would be many times more than what the loyal services of her people have afforded during the great European war. . . The war has established the truth that democracy is the chief means of raising the edifice of Government. It is impossible to conceive why those principles which are intended for the regeneration of the world do not apply to India. . . We believe that arrangements have been made to send a deputation according to the advice of the President. . . The deputation will have to urge upon the British public the question of redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis along with that of self-government, for democracy would be possible more through the language of the people than through a foreign tongue. . . Criticising the Rowlatt Act, the President said: "That anarchists should be punished is universally admitted. While the existing laws and sections are enough to punish them, the new Act affords ample scope for troubling the innocent. The definition of sedition given in it is too general. The burden of proving his innocence has been thrown on the accused. The Act affords scope for putting an end to meetings, discussions and writings which have for their object constitutional agitation. May it please His Majesty the Emperor, therefore, not to give his assent to it!" Officials and their friends loudly cry that agitators are spreading false rumours about the Rowlatt Bills. It is not known what lies there are in the above lines. Every lover of human freedom must admit that the new Act cuts at the very root of the birth-rights of the people of India and that it casts a slur on their national honour. Though it is true that the Act applies only to anarchists, the way in which the Defence of India Act is now administered strikes terror

even among the most calm-headed of men. We submit again and again that the Government will do well to repeal the Rowlatt Act which is the source of such distrust, terror and agitation. The President said that to put down disturbances, extraordinary measures may be used; but martial law must be revoked. . . In this crisis, it is necessary that we should reach our goal through self-restraint and spiritual power. The President describes the crisis in the following words:— "At a critical time, when the British Parliament is about to consider the Reforms scheme, they (the Government) have brought forward these Rowlatt Bills. They have put restrictions on newspapers. Even after the people have reconciled themselves to the deportations of the leaders and disturbances have subsided, they have put into force laws intended for war-times and have not yet revoked them. They object to the adoption of *Satyagraha* for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, and say that any agitation would be detrimental to reforms. Realise that we are living in such a critical time. Such strange events also preceded the Morley-Minto reforms. Believe that there will be no rain without thunder."

May the people of India follow the advice of Venkatadri Pantulu Garu in thought, word and deed, pass through these critical circumstances, conquering all obstacles, and attain self-government!

73 Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th May, writes:— ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th May 1919.

The income and the expenditure of the British Isles.

. . . When it is realised that the income of Great Britain with its four million people is £889,020,825 sterling as against £108,346,900 of India with its 300 million people, the contrast between the two countries in point of wealth will become clear. . . And yet, the Anglo-Indians are not willing to concede fiscal autonomy to India. Who will heed the cries of the helpless?

74. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika* writes with reference to the remark of the *Madras Times* that Asiatics will be found beneath the skins of the Bulgarians:— ANDHRAPATRIKA.

Taunts.

. . . The *Times* must have forgot that Jesus Christ who has been the cause of such glory to the nations of Europe was an Asiatic. The *Times* has, perhaps, forgotten that it has been the privilege of Asia to make the ignorant masses of Europe religious. Otherwise there is no reason for this taunt. There is but little hope for the Europeans, if they do not give up this sort of arrogance.

75. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th May, writes:— ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th May 1919.

Self government and Lokamanya Tilak's speech.

Speaking on the necessity of granting self-government for India at the Essex Hall on the 7th April, Mr. Tilak expressed his firm opinion that it would be impossible to reconcile the interests of Indians with those of foreign bureaucrats and merchants, and that self-government within the Empire was necessary for India. Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Wedgewood accorded their support to the views of Mr. Tilak. . . Mr. M. L. Abal, the President of the meeting, remarked that the Rowlatt Bills were a heavy burden, and were barbarous and highly arbitrary, and that they were even more unbearable than the laws used by Von Bessing against the Belgians.

76. Referring to the invasion of India by the Amir of Afghanistan, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 10th May, writes:—. . . KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 10th May 1919.

The Amir of Kabul and the invasion of India.

This news has come all of a sudden. Last year or prior to it, it would have caused fear. But now that our armies are set free from the European war, there is no room for anxiety. Numerically as well as in modern military equipments such as motor-cars and aeroplanes, our armies are far superior to those of the Amir, and we are at a loss to understand how the Amir could have the audacity to invade India with its 390 million people. . . Perhaps, he has launched on this foolish step only to lose the subsidy of 18 lakhs and fifty thousand rupees we are paying him every year. . . If the need should arise, both England and the colonies would be glad to help us. . . If the Government of India had given the people military education and armed them, there would have been no occasion for us to look to others for help. If the Government trust us even now and concentrate the whole army on the North-western frontier we can undertake the responsibility of safeguarding internal peace and order, by organizing volunteers in every town for

the defence of the country. . . To prevent any possibility of lootings, rice may be freely distributed to the poor in every village. . . If necessary, we should be prepared to send the police also to the front, and ourselves take up their duties. False reports must be promptly dealt with by the publication of correct news.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th May 1919.

77. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th May, writes:—. . .

The Afghan war and the Viceroy's communiqué.

The Afghans also will suffer the fate of those nations which have listened to the misrepresentations of the Germans. It is an idle dream to think that the people of India will help the Afghans. Living as they do under the just Government of Britain, they do not desire any other Government. . . They simply want to attain self-government within the British Empire through constitutional agitation. They are not for bringing about a revolution. All Indians should unanimously condemn the statement of the Amir that India is in a state of revolution. . . In this time of peril, it is needless to exhort the people as the Viceroy has done, to co-operate with the Government in destroying the enemy, in preserving peace in the country and in preventing the circulation of false reports. All parties must sink their differences in a time of national danger, and must freely sacrifice their lives and money for the destruction of the enemy and for the defence of the country. The Afghans are tasting the bombs hurled upon them by aeroplanes. . . We believe that the Afghans will be wise even now.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th May 1919.

78. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th May, writes:—The Punjab has been exposed to the mercy of martial law and is now entangled in a very grave crisis.

The efficacy of martial law.

Many acts are being done in the name of martial law, which are harmful to the people. . . It is regrettable that the Punjab Government should administer this law arbitrarily without realizing the fact that even martial law should be subject to certain restrictions. . . The Lieutenant-Governor has empowered District Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police to arrest without warrant persons suspected of encouraging or helping an open rebellion against the authority of the Government, under provision 12 of the Defence of India Act. It is not safe for the country that this power should be entrusted to the police who already possess unlimited powers. From this, it is clear that freedom of person has been completely destroyed. When will the Indians, who are subjects of the British Empire, be granted the rights of British citizenship?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th May 1919.

79. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th May, refers under this heading to the intention of the United Provinces Government to start a new paper called the *United Provinces Paper* at a cost of Rs. 1,15,000 and remarks:— . . . When there is lack of money in the country and when the Government are not able to make an adequate provision for expenditure on works of national utility, to spend so much money for the management of such a paper cannot be, we firmly believe, either proper or statesmanlike.

A new newspaper.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th May 1919.

80. Referring to the meeting of the Karnatak Sahitya Parishat at Hasan, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th May, observes that the Maharaja of Mysore is showing good encouragement to the Kanarese language and literature and that the Andhras and the Tamilians do not have the same fortune.

The Karnatak Sahitya Parishat.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th May 1919.

81. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th May, publishes in Telugu the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee at the First Narasapur Taluk Conference, which deals with such subjects as Home Rule, Local Self-government and the Andhra movement, and suggests the desirability of appointing a Commission to inquire into the present distressed condition of the ryot.

The First Narasapur Taluk Conference.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th May 1919.

82. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th May, exhorts the people and all *Satyagrahis* to suspend their political agitation and co-operate with the Government to defeat the enemy, and also recommends the adoption of a conciliatory policy by the Government in place of their present repressive measures

The Afghan war.

in order to fully enlist the sympathy and confidence of the people, and urges the rulers and the ruled to co-operate in keeping out Bolshevism from India.

83. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th May, gives in Telugu the account of the arrest of Mr. Lala Govardhan Das of Lahore at Saidapet, which was published in English in the *Hindu* of the 12th instant. The paper makes a reference to the incident in its editorial columns and concludes it by quoting the parting words of Mr. Govardhan Das, expressing joy at his arrest, as freedom has proved irksome to him while his innocent friends are suffering imprisonment and transportation for life.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th May 1919.

The arrest of Mr. Lala Govardhan Das.

84. Referring to the order issued by the District Magistrate of Benares against one Siva Nandana Singh, cancelling his gun-licence for publishing a *Satyagraha* pamphlet, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th May, remarks under this heading:—This is an instance of the sense of justice of the authorities in the matter of administration.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th May 1919.

A new *Satyagraha* case.

85. In its leader under this heading, the *Dharmasadhani*, of the 16th April, urges the necessity of carrying on social reform side by side with agitation for political reforms, as despotism whether of the foreigners or of the natives of the soil is equally condemnable.

DHARMASADHANI, 16th April 1919.

Social reform and political reform.

86. Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 10th May, advises the Government to withdraw its aid to any of the aided schools, which refuse to admit Panchama boys. As regards unaided schools, it suggests the withdrawal of recognition or affiliation as a proper punishment, but doubts the propriety of taking such a step so soon. To root out all prejudice among Brahmans against Panchamas, the paper proposes that the Government should afford them facilities for moving more freely with other communities and for gaining political knowledge, by appointing them to respectable offices.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 10th May 1919.

The way of improving the Panchamas.

87. Under this heading, the *Desabhimani*, of the 30th April, publishes in Telugu an extract from the speech of Mr. Joseph Baptista as the President of the Bombay Provincial Conference, relating the experiences and work of Mr. Tilak in England and conveying his message.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 30th April 1919.

Mr. Tilak's message.

88. The *Durbar*, of the 1st May, writes in its leader under this heading:—The riots at Delhi, Lahore, and other places may better be termed a revolution, for in them, among other things, Government offices were levelled to the ground. . . Some Europeans were killed and innocent citizens died in hundreds. . . These riots may be said to be the results of the passive resistance movement. The people, not having the same development of the heart as Mr. Gandhi, could not practise the policy of passive resistance in its true sense, and hence the disastrous consequences.

DURBAR, Guntur, 1st May 1919.

Our present situation.

89. The *Sudarsini*, of the 1st May, says:—Doctor Nayar says that after the grant of reforms we can easily work for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. But he is labouring under two mistakes. One is the belief that the British Cabinet will effect reforms in our Government which will secure liberty to us. The other is that the Rowlatt law will not affect the ordinary citizen. Politicians of five or six types widely differing in their aims are going on deputation to England. Making these differences their basis, selfish Englishmen who want to carry on their trade without let or hindrance, as far as possible, and hold high appointments, will try to make the forthcoming reforms small and useless. As a result of so many deputations going to England, we may not get any reforms at all, or the reforms that may be granted may be quite disappointing. What we want is *Swaraj*. We will be fit for it only when we can by soul-force control our minds and when we give up brute force, depend mainly on divine force, and use powers wisely when vested with them. Neither the Englishmen nor their Cabinet have been given by God the special power to determine our fitness for *Swaraj*. We

SUDARSINI, Narsapur, 1st May 1919.

The *Satyagraha* vow.

should know that we are fit for it the very moment we are real *Satyagrahis*. It is our duty to resort to passive resistance rather than to crawl about for reforms.

DURBAR, Guntur, 1st May 1919.

Swadeshi vow.

90. With reference to the articles of Mr. Gandhi on the *swadeshi* vow, the *Durbar*, of the 1st May, remarks that everybody knows the results of his *Satyagraha* and that there is room to fear that such vows may do more harm than good in the absence of settled ideas among the people.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 9th May 1919.

Disturbance in the Punjab.

91. Referring to the cablegram to the Secretary of State for India, the Premier and Lord Sinha, on the present situation, sent by Mr. Malaviya on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee which recently met at Bombay, as also to the resolutions on the same subject passed at a recent meeting of the moderate leaders at Calcutta, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 9th May, writes:—In neither of these two has it been definitely stated that the recent disturbances in various parts of the country were the direct outcome of the *Satyagraha* movement. There was no disturbance of any kind in the Punjab till Drs. Kichlew and Satyapal were interned under the orders of the Punjab Government. Sir Michael O'Dwyer waxed eloquent, in the Imperial Legislative Council as well as elsewhere, on the loyalty of the people of the Punjab and the services they rendered during the war and took credit for it as being due to the high efficiency of his administration. But immediately the Punjab Government placed restrictions on Mr. Gandhi, quite a stranger to the Province, there was a conflagration, so serious indeed, that it was found necessary to drop bombs from æroplanes, to whip people publicly, to use machine guns and to place restrictions on hundreds of people. How is it that the beneficent result of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's statesmanly administration vanished into thin air at the time? Even the moderates, headed by such trusted leaders as Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, who have never looked on with favour upon the *Satyagraha* movement, do not support the strong measures adopted by the authorities in the Punjab. In their resolutions they too have asked for a committee to inquire into the real cause of the recent disturbances. Does this not indicate that even they are of opinion that inflammable material for the conflagration had already accumulated there even prior to the initiation of the *Satyagraha* movement by Mr. Gandhi? Otherwise it is difficult to make out the meaning of one or two remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. Shastri at Poona while speaking on the present situation. Mr. Shastri reviewed the history of that Province during the past five or six years and said that the popular discontent had reached its climax what with the high-handed acts of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and the stringent methods resorted to, as alleged by the people, by the Government for enlisting men in the army, and that the Rowlatt Act served but as a mere spark to kindle the smouldering disaffection. If these words of Mr. Shastri are contrary to facts should not the Government atonce contradict him and adduce evidence to show that the Punjab was a veritable heaven under Sir Michael O'Dwyer?

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 14th May 1919.

Rowdy soldiers in Madras.

92. In its news column the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 14th May, writes:—In Madras some people were beaten by the soldiers and were told that that was the Home Rule they were going to get. The Government have not taken any steps against them. People have begun to say that the soldiers may have been encouraged by the Government to commit those offences. It is, therefore, the prime duty of the Government to see that that impression is removed from the public mind.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 15th May 1919.

Writing on the same subject a correspondent to the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 15th May, writes:—I very much regret to hear that those who were assaulted by the soldiers ran away for fear of life. After all man is mortal and dies but once. Our people would have done well if they had died returning at least five blows to the ten they received from the soldiers and taught them a sound lesson. It is a pity that they showed such abject cowardice. True loyalty is that which is based on sincerity and not on fear. If the authorities think that they can rule India by striking terror and using powder and shot they are sadly mistaken. The Roman Empire and several other great empires of the olden days were far more powerful than is the British Empire at present, and yet what is their fate to-day? The Government of India will do well to treat their subjects kindly and earn their sincere love and loyalty.

93 The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 15th May, writes:—Messrs. Dhumchand, Harikishen Lal and Rambhujdutt Choudhuri have been arrested and deported by Government. Unless these are set free immediately and invited to co-operate with the authorities, people will have no confidence in the statements made by the Government. People suspected of treason should be tried, and, if found guilty punished under the ordinary laws of the land. If any people are falsely charged with any offence those that are responsible for it should be dealt with severely. If the authorities give up their righteous ways, they will thereby help to create *Satyagrahis* in the country, who will dare to disobey such unrighteous laws. Whosoever go astray from the path of virtue, be they the Government or the people, will not fail to suffer for their misdeeds. Every one has to reap the fruit of his *karma*. The ex-Kaiser of Germany is now suffering for his misdeeds every moment of his life and is indeed a terrible example to one and all of us.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 15th May 1919.

Popular co-operation with the authorities in the Punjab.

94. In its news columns the *Kantheerava*, of the 13th May, writes:—It is reported in the papers that some vagabonds of Rempur made an effigy of our King-Emperor and dishonoured it in ever so many ways. How stupid of them! Those who have acted in this manner towards our King Emperor may well be said to have forgotten their own father. The very name of the place where these people live should be altered, as this ignoble deed is a stain on the great name of Sri Rama.

KANTHEERAVA, Mangalore, 13th May 1919.

His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor.

95. The *Manorama*, of the 9th May, gives a translation of the presidential speech of Mr. K. P. Rama Menon at the last session of the Malabar District Conference held at Badagara in May 1919, wherein the following passages occur:—The Government have till now been proceeding slowly and cautiously in the matter of administrative reforms. But in granting us that Rowlatt Law the Government were firm and quick and unhesitating. . . . Whenever a small boon is to be granted to us there is great delay, but when we are to be curbed that is done very quickly. The disgust caused to the educated Indians is indescribable.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 9th May 1919.

The Malabar District Conference.

96. In giving the summary of the cable sent to the Secretary of State by the Congress Committee on the subject of the present unrest in India, the *Malayali*, of the 7th May, writes among other things thus:—It is well known that the Government do not bestow any attention on the deplorable economic condition of India. Moreover, the unpardonable partiality shown by the Government in conferring appointments is also causing intense pain to the people. The policy of repression adopted by the Government in connection with the Rowlatt law has also caused agitation among the people. The whipping of poor Indians and cruelly shooting them are acts not becoming to any Government. It is the punishment that was inflicted on Mahatma Gandhi for his efforts on behalf of his native land that caused the disturbances at Ahmedabad and Harmagam. Had Dr. Satya Pal and others not been arrested, there would have been no riot at all at Amritsar. Mr. Gandhi went to Delhi with a view to help to preserve the public peace. Let the Government of His Majesty the King-Emperor think deeply over these matters. Repression will never restore peace and tranquility among the people. The people, therefore, pray that the Government of His Majesty should at once give up this cruel policy, try to pacify the Muhammadans who have been discontented with the treatment given to Turkey and thus try to satisfy the people of India.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 7th May 1919.

The Congress Committee and the present unrest in India.

97. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 6th May, in a leading article on the marginally-noted subject gives the names of those who have been sentenced to various punishments for taking part in the movement, and is much astonished to find the names of two Mussalmans in the list of convicted persons.

The *Jaridah* writes appreciatively of Khair Din's services which rendered him eligible for reward and adds:

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 6th May 1919.

The consequences of *Satyagraha*.

We rely on Almighty God, and assert that we shall endeavour, as far as possible, to save the Mussalmans of Southern India from being carried away by revolutionary ideas.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 8th May 1919.

The hopes of the community.

98. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 8th May, writes:—If the Peace Conference deal a death blow to the hopes of the nation, it is clear Muslims will suffer in prestige, their international influence will be gone, and their very existence will be at stake. Now the question is how is this to be avowed, the answer to which is this: We must continue to be Mussalmans and obey Islam.

Sovereignty is passing out of our hands and the Khalifate is being trampled under foot, while we are seated with folded arms looking at the spectacle of our own destruction. Which nation in Europe to-day is so lacking in zeal, self-respect, courage as we are and even those contemptible and despicable nations who were exceedingly backward, are to-day pluming their pinions for flight!

After discussing the subject at length and vehemently attacking the learned men and the Sufees of the community, the editor advises the community that now is the time for it to make an effort to free itself from the clutches of fabulists and frauds.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 8th May 1919.

Mr. Jinnah and Hyderabad.

99. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 8th May, referring to His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Command forbidding Mr. Jinnah from entering any part of the Hyderabad State expresses its astonishment at that gentleman's political procedure there, which, it says, was due to his ignorance of the fact that India is governed by a Deputy of the King-Emperor, whereas Hyderabad is ruled by the Nizam directly.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 7th May 1919.

Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum.

100. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 7th May, referring to Mr. Gandhi's announcement that passive resistance should recommence from July next, observes:—This is something like an ultimatum given by the law-breaking *Satyagrahis* to the law-making Government. We do not know what emergency there is for the *Satyagrahis* to take the offensive before the Rowlatt Act comes into operation. It is not fair that *Satyagraha* should break even those laws that are not repugnant to them. It would be well if they were to revise this decision.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 7th May 1919.

District Registrars.

101. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 7th May, expresses its satisfaction at the recent increase made in the salary of the District Registrars, and to their being classified as first-class officers, so far as their travelling allowance is concerned and hopes that the proposal of an increment for Sub-Registrars which is under consideration will soon be announced.

Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, Madras, 7th May 1919.

Felicitations on a well-deserved promotion.

102. The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 7th May, referring to the appointment of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Husain Sahib Bahadur, C.I.E., I.S.O., O.B.E., F.M.U., to act as the First Member of the Board of Revenue, writes:—This is the first time that an Indian has been appointed to this high office, a position the incumbent well deserves. He has successfully traversed all the various official stages and given proof of his abilities and experience. When judged from the social standpoint he is a combination of laudable and sympathetic qualities. It is for this reason that he has won the imprimatur of popular approval. The community is justified in manifesting its satisfaction and pride. All the people of Southern India would like to express their joy at this appointment of an Indian which is a source of special delight and pleasure to Mussalmans as he belongs to these parts.

The Government has placed Mussalmans under a deep obligation by giving such an exalted position to a popular and respectable man from among them. We cordially thank His Excellency Lord Willingdon for this evidence of his appreciation of merit by his just recognition of the right of a leading Mussalman as soon as he took charge of the Government. It is hoped that he will, in future, support the claims of deserving Mussalmans and take a keen interest in their advancement and progress.

We congratulate the popular Mr. Aziz-ud-din Husain Sahib of whom the community is justly proud and pray that he may obtain still higher advancement in order that the country and the community may be benefited and his popularity maintained.

III.—Legislation.

103. A correspondent to the *Sudarsini*, of the 1st May, says:—The Government have turned a deaf ear to the representations of the people against the Rowlatt law. We do not know why the Government hate the innocent passive resistance movement. Orders like the internment of Mr. Gandhi in the Bombay Presidency have incensed the people. The authorities did not like the agitation and passed repressive measures. Martial law was declared as if anarchy had been imminent. The Government of Bombay allowed Mr. Gandhi to go to Ahmedabad with the result that peace was established there. The other Governments will do well to follow this example. But the authorities care for prestige. Does prestige suffer when the rulers and the ruled are reconciled to one another? The Punjab Government are interning the leaders shortsightedly. They are stopping the publication of papers. There is no use of being precipitate. Unrest has prevailed in the country only after the people heard that Mr. Gandhi was interned. The Government should find out and remove the cause of the unrest. It is plain that the cause of the unrest is the Rowlatt law. Are there no other laws to put down anarchical crimes? Why should the Punjab Government do arbitrary acts by means of the Rowlatt law? There are repressive laws already in existence like the Defence of India Act. . . The martial law appears at the very thought of it to make the people fall a prey to the shot of muskets. Then where is the necessity for the present Rowlatt law? The communiqués of Government state that the fears of the people about that law are unfounded. Then why did the elected members of the Legislative Council oppose it unanimously, and why did some resign their seats? Like other temporary laws, this may also find a permanent place in the Statute Book. We cannot play with a cobra. There is no appeal allowed against the decision under the provisions of the Rowlatt law. The Judges need not record statements properly under that law. The good of an appeal will be seen from the result of the appeal in Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu's case. From the present state of the country, it does not appear that the Rowlatt law will be repealed. . . The passive resistance movement will one day succeed. May that day come sooner? May God help the Indians in their endeavour to see that the rulers repeal the Rowlatt law.

Sudarsini, Narsapur, 1st May 1919.

The Rowlatt law.

104. Referring to Rs. 87,020 having been spent in connexion with the inquiry of the Rowlatt Committee exclusive of the travelling expenses incurred by Mr. Justice Rowlatt, the *Jananukulan*, of the 29th March, says:—All this money belongs to the Indians and yet it is stated that the Rowlatt Act will be in force only for three years. Though it will obtain only for a short time, it is not acceptable to the general public. On account of this, the Viceroy has offered a seeming consolation by saying that though the law may be there, it may so happen that three years may elapse without any necessity arising to enforce it. Whatever he may say, there is no denying the fact that this measure will make the Indians ever remember Lord Chelmsford's regimé. Should his name be remembered only in this connexion? Alas! It is sad indeed !!

Jananukulan, Tanjore, 29th March 1919.

The Rowlatt Act.

In its leader under this heading the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 10th May, writes:—This Act is opposed to the principle of law that none should be punished without a regular trial. It violates the natural liberty of man. It is opposed to the traditions of British Courts of justice. It is condemned unanimously by the representatives of the people. . . It is well-known that such an Act has been introduced into the Penal Code by dint of official power It is also well-known that *Mahatma* Gandhi has taken the *Satyagraha* vow to discard by righteous power this unjust, improper and absurd weapon. It is also a historical fact that, whether connected or disconnected with this movement, an unprecedented rebellion burst out in the Punjab and that the rulers have resorted to severe steps to put it down. . . All thoughtful men have to consider how far the statement is not open to objection, which has been published by the Government to the effect that the law is intended to punish only the wicked who disturb peace and order. Whatever the shortcomings of the 160 years of British rule in this country, there is a settled belief

Kistnapatrika, Masulipatam, 10th May 1919.

The Rowlatt Act.

among the subjects, that no offender will be punished without a proper trial in a court of law.

The paper then summarises the main principles of the existing Criminal law that are calculated to secure fairplay to the accused and to see that no innocent man is punished and goes on to say:

The Rowlatt Act is not based on this root principle and is therefore radically defective. . . When the executive is entrusted with judicial functions, the very foundations of justice will be upset. What the Rowlatt Act seeks to do is exactly this. It is true that words have been introduced into the law calculated to restrict it to 'anarchy' and 'revolution'; but these terms are not defined. What absurdity is there then that people are afraid that ordinary offences will be brought under 'anarchy' and 'revolution'. Even granting this, when the executive is made to displace the tribunals of justice, the traditions of British justice are at stake.

The paper then gives a brief review of the part I of the Act and observes:—There is no appeal from the decision of the Rowlatt High Court, and there is no chance for the securing of strict justice as in the *Pundi* murder case. The right of appeal has been our great privilege, long enjoyed. 'Anarchy' and 'revolution' are serious crimes meriting capital punishment and transportation for life. Is it wrong then to characterise as horrible that one should be convicted of such crimes by the opinions of two out of the three constituting the tribunal and that without a second trial.

The paper then gives a brief survey of part II and remarks that it is even harsher than part I and observes:—In this part power is conferred on the Government to prejudge that a person is an offender and then to subject him to humiliating restraints. Government means the Governor in Council; but what occasion is there for a Governor or his councillors to carry on personal investigation to determine whether a person in Masulipatam has offended against law. Some Police constable or Sub-Inspector or Inspector or Superintendent sends a report. The Chief Secretary upholds it and the Governor in Council nods his assent to it. Justice will come to light when both sides are heard; but when a report goes up it will be safely drawn up and there will be none to challenge its weak points. Herein consists a violence to the traditional principles of justice. Even the final tribunal consists of a District Judge, a non-official in the good graces of the authorities looking forward to their patronage and a third person to be appointed by the authorities. The trial is conducted in secrecy, independent of the law of evidence, and not subject to a second trial. The sentence is pronounced on the strength of a report placed in their hands. Fifteen-sixteenths of the decisions will be in conformity with the wishes of the authorities that have appointed the members of the tribunal. What doubt is there for declaring under such circumstances that the executive displaces the judicial. The question may arise 'will the Governor in Council pass orders without consideration?' When matters are considered, without direct inquiry, from a distance of hundreds of miles and an elevation of thousands of feet, *Brahma* may appear as a monkey, and a monkey as *Brahma*. If the higher authorities do not pass orders in conformity with the reports of the authorities on the spot message after message pours in saying "we cannot be responsible for the well-being of the public." The whole responsibility rests with the local officers such as the Collector, and the Police Superintendent, and it is but just that it should be so; but a trial must be conducted, openly in ordinary courts of law, in the light of evidence and in the presence of lawyers.

The paper then summarises parts III to V, and with reference to the fact that several offences other than sedition are included in the schedule with an assurance that such offences will be tried under the Rowlatt Act only when they are committed in violation of the safety of the state, observes:— . . . But when we consider the previous practice of the Government a doubt must arise whether this assurance will be strictly adhered to. The tribunals are amenable to the orders of the Government. The Government themselves have applied to Mrs. Besant and Mr. Gandhi the Defence of India Act meant for the safety of the country during war. Would Mrs. Besant and Mr. Gandhi break peace and order in the country? . . . There was, no doubt, anarchy in Bengal. The culprits could not most of them be detected. The Defence of India Act has been applied to 1,200

young men. Is this just? Many cases of murder go undetected in the Ceded districts. Will it then be just to arbitrarily imprison some, for an indefinite period, without framing charges, granting a trial, and pronouncing a sentence. This is opposed to the principles of British justice. When the British themselves do such acts, will not the fear arise among the people that the Rowlatt Act will also be used likewise? The promises of ministers are of no use, the arguments of members in the Council, of no avail and the assurance of the Viceroy, out of the question; for, these have proved to be futile in the case of the Press Act. At times, the Governor in Council has to obey the mandate of the Governor-General. There is a rumour that this has been the case with reference to the deportation of Mr. Horniman. There will be confidential Government Orders in contravention of public laws. So, Collectors have to act against the wishes of the Governor in Council. When administration runs into secret channels, it goes astray and will forfeit the confidence of the people. Moderates like Sir D. E. Wacha and Sir N. Chandravarkar have condemned this Act. All those that style themselves as moderates have condemned it. It is impossible to justify it. *Mahatma* Gandhi has announced his intention to renew *Satyagraha* from July next to have this repealed. It does not become the Government to subject the country to an agitation. Discussions distract the mind and disturb its peace. This law is opposed to justice, to tradition, and to public opinion. It is only when this has been repealed that the country will be in a peaceful mood to welcome the reforms. It behoves the Government to regard the opinion of the people. It is not safe to fancy that the agitation among the people is due to false reports. The people trust their leaders most. Why think of false reports when the mild Srinivasa Sastri, the old Wacha, the judicious Chandravarkar and the kind-hearted Gandhi declare that this law is unjust?

The Rowlatt Act.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th May, publishes in Telugu the remarks of *India*, expressing disapproval of the Rowlatt Act and observing that the British Government and the Government of India will alone be responsible for the discontent which may spread in India, if the Secretary of State refuses to give his assent to the Act.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th May 1919.

The Rowlatt Act.

A correspondent, writing in the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 7th May, observes that considering the way in which promises made by Government in respect of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act have been set at nought by the Government, there is room for doubt whether the same fate may not attend the present promise that the Rowlatt Act will not be applied except against anarchists.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 7th May 1919.

The Press Act.

105. Under this heading the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th May, publishes in Telugu an extract from the *Madras Times* advising the Government not to depend solely on the Press Act for the improvement of newspapers, and suggesting as a practical step the addition of journalism to the present course of studies in universities as has been done in the London University.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th May 1919.

IV.—NATIVE STATES.

The action of the Nizam of Hyderabad against Mr. Jinnah.

106. Remarking that the order of the Nizam's Government prohibiting Mr. Jinnah from entering the State without the permission of the Nizam does not connote sound statesmanship, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th May, observes:—It appears the Nizam considers it undesirable that any public meeting connected, either directly or indirectly with politics, should be held in his State, when there is unrest in British India. If so, he could have issued an order preventing Mr. Jinnah from speaking on politics within the State for a certain period. It is not at all just that, without doing this, the Nizam should have prohibited Mr. Jinnah's entry into the State on any account without his permission.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th May 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 8th May, however, appreciates the above action of the Nizam.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 8th May 1919.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 8th May 1919.

107. Reviewing the Mysore Education Report for 1917-18, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 8th May, remarks:—. . . The Department of Education in Mysore shows good progress. . . The bold introduction of compulsory education in the Native States is a matter for gratification. . .

Progress of education in Mysore.

DESABHIMANI, Quilon, 10th May 1919.

108. The *Desabhimani*, of the 10th May, refers to the hardships of the disbanded recruits in Travancore who have returned to the State to find themselves out of employment and hard up for daily bread, and observes that the Darbar should make arrangements similar to those made in British India to give them all the help that is necessary by way of assignment of lands, by preference for appointments, etc.

Disbanded recruits.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 6th May 1919.

109. The *Malayala Manorama*, of the 6th May, in an article on "Famine in Travancore," speaks of the great sufferings of the people even during this month, usually the most prosperous of the year, and observes that the prospect is very gloomy for the famine months from June to August, that the Darbar do not seem to have solved the problem of effectively checking profiteering by merchants and of distributing food, that the present famine is chiefly due to the holding back of stocks of grain by merchants and ryots and that the best way of dealing with this trouble is to copy the action taken by the Government of Bombay, i.e., to take under control existing stocks of grain and to see that they are sold at fixed prices. The article urges attention to the distress in the interior parts of the country where the suffering is greatest and sounds a timely caution to the Darbar that they should use all their powers to avert the most terrible calamity that is overhanging the country.

Famine in Travancore.

V.—Prospects of the Crops and the Condition of the People.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 9th May 1919.

110. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 9th May, remarks:—There are various ways of improving agriculture in this country. Government agricultural banks may be started here to enable the agriculturists to get money easily, and agricultural co-operative societies may be opened in large numbers. In Brazil in South America, presents in the shape of agricultural implements, seed grains or manure are given by the Government to those who show a larger outturn than a prescribed quantity. The authorities will do well to consider whether this system may not be adopted here too.

Improvement of agriculture.

Errata.

Report No. 18.

Page 674, paragraph 29, line 11, *for* 'a light' *read* 'alight'.

Report No. 19.

Page 715, paragraph 27, line 39, *for* 'Perhapas' *read* 'Perhaps'.

„ 717, line 39 from the top, *for* 'do not see any reason to think' *read* cannot help thinking.'

„ 718, paragraph 34, *for* '29th April' in line 6 and in the marginal note, *read* '28th April.'

„ 732, paragraph 88, line 9, *for* 'hatred of' *read* 'hatred on the part of'.

„ 734 „ 97 „ 4, *for* 'age' *read* 'Age'.

„ 734 „ 97 „ 8, *for* 'a century' *read* 'half a century'.

[Issued, the 21st May 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 21 of 1919.

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 24th May 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

1. The *Hindu*, of the 19th May, writes:—"The Indian press is often accused of feeding the flames of racial bitterness. We cannot conceive of an incident more provocative of such bitterness than the little breeze which that determined champion of democracy and liberty, Colonel Yate raised in the House of Commons over the question of priority certificates to Indian politicians. . . The contrast implied between the treatment of well-nourished Indian agitators and suffering European women is one of the basest appeals to race prejudice we have ever come across and eclipses even the most effulgent performances of the Sydenham gang in the way of misrepresentation and mendacity. . . To suggest pampering the black man to the detriment of the white woman may draw cheers in a House of Commons, but in this country it can only be added fuel to a flame that has been assiduously kept alive by men of the type of Colonel Yate and his political associates as well as by a press which translates an enthusiasm for India in the abstract into unlimited abuse of Indians in the concrete."

Racial prejudice.

Hindu, Madras, 19th May 1919.

2. *New India*, of the 21st May, writes:—"The more we look at the committee's proposals and the Government of India's Despatch thereon, the more we feel forced to the conclusion that while the committee did the best it could under difficult circumstances, with a glaring exception as regards women's franchise, the Government of India have taken hold of almost every vital point the committee have been able to establish more or less satisfactorily, and have made proposals entirely reactionary in their character. We consider that public opinion must express itself emphatically on a number of the main issues, such as women's franchise, education, industries, taxation and revenue, reserved and transferred subjects, the right of re-entry, partly in order that the Government of India may clearly realize that their proposals are entirely unacceptable and are regarded as dangerous attacks on the spirit of the Declaration of August 20th, and partly in order that our representatives abroad may feel that public opinion in India is solidly behind them in their refusal to accept many of the recommendations of the Government of India either as to franchise or as to functions, but specially as to the latter."

The Southborough Committee report.

New India, Madras, 21st May 1919.

3. In concluding an article under this heading, the *Hindu*, of the 22nd May, says:—"There can be no doubt of the fact that if Sir Sankaran Nayar is to retire from his high post on account of the incompatibility of his views with his present official position, the proved qualifications of Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar would make him an ideal holder of it from the bureaucratic standpoint. One may look at this picture and on that. Sir Sankaran Nayar's views embodied in his dissenting minutes attached to the reform despatches form a striking contrast to the views of Diwan Bahadur Rajagopala Achariyar embodied in the minute of the Madras Government which is universally regarded as containing the most reactionary and obstructive opinion on the Reform Scheme."

Sir Sankaran Nayar's resignation.

Hindu, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

4. The *Hindu* of the 23rd May, in a leader under this heading observes:—"Many of our readers have doubtless read the articles referred to, and are in a position to judge whether they exceed the limits of a fair statement of facts and of legitimate and well-founded criticism on the happenings in the Punjab. We have been struck with amazement that the Madras Government should have taken offence at the publication of these articles. The affairs in the

The *Hindu* and the Indian Press Act.

Hindu, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

Punjab and the terrible persecution of various sorts to which the people in that Province are now being subjected, are the topic of conversation of the man in the street throughout the country. The miserable plight of our fellow-citizens, the duty of the Central Government not to permit the abrogation of well-known principles of law and justice, in its own interests as well as those of the people at large, are matters which it is the legitimate function of an honest journalist to dwell upon. . . We feel no doubt that the action of the Madras Government in putting the Press Act into operation against the *Hindu* on account of the articles on the Punjab affairs that were published on the 8th instant, is a violent stretch of the arbitrary power conferred by that Act. It is a gross and dangerous infringement of the liberty of the Press, and if the present policy is continued it must lead to the extinguishment of honest and independent journalism in the country. So far as the *Hindu* is concerned the contemplation of a perverted application of the Press Act, and the involving of it into further pains and penalties, will not have the result of inducing it to swerve from its past traditions and the path of journalistic independence and rectitude which it has always maintained."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

5. Adverting to certain changes made in the peace terms proposed by President Wilson, *India Desantri*, of the 1st May, observes:—We doubt whether even this peace will last long. The whole world is anxiously waiting to know what attention is to be paid in this Conference to countries like Ireland, Egypt, India and Corea. If permanent peace is to be established in the world, equal privileges should be granted to all races, as otherwise there will be disturbance of peace now and then. But it is no easy task for the ruling races to grant liberty to those that are under their sway. Let us wait and see how this ends.

India Desantri, Madras, 1st May 1919.

The Peace Conference.

Referring to the formation of the League of Nations for the establishment of peace in the world, the *Lokopakari*, of the 12th May, observes:— Good days will dawn for India if it should get a seat on this League. Nothing is known about what is going to be said or done in respect of India in the Peace Conference. If an Indian patriot had been chosen as the representative of India at this Conference, the situation of India would have been well explained to it. No mention at all is made in the Conference about India whose help for the successful termination of the war was unlimited and ever memorable, nor are there any symptoms of such questions being discussed there hereafter at least. Many statesmen are under the impression that peace can be guaranteed by the very formation of the League of Nations. They little reflect that the next outbreak of the war will be in Asia and India will be the battle-field like Belgium. They should not forget that China and Japan are getting stronger and more united. If India should get liberty it will not be possible for any number of countries like China and Japan either to attack India or to subvert the British Empire.

Lokopakari, Madras, 12th May 1919.

The Peace Conference.

6. Observing that some ungrateful persons holding a high position in East Africa have submitted a petition to the Secretary of State for Colonies, requesting that Indians should not be permitted to enter the British East Africa as well as the territory till recently called the German East Africa but since conquered by the British, the *India Desantri*, of the 1st May, observes:— This is indeed the proper reward for all the help rendered by the Indians in conquering the German East Africa by profusely spending their money and shedding their blood! If the Indians had been prevented from entering East Africa at the time of the war, the Germans might have won and all the people that now object would have probably perished. But God's decree cannot change on account of the foolishness of these few. It was ordained that the British Government should win and that the German power should be crushed. So these few were saved; but the authorities in England are not so foolish as these. Mr. Churchill pertinently asked as if he gave a slap on their cheeks, whether this request was one which would be made by any sensible people. There is a strong rumour afloat that the Government of India would take the management of the German East Africa and even in such a territory it is said that the Indians should have no ingress!

India Desantri, Madras, 1st May 1919.

Indians and East Africa.

7. Observing that the British troops are at present indisputably occupying the foremost position in every respect, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 15th May, observes:—Things happening in connexion with the new Amir of Afghanistan only illustrate the saying 'coming events cast their shadows before.' There are traces of the Amir having been viewed with suspicion by his people ever since he assumed the reins of Government. The mischievous propensity of the Amir becomes apparent when all the circumstances such as the existence of Bolsheviks in Afghanistan, the troubles in the Punjab, the attempts to do away with the facilities for communication, the

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 15th May 1919.

The Afghan trouble.

assassination of Amir Habib-ul-lah who was friendly with the British, the elevation of one suspected of his father's murder to the position of the Amir, and finally the endeavours of the Amir to spread discontent in India by means of pamphlets and proclamations, are put together and considered carefully. It is sure that the Amir will soon have cause for regretting his blind action when he comes to know of the fame of the British military forces.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 13th May 1919.

The Afghan trouble.

The *Manorama*, of the 13th May, in its leading article on the subject reviews the past relations between Afghanistan and the Government of India, observes that Afghanistan taking up arms against Great Britain is like 'throwing a pot at a mountain' and remarks that the Amir has completely failed to understand India's loyalty to Great Britain. It is his folly that has led him to misinterpret India's contention for administrative reforms. Indians are intensely loyal to Great Britain and are certainly conscious of the fact that it is the British Rule of India that has secured to Indians peace and freedom and security from foreign invasions. Indians are only anxious that they should get a reasonable degree of self-government remaining as a member of the British Empire. The article reminds all Indians that an enemy is now at the door and that it is the solemn duty of all Indians to throw aside all internal differences and unite to help the British Government against this common foe so as to secure victory for Britain and safety for India.

MALAYALA MANORAMA, Kottayam, 10th May 1919.

The *Malayala Manorama*, of the 10th May, sees in the folly of the young Amir the promising sign of Afghanistan being handed over to Great Britain. A war will rage for a few days with Great Britain's armies in front and behind and above the Afghans and the result, even the uncivilized Pattan, can easily predict. The concessions made to Afghanistan by Great Britain in the past out of the fear of Russia will also be lost now without doubt.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 14th May 1919.

The *Malayali*, of the 14th May, also speaks of the 'height of folly' of the independent young Amir who, without counting the cost and the abundant resources now available for Great Britain, has set about to try to maul the British lion.

All other Malayalam papers express similar opinions.

INDIA DESANTRI, Madras, 1st May 1919.

Appellation of 'coolie' to Indians in South Africa.

8. Remarking that some of the whites in South Africa in addressing the Indians settled there use the term 'coolie' either through pride or ignorance, *India Desantri*, of the 1st May, observes:—Can we even now call the Englishmen beggars because they originally came to India in the garb of beggars to make a living by selling their goods? There are people doing coolie work all over the world. Are the Indians to be called coolies because owing to some stroke of misfortune they have had to go to foreign countries in quest of food, leaving their own country that is supplying food to the whole world? The Government of South Africa should issue a communiqué prohibiting the Indians being addressed as coolies and prescribing some penalty for those who persist in addressing the Indians as such. All the Indians there should join together and carry on a strong agitation so as to make the Government issue such a communiqué. Otherwise it will be a disgrace to the Indians in general.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th May 1919.

Germany's secret troops.

9. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th May, writes:—It is reported that the representatives of Zechoslaus have informed the French War Minister that secret troops are kept concealed in several fortresses in Germany, that the German Government are daily recruiting men for the army secretly and that thirty batteries are being very carefully stationed at a certain place and that they have also divulged to him many other secrets. It appears that it is under the leadership of Marshall Hindenburg that this work is being carried on. It seems that recruiting officers are working actively in all railway stations in Germany, that there are 50 recruiting offices in the southern province of Germany alone and that, in each office 500 men are recruited daily. There seem to be munitions stores and several fortresses in Saxony and two other places in Germany and rifles, guns, etc., seem to be manufactured in several other places. It is also stated that railway vehicles are stationed in plenty in a forest. It is really funny to read all this. We doubt

whether all this can be true. All the above has appeared in the *Independent* of the 14th May 1919 under the head 'Mail notes'.

10. Referring to the terms of the Peace Treaty, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th May, observes:—In spite of the advantages gained by it, each member of the Allied Powers has its own ground for complaint. For instance France complains that she has not been provided with sufficient safeguards against any future German aggression; Italy, that she has not been given all the territory she wanted; Japan, that international honour has not been protected; Belgium, that she has not been accorded a share in the colonies; England, that a proper indemnity has not been awarded to her; and America, that she has not had commercial advantages. . . Time only must decide whether there can be peace between Germany, accepting these terms and the Allied Powers and whether that peace can be permanent. . . If the Peace Terms sound very hard to the Germans and their friends, it must be understood that this is the fruit of their karma (action). There is nothing strange in the break-up of an ill-begotten Empire. . . The History of Germany teaches in an everlasting manner the lesson of Mr. Gandhi that it is harmlessness, truth and justice and not harmfulness and unrighteousness which contribute to prosperity. Unlike other great lessons of the past which were all wasted away may this lesson become practicable by God's grace under the guidance of the League of Nations!

Terms of the Peace Treaty and the rules of the League of Nations.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th May 1919.

The paper then urges the necessity of applying self-determination to dependent countries under the Allied Powers, and says that when all the members of the British Empire are made self-governing, they will be of immense strength to the mother country. A permanent peace would have been made possible if in the rules of the League a time-limit had been fixed for the granting of Home Rule to dependent countries. It hopes that the rules of the League on the question of international labour will avert the next world-revolution which is threatened by the conflict between capital and labour.

11. Referring to the opinions of the German Press and the Labour Party in England on the Peace Terms, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th May, remarks:—. . . Time will show how this problem will be solved. We hope that both the parties will act with wisdom.

The Peace Terms and the German opinion.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th May 1919.

12. Referring to the terms of the Peace Treaty, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 17th May, writes in its leader under this heading:— . . . The occasion (the presentation of the Peace Treaty to the German Delegation by M. Clemenceaw) is unprecedented in the annals of the history of mankind. No conqueror has made such a gift of peace to his enemy. The terms which the allies want to impose upon Germany, will serve as a moral lesson to every kingdom. . . No nation has ever before felt such a humiliation as the Germans are feeling to-day on account of these terms—a humiliation which is only in proportion to the horrible sin committed by them against the world. . . By these terms, Germany which was shaking the whole world with her huge armies but a year back will be reduced to the condition of a prisoner whose limbs have been chopped off. It is impossible that Germany will become a great power again in this age. . . The fate which will shortly overtake the Kaiser did not befall even Napoleon who was only kept in solitary confinement in St. Helena and did not merit an accusation before a tribunal of law. . . It cannot but be admitted that it is in keeping with the theory of cause and effect that an Emperor who tries to ruin other countries should receive such a severe retribution while on this earth only. . . The doubt arises in the heart of everyone whether Germany will accept such hard terms. When all the Allies are unanimously imposing these terms, what can Germany do without accepting them? It is impossible that she will wage war again! . . . It is not an easy matter to make the treaty acceptable to all parties. We shall wait to see the further development of negotiations. . .

The karma of the Germans!

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 17th May 1919.

13. A note in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 9th May, notices the disturbing features of the situation in respect of the conclusion of peace and concludes with the observation:—Though

The conclusion of peace.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 9th May 1919.

President Wilson preaches that coloured people have as much right to live in this world as white people, it is almost settled that coloured people can only live under the protection of the whites.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 16th May 1919.

The Peace treaty.

14. Commenting on the Peace Treaty prepared by the Allies the *Yogakshemam*, of the 16th May, remarks that the Germans began the war with 'avarice' and that the Allies have now prepared the treaty with 'avarice'. 'What then is the difference between them' was the question asked by the Germans when they first saw the treaty. It further observes that it has to be said that the treaty is rather a severe punishment for the Germans but when their record is considered no punishment will be too much for them.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 17th May 1919.

The Peace Treaty.

Commenting on the Peace Treaty, the *Malayali*, of the 17th May, observes that the decisions of the conference about the boundaries of Germany, the cutting down of her army, the annexation of her territories, etc., are not consistent with the self-respect of Germany or with the original declarations of President Wilson. It then refers to the view of Statesmen that such severe and strict punishment has been awarded to Germany with the sole object that nowhere and at no time should the military become very powerful and observes that however that might be, this treaty does not fulfil the noble aims of President Wilson. The paper then points out that the pre-eminence given to white men in the League of Nations is only the culmination of that selfishness which is natural to man. And that as long as no settlement is made about the status of dependent countries like India, Egypt and Ireland, the loud protestations of Statesmen that equality and liberty should reign in the world can be only taken to be meaningless.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 13th May 1919.

Rupture of relations with Afghanistan.

15. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 13th May, on this subject, writes:—The series of Muhammadan misfortunes has not yet come to an end. Fate is still restless. This latest revolution of time probably means the destruction of the connexion between an Islamic State and the Government of our country.

Who ever thought that Afghanistan would have to prepare for war in the time of peace. Of all the Islamic kingdoms this one State has escaped the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. Now it has gone over to the great majority in the death-roll. Those who are weeping over Turkey, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine may now lament over Kabul.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 14th May 1919.

Bolshevik wire pullings.

16. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 14th May, has a leader on the marginally-noted subject of which the following is a summary:—It asserts that it is the important duty of the journalistic world to try to strengthen the relations between the rulers and the ruled. Proceeding, it says. During the recent war we succeeded in keeping public aspirations within bounds.

The subject of the Amir breaking off relations with the Government of India it hopes that Mussalmans will be steadfast in their loyalty. After dwelling on the subject at some length it quotes the proclamation of His Exalted Highness the Nizam.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 14th May 1919.

The end of Morocco.

17. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 14th May, writing on the subject, observes:—In the peace terms Morocco has been allotted a conspicuous place and the city [sic] has under the treaty become a French town.

Islamic rule had already terminated in Morocco prior to the war, but the treaty has removed all remaining traces thereof. The decision, if not interesting, points a moral.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 14th May 1919.

The Afghan war.

18. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 14th May, in discussing the subject, makes the following remarks:—Afghanistan by declaring war has aroused sleeping wolves and has cut its own throat. Bolshevism or Germanism is said to be the cause. The writer does not believe this to be the case, but thinks that there is something else behind all this restlessness. He adds, "At a time when Islamic crowns and thrones in Europe and Asia are toppling down," the breaking out of hostilities on the Frontier is a

deplorable proof of the decline of the spiritual power of Islam. In any case revolutionary power rules the world to-day, and every race must perforce submit to it.

19. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 12th May, referring to the comments made by the different Anglo-Indian papers on this subject, writes:—Amir Amanullah Khan is certainly a young man, but the probability is, he is no fool, and that he would not calmly embark on an enterprise his late father and grand-father would both have disapproved of. There must be something behind it.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 12th May 1919.

The action of Afghanistan.

There exist a few mischievous people even in Afghanistan as in England who are inimically disposed to co-operation and are always spoiling for a fight. The German war was also due to such selfish aspirations and any nation following its example should suffer likewise. Afghanistan is a country which consists of peoples of different sects and creeds but no party predominates in politics. Either Amir Amanullah Khan has misunderstood certain facts or has been influenced by a powerful party. Possibly the Bolsheviks might have put in their appearance in their country and won him over. No country in Europe is safe from the effects of Bolshevism, its effects are rapidly spreading, and its face appears in a new light. It is not impossible that Afghanistan also might have yielded to its blandishment and raised the standard of revolt on the Indian frontier. If it be so, it is very deplorable.

20. The *Mushir-i-Dakhan*, of the 11th May, has a leader on the subject from which the following is an extract:—The Amir's procedure, if he really intends to declare hostilities, will be regarded as very immoral. India has done him no harm. His late father's life clearly shows that he inherited no traditional dispute the settlement of which he might have regarded as his bounden duty.

Mushir-i-Dakhan, Hyderabad, 11th May 1919.

A critical glance at Afghan affairs.

The Government of India took no exception to the exceedingly suspicious circumstances attending his accession to the throne, nor did the Government attempt to repeat Lord Aucland's terrible experience of 1839 when Shah Shuja was placed on the throne in succession to Dost Muhammad Khan. There has not been the slightest interference in the internal affairs of the country and all that was expected of the present young Amir was that he would continue to observe the neutrality firmly maintained by his late father, and that he should respect the Durand Treaty by which his northern and southern boundries were settled in 1893, and his subsidy was raised from 8 to 12 [sic] lakhs.

It appears that Amir Amanullah Khan very soon found out that it was not easy to fulfil his promises made without any forethought to grant increase to his soldiers. The first step of his reign was to suspend most works of a public character in course of construction, and his hope appears to be to get possession of the Punjab instead of the subsidy of 12 lakhs. He has become avaricious and has been supported in this idea by the notion that he will be able to strengthen his country and will gain over to his side all those who were growing dissatisfied with the neutrality at a time when the pick of the army is away from the country and the despatch of reinforcements from England would not be devoid of danger to the Allies.

The Afghans will have to face an army which possesses the fullest experience of war and is well equipped with the latest weapons. The Afghans possess neither aircraft, nor armoured cars, nor motor transport and their artillery is of an inferior quality.

The *Mushir-i-Dakhan*, of the 13th May, gives a translation of the proclamation issued by His Excellency the Viceroy with reference to Afghanistan.

Mushir-i-Dakhan, Hyderabad, 13th May 1919.

21. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 17th May, referring to the spreading of ridiculous rumours by Amir Amanullah Khan with a view to stirring up the Pathans, says:—It appears now that he will very soon reap the fruit of his labours. These false rumours have been repeated on the frontier, and in some of the parts of the Punjab. We hope that sensible people will pay no heed to such absurdities or entertain the notion that these suggestions belong even to the realm of the imagination and we trust they will never do anything which may bring their loyalty into question.

Jarida-i-Rozgar, Madras, 17th May 1919.

Ridiculous rumours.

At a critical juncture like the present when the ship of Islamic honour is tossing on the stormy political sea no friend or well-wisher of Islam should attempt to spread the report that the Amir has declared war in support of Indian Muslims. It is absolute folly to attempt to draw an analogy between the political aspirations of Kabul and the religious zeal of Indian Muslims.

We fervently hope that Indian Muslims in general, the Punjab brethren in particular, will quickly periceve this deception. To assume the impossible, if the Government of India treat us in an autocratic or high-handed manner, we have the power to submit our grievances to the Government and get this supposed harshness ameliorated. God only knows why these Afghans to-day feel so much for the wretched condition of the poor Indians or why they are prepared to sacrifice their lives to protect us. Be this as it may we decline this Kandahar kindness with thanks.

II.—Home Administration.

(*b*) *Courts.*

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 16th May 1919.

The Madras High Court.

22. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 16th May, reproduces some of the sentiments of the *Justice* of the 15th idem, expressing a doubt whether the increase in the number of Judges in the High Court of Madras bears a reasonable proportion to the increase of work, calling in question the practice of utilising the special powers of the Viceroy for the employment of the same personnel and number of Judges and stating that the term of the existing temporay Judges should not be extended as the files of the High Court do not seem to warrant it, and observes that it is also essential to see whether all the Judges sit every day and attend to the disposal of cases.

Dravidan, Madras, 19th May 1919.

The Madras High Court.

The *Dravidan*, of the 19th May, also reproduces the sentiments of the *Justice* of the 15th idem on the gradual increase in the number of temporary and permanent Judges of this Court.

(*d*) *Education.*

Dravidan, Madras, 19th May 1919.

University reform.

23. The *Dravidan*, of the 19th May, reproduces the sentiments of *Justice*, of the 14th idem, regarding the resolution passed by the Provincial Educational Conference held at Trichinopoly for the amendment of the Universities Act of 1904 and the increase of the elective element in the Senate and, suggesting that there should be equal status and influence for all communities in the constitution of the university.

Margadarsi, Calicut, 9th May 1919.

Panchama education.

24. The *Margadarsi*, of the 9th May, expresses doubt as to whether the higher castes will ever develop sufficient magnanimity to favour Panchama education, and suggests that the only solution of the problem lies in Government establishing a large number of special schools for Panchamas with industrial branches for special training.

Satyanadam, Ernakulam, 16th May 1919.

Panchama education.

Referring to the Government Order on the admission of Panchama pupils in public schools, the *Satyanadam*, of the 16th May, is glad that the Government have turned their attention though slowly to the welfare of the Panchamas.

Yogakshemam, Trichur, 16th May 1919.

Panchama education.

Referring to the Government Order on Panchama education, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 16th May, says:—No one seems to have informed the Government that caste differences depend upon the different trades followed by different communities and this kind of evil will decrease with the increase in the number of industrial schools. The extension of the present general education to Panchamas will not do any good either to the country or to the Panchamas, but will only tend to increase the existing discontent. If Primary schools giving instruction in agriculture, arts, etc., be established in every village this kind of caste trouble may, to a considerable extent, be diminished at least in the matter of education.

(*h*) *Railways.*

25. The *Mushir-i-Dakhan*, of the 15th May, referring to this subject, writes :— It is a longstanding complaint that the number of second-class carriages is too few. Mr. Glancy took notice of the fact, requested the Railway authorities to take steps in the matter and communicated this action to the press. Owing to the war, however, no change could be made and second-class passengers have still to put up with the inconvenience. As the war is now over, it is incumbent on the part of the Railway authorities to see that the number of second-class carriages is increased, and thereby remove this cause for complaint.

MUSHIR-I-DAKHAN, Hyderabad, 15th May 1919.

The necessity for a larger number of second-class carriages.

(*k*) *General.*

26. The *India Desantri*, of the 1st May, observes :—From a political point of view, our object is the acquisition of *swaraj* under the British Empire and of liberty enjoyed by the Colonies. We wish for British association and acknowledge the British Sovereign as our king. But we do not wish to be subordinate to any race. Servitude is a thing which even beasts do not like. We do not belong to any particular party. It is our constant prayer that the land of Bharata should anyhow become great and occupy a prominent position in the world.

INDIA DESANTRI, Madras, 1st May 1919.

The policy of the *India Desantri*.

27. Adverting to the statement of a correspondent in the *Nation* that Mr. Asquith was much insulted by his letters having been censored during his absence and that no relief was obtained in spite of his representations to the War Department, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th May, observes :—Mr. Asquith was the Prime Minister of England before Mr. Lloyd George. It is not known whether the censoring was done during the time he was Prime Minister or afterwards. However it may be, there is no doubt that the Censor is all powerful in England. His powers in India know no bounds. He would even 'swallow up' some letters and news. If even Lord Carmichael had been watched by the C.I.D., the excesses of the bureaucracy need no description. The above news proves that, even in England which is said to be the birth-place of liberty, the influence of the bureaucrats is growing stronger.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th May 1919.

The Censor.

28. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th May, observes :—It is seen that the people in the western countries consider that the best way of representing their grievances to the authorities and others, is going on strike and that they resort to this way. Telegraphic information has been received to the effect that, to bring the hardships and rights of the labourers in France to the notice of the Peace Conference, there will be a strike among the labourers in Paris and mostly throughout France on the 1st of this month. But in our country such strikes are, by the Anglo-Indian newspapers, attributed to a mischievous agitation for subverting the Government.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th May 1919.

Strikes.

29. Referring to the news that the editor of the *Panchayat* was asked to furnish a security of Rs. 500 by the District Magistrate of Trichinopoly, when permission was sought for having the journal printed in a different press, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th May, observes :—We cannot see for what reasons the District Magistrate demanded this security. We ask whether it is just to demand security for a paper which was being published without any security before? We have often condemned the Magistrates for the irresponsible and short-sighted manner in which they have been applying the Press Act. It is no exaggeration to say that, in the present instance, the District Magistrate of Trichinopoly has exercised his powers in a mischievous spirit.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th May 1919.

The *Panchayat* and the Press Act.

30. Referring to the hardships experienced by these clerks on account of their low pay and the heavy work turned out by them in the Taluk offices, a correspondent to the *Dravidan*, of the 16th May, observes :—The prices have now inordinately increased, while the pay of these clerks which was originally fixed does not appear to have

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 16th May 1919.

The Taluk clerks.

been raised at all. They may be said to form the groundwork of the Revenue Department, for all kinds of proceedings begin and end only in the Taluk offices. Yet it takes about ten years before taluk clerks entertained on Rs. 20 get Rs. 25. Their poor pay drives them to the necessity of disposing of their ancestral property, if any, and also, at times, of borrowing from money-lenders at exorbitant rates of interest. In point of promotions too, they are neglected, because vacancies occurring in the District and Divisional offices are filled up with men in those offices. It is requested that the Government may, in view of all these difficulties, take steps to raise their pay and minimise their work.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 16th May 1919.

The food situation

31. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 16th May, reproduces the sentiments of the leaderette of the *Justice*, of the 15th idem, under the heading 'food situation and control,' that, in spite of the Government control, the prices of all articles have gone so high as to be beyond the financial reach of the average Indian and that the latest announcement of the Food Commissioner fixing the maximum price of Burma rice at Rs. 385 has resulted in the rise of prices in the market and defeated the purpose of control.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, 1st May 1919.

The Rowlatt Law and *Satyagraha*.

32. The *Indian Emigrant* of the 1st May, narrates some events connected with the European agitation against the Ilbert Bill which appeared in the *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd April 1919, and was abstracted on page 668 of Report No. 18 of 1919 and remarks:—The whites who now ridicule and raise a howl against the *Satyagraha* movement in our country are probably under the impression that we are ignorant ot their antecedents.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 14th May 1919.

The present political situation.

33. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 14th May, writes:—The fact that no change has taken place in the political situation to allay the panic of the people gives room to much anxiety. Martial law is still continuing in the Punjab and the attitude of the authorities in the other provinces too still continues to be rigorous. The starting of a war at this juncture by the Amir has added one more knotty point to the present situation. This war may be a convenient handle for the authorities exercising martial law. But we should not forget that this law was introduced only in consideration of internal conditions and to secure peace among the people in the country. We have already referred to the doubts about the necessity for the introduction of the martial law in the very beginning and also of its continuance and suggested the appointment of a committee in whom the people have confidence to inquire about these things. The statement of the correspondent of the *Pioneer* that there is no news of any atrocities having been committed in the Punjab after the 17th of April is itself sufficient to prove that there is no necessity for the continuance of martial law after this date. It may be argued that the people are keeping quiet only on account of the martial law and that it is therefore necessary to continue it. But it should be noted that martial law cannot be legally applied for preventing the people from transgressing all bounds. If it is stated that martial law can be in force for any length of time on account of its capacity to keep down the people, why cannot it be enforced always and in every place? We would again put the authorities in mind here of the fact that even in the case of the great Indian Mutiny of 1857, the administration of justice by the ordinary civil courts was restored soon after the violence of the mutiny was over. We think the authorities will not be prepared, at least considering their own good name and self-respect, to assert that sixty years after the great mutiny when the people have fully enjoyed the benefits of the British rule they have to be kept down only by means of the martial law. The Government cannot forget that the continuance of this law unnecessarily may wound the feelings of the people. They should also note what impression would be created in their mind by the application of this law at a time when the question of rewarding their mighty services to Government during the period of the war is under consideration. We would say it will benefit both the Government and the people if the former would consider all the things noted above and immediately put an end to the application of the martial law. The continuance of the political situation of the country in the same state is attributed by the people to the attitude of the Government of

India. The people are under the impression that the Government have been provoked by the starting of the *Satyagraha* movement to get rid of the Rowlatt Law and that they are therefore determined to suppress the efforts of those who carry on an agitation about this law. Agreeably to this impression every provincial Government is publishing pamphlets in different languages about the merits of the Rowlatt Law. But these pamphlets offer an explanation only to the falsehoods that are said to be spread by some mischievous persons about the law but not to the objections raised against it by the newspapers and the members of the Imperial Legislative Council. We would at this juncture offer a suggestion to the Viceroy. All the educated Indians in this country are only for continuing under the British Empire, for they know full well that they can improve only under it. This is a plain and sincere truth. They are eager to co-operate with the Government. We therefore entreat the Government not to rely upon the falsehood uttered by the Anglo-Indian papers and to lend ear to those who suspect the loyal people and suggest that they should be afflicted.

The present situation.

Remarking that the unrest in Lahore began to increase when the people, who were already enraged at the deportation of the two leading men from Amritsar, came to know of Mr. Gandhi having been prevented from entering the Punjab, and Delhi, and observing that it is the misfortune of the Indians that bombs and machine-guns should have been used against the people of the Punjab though it was stated that it was the men and money of that province that helped to secure the victory of the allies in the war, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 21st April, writes:—Had Mr. Gandhi been allowed to go about freely to all places, such unrests would not have cropped up at all. It is not known who is responsible for this. The authorities consider that Mr. Gandhi should be held responsible for these events. They have failed to recognise that the illiterate people are enraged without yielding to repression. During the Calcutta and Bombay riots persons like Messrs. Chakrabarti and Jamnadoss Dwarakdoss were able to disperse the large crowds that gathered. It is well known that the *Satyagrahis* are intend on preserving peace and preventing riot; but the authorities do not confide in the leaders of the people. Even in Allahabad, the people became calm when they heard of Mr. Gandhi's release. We would assert that such riots are due to the mischievous rumours spread by the enemies of this movement who eagerly wish that Mr. Gandhi should not succeed in his cause.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 21st April 1919.

Remarking that, while quietude has mostly been restored in India, the condition of the Punjab alone gives room for anxiety, the *Lokopakari*, of the 12th May, observes:—It is an indisputable fact that there are permanent symptoms of disturbances in the Punjab. The authorities there are striving hard to put them down. It is essential for the authorities to associate with the leaders of the people, ascertain the causes of the unrest and try to remove them. They do not appear to do so. Disturbances can in a way be quelled only if the root causes thereof are found out. The authorities get provoked at the mere sight of symytoms of unrest and, without considering the people as their own subjects, resort to severe repressive measures calculated to create in the minds of the people hatred against the Government. If the authorities have acted realizing within themselves that they are responsible to the people, the present unrest in India would never have arisen. It is the thoughtless action of the new Amir of Afghanistan that is the cause of the unrest in the North-Western frontier. In consideration of this unrest the authorities in the Punjab should come forward to relax the repressive measures now adopted there. The Government should realise that the people of the Punjab which is adjacent to the frontier should not be allowed to remain dissatisfied. Mr. Gandhi also should, in consideration of the present condition of the country, suspend the *Satyagraha* movement, as the recent happenings have clearly proved that this movement will not be effective in India.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 12th May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th May, publishes in Tamil certain extracts from the writings of Mr. Ratcliffe in the *Daily News* and from the comments of the *Manchester Guardian* on this subject. These are reproduced *in extenso* in the *Hindu* of the 15th idem.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th May, also reports the *Daily Herald* to have stated that the House of Commons should urge upon a public inquiry being made about the Delhi incident and upon the Rowlatt Bills being suspended.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th May 1919.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th May 1919.

Referring to the disappointment in the expectation that the whole world including India would secure happiness on the termination of the great European war, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th May, observes :—The Indians are not now in a position to enjoy even the happiness they had before the war. Famine of foodstuffs was not so marked in India before the outbreak of the war in Europe. The difficulties now experienced by the people for foodstuffs are indescribable. Before the war, the authorities did not resort largely to the application of cruel laws, while these laws are now dancing before Mother Bharata. The Government have of late been applying the Press Act incessantly. Some of the newspapers which were doing real service to the country have ceased to exist, while some others have been reduced to the position of a lion shorn of its claws and teeth. The mischief caused by the Defence of India Act needs no description. This war measure continues to harass patriots and great men. There are many such hardships. As soon as the war closed, the Government introduced the cruel Rowlatt Law. The question of reforms is now absorbing the attention of some of us. Certain leaders of the people have forgotten the Rowlatt Law. What good are reforms going to do for India? Will they bind people like Sir Michael O'Dwyer or drive them away? It is only reforms which would confer the power of appointing Governors that would please Mother Bharata. No sane person will think that India will enjoy complete happiness by the reforms the authorities are going to grant at present. The happiness of those enjoying the grant of Indian reforms, may well be compared to that of a person who, pursued by an elephant, jumps into a ruined well and hanging down holding certain blades of grass found there, sees a hissing hooded cobra at the bottom, and, accidently opening his mouth, gets a drop of honey from a tree above and tastes it. The cruel laws continue to be in force; the new Rowlatt Law too has sprung up. Reforms are expected at such a crisis. Alas! What reforms these! Mr. Gandhi has spoken to the effect that, if a country should obtain liberty, it should be prepared to undergo excessive hardship and make a large sacrifice, as otherwise the liberty that is acquired will be only nominal. We hope evey Indian will pay attention to these words of Mr. Gandhi . . O! children of Bharata who are the embodiments of truth, just imagine your present condition. Are you not to become men like others? If you want to become men, join the *Satyagraha* Sabha, and follow a policy that comtemplates no harm to others. Then you will become men. The *Satyagraha* vow is no new thing for you. You are the descendants of *Satyagrahis*. You need only a little perseverance and union.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th May 1919.

Divine justice.

34. In a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th May, generalises that wars and disturbances occur in the world only on account of kings and the people not abiding by divine justice and the former not treating their subjects as their own children and remarking that these principles will be observed by kings only if there is union among them, which is again rendered impossible by the two vices of avarice and jealousy always present in them and observing that the recent European war has taught a good lesson to the world that the weak should not be kept under subjection by the strong, suggests the necessity of the starting of a central association by all the kings, which will rule the world, with God at its head. It says that each race will be represented by a member in this association, which, by having a big army of its own and ruling that no country should have an independent army, will rule the world and insist upon each member governing his country in accordance with the principles laid down by it. It adds that no country should be permitted to manufacture machines or weapons which are likely to cause danger to human life, or adopt any secret measure, without the knowledge of the association and expresses the hope that the British, who are about to start a league of nations for securing the peace of the world, will ponder over the above suggestion.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th May 1919.

India and the colonies.

35. Concluding from the news received about the British budget for this year that the British Government have decided to give up their old policy of free trade and to impose protective duties to help certain countries, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th May, says:—It was decided at a conference of the representatives of the allies at

Versailles two years back that, after the end of the war, arrangements should be made to levy export and import duties in such a manner as to enable the allied countries to help each other. It cannot be stated how far the policy now begun by the British Government is based on the principle laid down at Versailles. But it is certain that Mr. Chamberlain has reduced the import and export duties for countries comprised in the British Empire. Though this reduction will curtail the income of the British Government, it has been decided upon because it will help to improve the trade and industries of these countries. In speaking on this point, the British statesmen seem to have dilated upon the advantages of this concession to the colonies such as Canada, South Africa and New Zealand but do not seem to have considered at all about India. This policy will prove advantageous to the colonies, which have progressed on equal lines in the capacity to carry on industries. But it is a disputable point whether the steps taken by the colonies will prove equally advantageous to Britain and adequately compensate for the disadvantages like increase of prices that may result from raising the duties on the goods of foreign countries. However it may be, this is not what is required by India. She should have the power, now enjoyed by the colonies, of levying a duty on goods imported by any country, whether it is comprised in the Empire or not, so as to encourage her own industries. It is only then that the industries of India can become strong. Will the British Cabinet be prepared to grant us this power? This policy is not a new one for Britain. It has been clearly pointed out by Pandit Malaviya that she did impose duties on foreign goods, until her industries had gained strength and that India was then put to much hardship on this account. It was only after her industries had become settled that she adopted the policy of free trade. The fact that she is now going to give it up and take to a policy of protection, itself shows that a country should decide its policy according to its own conditions and agreeably to the times. Even when England was following the policy of free trade, she compelled India to follow a different course and the levy of a counter duty on Indian cloths imported into England, so as to make it impossible for these cloths to sell cheaper there than locally made ones, may be quoted as an instance. So it will not be anomalous for the Government of India to follow a different policy from that followed by the British Government. It is only in pursuance of the view that India should be free, like England, to follow a course advantageous to it, that we demand the right of levying taxes for the Government of India. When the British Government decide to follow a particular policy, it will not be possible to consider about its effects upon India as will be in the case of Britain; for there are none in Parliament who can plead for the cause of India. Telegrams received to-day point to Sir John Anderson having advocated the representation of even the colonies in the Parliament. A similar proposal was often made in the Congress about India, on the ground that, though representatives proportionate to the extent and population of India may not obtain seats in Parliament, if at least a few are there they would speak out the Indian view. As it is now intended to bring closer the different countries comprised in the Empire, it becomes necessary for India to be represented in Parliament like the Colonies. If Indian representatives had been in the Parliament, they would have urged that, as England has the power of reducing the export and import duties for certain countries, as she likes, India should also have the power of levying duties as she thinks best in her own interests. The colonies have this power. Why should not India have it?

The ways of the bureaucrats.

36. Referring to the sudden withdrawal of the powers of an Honorary Magistrate from Rai Sahib Pandit Sitaram of Meerut, in the United Provinces, apparently on account of his having organized a meeting of protest against the Rowlatt Law, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th May, observes:—This gentleman, who had till recently been in the good graces of the bureaucrats, has suddenly incurred their displeasure. Let all title-hunters realize that this will after all be the fate of those who slavishly seek favour at the hands of the bureaucrats.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th May 1919.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's humanity.

37. Remarking that, in the art of governing the people by repression, Lords Curzon and Pentland have to take a lesson from Sir Michael O'Dwyer and that his humanity may well be gauged by his having in this twentieth

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th May 1919.

century, when the whole world is fighting for the liberty of man resorted to a repressive policy unprecedented in India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th May, refers to the condemnation of the *Satyagraha* movement by Sir Michael in replying to certain loyal addresses presented to him and observes:—What does he know of the real significance of *Satyagraha*? His condemnation of the movement resembles a mason dealing with bricks finding fault with rubies. It is the martial law that makes him speak in this strain. It is certain that the rich who are proud of their wealth, and the king who is elated with the strength of his army will soon come to ruin. How did the story of the Kaiser—the Emperor of Germany—end? It is only his arrogance that crushed him. When Sir Michael has played all this mischief from his position as the Lieutenant-Governor of a small province, what would he do if he were the Viceroy? Sir Michael is now returning home, after having committed excesses, bringing disgrace to the British rule. We hope that the Members of Parliament will impeach him for his action and honour him suitably.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 16th May 1919.

The Southborough Committees' report.

38. Adverting to the publication of this report as well as the opinion of the Government of India thereon, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th May, refers to the period of about two years between the announcement of the 20th August 1917 and the publication of this report and the fact of the Government of India having taken time to submit their remarks again in consultation with the Provincial Governments and observes:—The events of these two years are sufficient to vindicate the trend of the 'active efforts' made to introduce self-governing principles in the existing system of administration, which is in the tight grip of the bureaucrats. Sir Sankaran Nayar has in his able dissenting minute boldly depicted the attitude of the bureaucrats regarding these reforms. Several clever devices can be found from the present despatch of the Government of India to keep the reforms in abeyance for some time It is to avoid such a contingency that the Government of India have allowed the statement of Sir Sankaran Nayar, that no delay should be made on account of the differences of opinion regarding the constitution of the electorates, to appear without a refutation. The report and despatch now published clearly demonstrated the truth of the opinion, often expressed by the popular leaders, that the proposed reforms are very inadequate and that the rules and regulations intended to be introduced for carrying out these reforms are not practicable. At the outset the very first proposal of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, viz., that, in the Provinces, departments like education, local self-government and sanitation, may be left in the hands of Ministers subject to the Legislative Councils, is deemed by the public to be quite inadequate. The Madras Government, with Lord Pentland at its head, was not for leaving anything in the hands of the Ministers. Now the original proposal of Lord Chelmsford has been reduced to an eighth part by the Government of India with Lord Chelmsford at its head.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th May 1919.

Referring to this report, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th May, remarks that there are as many defects in it as in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, and, complaining that a copy of the report was not sent to it by the Government, says:—Why did the Government, which sent the Montagu-Chelmsford report to us, fail to send this report? Did they forget or was it done to prove their hatred against vernacular newspapers?

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th May, reverts to this subject and observes:—The more we scrutinise these papers the more are we impressed that the Government of India and some Provincial Governments have taken great trouble to see that neither the popular representatives nor the Minister, who has to seek their support, have any real responsibility as a result of the reforms. Lord Chelmsford is as much responsible for the opinions expressed and recommendations made in the Montagu-Chelmsford report as Mr. Montagu. So it is surprising that the Government of India, with Lord Chelmsford at its head, should now write against the very same opinions and recommendations. It was expected that, as a result of the provision in the Montagu-Chelmsford report that the Provincial Budget should be prepared commonly for both the reserved and transferred subjects and that, except when the Governor exercises his special power of insisting on any expenditure provided in the budget being met, all items in the budget should be approved

by the Legislative Council, these Councils would come to have some more powers than what they have now. This proposal has been altered by the Government of India, and one made instead which leaves the Legislative Council in the same position in which it is at present. Coming to the attitude of the Government of Madras, it appears Lord Pentland informed the Southborough Committees in the very beginning that, as they were opposed to the dual Government, they had no definite opinions to offer regarding the various points raised by the Committees. From this we can only conclude that the Local Government was not for any department being left in the hands of the Indians. It seems Mr. Couchman, who represented the Local Government on these Committees stated that, unless sufficient number of seats were reserved for the non-Brahmans and the Panchamas in the Legislative Council, the Brahmans would predominate in the Council and would not care for the interests of the masses. Though Sir Sankaran Nayar is also favourable to communal representation, he does not hold that a foundation can be laid for responsible Government, only if communal representation is granted. No one objects to communal representation being granted, as also responsible Government. But, if this is demanded, they say that the majority of the non-Brahmans have no education and they cannot therefore realise their responsibility. If, after 150 years of British rule, there are people who are so illiterate as not to know their responsibility, who is responsible for this? Though there has not been sufficient progress in education, as a result of the Educational Department having been under the management of the Government, the Government of India object even to hand over this department completely to the Indian Minister who can take a great interest in it. In fine, the aim of the bureaucracy seems to be to prevent the people having any true power as a result of the reforms. Even the Indian members of the Provincial Governments perhaps think that it is best for them to support the views of their European colleagues. The Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar of the local Executive Council does not appear to have written any dissenting minute, as has been done by Sir Sankaran Nayar. We have to conclude that he is immersed in the view that his brother Indians, born in his own country, are not fit to have and enjoy even the ordinary privileges to which they are entitled. Even the Indian members of the Southborough Committees do not seem to have laid stress on points likely to be approved by the people. The management of land revenue has, for a long time, been causing hardship to the people. They did not urge that this department should be immediately handed over to the Indian Minister. When, excluding Sir Sankaran Nayar, Indians themselves have been representing their grievances only imperfectly, why should we blame the European officials?

In commenting on these reports, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 17th and 19th May, reproduce in Tamil the views of *New India* on this subject, appreciating the conclusions of the Franchise Committee especially in the matter of communal representation, though demurring to their decision against the grant of franchise to women.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 17th & 19th May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 19th May, takes exception to the Government of India having framed fresh proposals on many points, quite contrary to several recommendations of the Southborough Committees based on the views expressed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, and remarks:—Before rejecting the recommendations of the Southborough Committees, the Government of India should have gone into the arguments adduced by the Committees therefor. But it is clear from the dissenting minute of Sir Sankaran Nayar that, in some important points, recommendations of the Committees were rejected without their being examined. For this, the Committees need not have been appointed. The dissenting minute of Sir Sankaran Nayar shows that some new proposals have been made by the Government of India about the budget, ignoring altogether the recommendations of the Committees in this behalf and we can guess the reason for it. It appears the Committees received a letter from the Government of India embodying a scheme of reforms drafted by Sir James Meston when they had almost completed their report and the Committees had nothing to say about it, as it contained proposals contrary to the Montagu-Chelmsford report and it was again received very late. If the recommendations of the Committees are accepted

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 19th May 1919.

though the Provincial Governments may be divided into two sections, both of them can do their work, as far as possible, in friendly co-operation and the Legislative Council will really have some power. The Governor standing above the Executive Council and the Minister can, without joining either and creating a faction, make both move amicably. But if reforms are introduced on the recommendations of the Government of India, the Legislative Council will have no power at all and it will be worse than what it is now. The Executive Council will have enough of funds and the Minister will have to suffer for want of money. There will be misunderstanding between the two sections. The Governor may have to join one side.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th May 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th May, writes:—The report of the Committees shows that they have not paid much attention to the rights of the people, even as far as they are concerned. It destroys the privileges of Ministers, for it gives the Governor absolute control over them. Why not this power be given to the Legislative Council? If the Governor is to take over the responsibility of the Ministers, what is the use of providing a dual Government? India does not seem to get a system of administration approved by the people, as a result of any reform. The Southborough Committees deny the right of voting to women. Though we approve of the right of women to vote, we have not the heart to support it now, considering the present condition of Indian women. The next question to be considered is communal representation. As long as such a representation exists, there can be no union or responsible Government to India. Of course the growth of a desire for communal representation will gladden the hearts of the rulers. The Minto-Morley reforms separated the Hindus from the Muhammadans. It is not known how many divisions will be created by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. The Southborough report gives separate representation to the Muhammadans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, but denies it to the non-Brahmans of Madras. The Government of India however want it as far as this Presidency is concerned. Our aim is that the Indians should form one nation and we will be grieved indeed to see them divided. But we approve of the principle of communal representation to the non-Brahmans as a medicine for a patient. We hold that India cannot acquire responsible Government, if this principle of communal representation gets rooted in the country.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 19th May 1919.

39. Referring to the departure of Mrs. Besant to England, the *Dravidan*, of the 19th May, warns the British public not to believe her words and says:—Mrs. Besant says that there are two parties among the Home Rulers. But we think there are no differences between them as alleged by her. The British statesmen may get duped by imagining that there are differences between the different classes of Home Rulers in India styled by various names such as extremists, moderates, the party of the all-India Home Rule League and the Besantine Home Rulers. Some of the Europeans in India have also been so deceived. So, let the British public, without being bewildered by these names, understand that all these Home Rulers really belong to one and the same party.

The tactics of the Home Rulers.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 21st April 1919.

40. Characterising the communiqué issued by the Government of India on the present situation and the provisions of the Rowlatt Law as a varnished one, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 21st April, observes:—The Indians are really fortunate in that the Government of India have not stated, as the *Times of India* has done, that the Bolsheviks have remitted £25,000 to India and have created the unrest here. According to the communiqué the Rowlatt Law is intended only for rioters and seditionists, and will be brought into operation only in those areas where such crimes are proved to exist, and that too to the satisfaction of the Governor-General. As nothing definite has been stated except that the Rowlatt Law will affect only rioters and seditionists, it behoves us to ascertain who has the power to declare that certain persons are really guilty under this law and who it is that should at the outset point out the existence of crime. The Government and the public are well aware that the prohibitory powers conferred by parts 2 and 3 of the law would be largely exercised by the Police who are likely to act as they please. Till now the procedure has

The Government communiqué and the Rowlatt Law.

been for the Police to be the first informants of the existence of conspiracy and sedition in a place and the Provincial Government relying on the statement of the Police to intimate the same to the Government of India, who in their turn would take the necessary action. But in reality differences of opinion used to exist between the public and the Government in regard to such cases. And it is obvious that, from the assurances given by the Government, it cannot be stated definitely which kind of persons will be actually affected by this law. The people having been deceived by the actions of Government are now reflecting in diverse ways. If repressive measures are being adopted on a larger scale, without the cause of the people's discontent being rooted out, this discontent will only go on increasing. So we hope that the Government will evince sympathy for the Indians who are both innocent and unarmed and are quite contented with what is given.

The Rowlatt Law in schools.

41. Expressing its surprise at students in the Colleges and Schools in Lahore being made to study the Rowlatt Law, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th May, observes:—It is the view of responsible officers that students should not take part in politics. In Madras also Lord Pentland issued an order prohibiting students from attending political meetings. Is not the Rowlatt Law one connected with politics? How can it then be taught to students? Perhaps the authorities are of opinion that all political matters which are favourable to them may be taught to students. They consider that students get spoiled only if they become acquainted with the views and opinions of the people of the country. The authorities of the Madras University sometimes feel the dearth of text-books. Why not they prescribe the Rowlatt Law as a text-book? Will it not widen the knowledge of the students? We are afraid that no real benefit will result, as remarked by Mr. Andrews, if teachers and students are made to teach and learn things in which they have no faith.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th May 1919.

Pamphlets about the Rowlatt Law.

42. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th May, observes:—The Government are circulating lakhs of pamphlets among the people pointing out that there is not the slightest harm to the people by the Rowlatt Law, and they can even circulate crores of such pamphlets as they have the required money, power and influence. Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar of Salem has written a refutation of the pamphlet issued by the Government and the Madras *Satyagraha* Sabha has published this refutation in the form of a pamphlet. It is necessary that this pamphlet also should be circulated along with that issued by the Government. Large funds will be required to print and circulate it and the *Satyagraha* Sabha is not at present in a position to undertake such a huge expenditure. So every patriot should take up the work of printing and circulating thousands of this pamphlet at his own cost, and explain its significance to the public. The Tamil world should be indebted to Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar for his hard work as the Secretary of the Madras *Satyagraha* Sabha.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th May 1919.

The application of the martial law.

43. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th May, writes:—On the 11th April last two deserters from the army were arrested and, on their way to Waterloo, one of them again escaped and fled away. The military officers who kept him in custody immediately fired at him. About five hundred men and women who gathered near at the time got enraged at such firing and began to pelt stones and broken glasses at the chief of the guard in the public street, who had a narrow escape. Yet how did the authorities deal with the people who behaved in this manner? They left the mob unnoticed but arrested the chief military officer so as to keep him in custody until it was found out whether it was justifiable on his part to have issued an order to fire. Will the authorities, that are in blissful ease applying the martial law, note this incident and understand the nature of British justice? The policy adopted by the authorities in India is topsy-turvy. The military officer when attacked by the mob is sure to have been armed at the time, but he did not use the arms even in self-defence. How did the superior officers acquit themselves in this affair? They did not attribute this disturbance to disloyalty and arrest the people who caused the riot, nor were gun carriages

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th May 1919.

stationed there to establish peace and order. It is only the military officers that were inquired. All these considered, it has to be inferred that the officials in England under Mr. Lloyd George have not yet properly understood the system of administration! Why not they take lessons for some time from Sir Michael O'Dwyer of the Punjab?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th May 1919.

The District Judge of Madura and the head of a *mutt*.

44. A correspondent to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th May, states, under the authority of the head of the Tirugnanasambandam *mutt*, that Mr. Booty never uttered the words said to have been spoken by him in his interview with the head of the *mutt*, and abstracted in paragraph 48 of Report No. 20 of 1919.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th May 1919.

Mr. Henderson and Indians.

45. Referring to the words of Mr. E. B. Henderson appearing in the *Morning Post* to the effect that the people of India are only the subjects of the British but not citizens of equal status, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th May, observes:—It is only on account of such shortsighted persons that class hatred is increasing between the whites and the Indians generally, and especially between the officials and the Indians. Mutual love between the rulers and the ruled will be feasible only when the British who come to India as the servants of the Emperor, begin to mix and associate freely with the Indians. Mr. Henderson has also stated that, when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms are brought into force, all the high officials who are useful to the country will have to leave India. This is nothing but a threat. If people like Mr. Henderson stop away without coming to India for service, nothing very serious will happen. On the other hand, we think that one benefit will result from their going away, that is, class hatred between the whites and the Indians will decrease and mutual affection will be engendered. Class hatred between the two is increasing only because of the arrogance of these people. So, there will be none to regret their departure.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th May 1919.

The devices of the Sydenham party.

46. Observing that Colonel Yate made highly insulting remarks about the Indian politicians in the House of Commons regarding the grant of passports to them and, remarking that these words are such as to increase class hatred in this country, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th May, says:—It is regrettable that Mr. Montagu should have kept silent when he heard such remarks. Though the statement that the Government of India respected the black persons without caring for the whites would provoke laughter in the House of Commons, still in India it will only foment class hatred. By speaking in this strain Colonel Yate only adds fuel to fire. Anglo-Indian papers have already been promoting class hatred and by the efforts and devices of men like Colonel Yate, such hatred assumes serious proportions and is likely to result in unexpected mischief. So, it is necessary that the British, who are interested in the welfare of India, should find out means to thwart such mischievous efforts.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 10th May 1919.

Satyagraha—Islam.

47. A Muhammadan correspondent to the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 10th May, says, under this heading:—That some of the signatories of Mr. Gandhi's *mahajar* are Muhammadans is a contrivance of the Home Rulers to mislead the Government into the belief that the Muhammadans and the Hindus are at one even in the matter of religion. Such a thing can never be possible. . . The Brahmans state that all the races in India are united and thus try to hoodwink the rulers. . . If the non-Brahmans do not obtain communal representation, the Brahman agitators will not only exercise authority on the other classes, but will also bring the British Government in India into great trouble. . . In the light of the past history of the country, it must be deemed improper on the part of the Government to vest the whole authority in the hands of one class. The *Satyagraha* is a political weapon wielded by the Brahmans under the pretext of a religious vow in order to gain authority. I hope that my Muhammadan brethren will not fall into this snare and bring dishonour to their religion.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th May 1919.

Federal Home Rule.

48. Referring to the Federal Home Rule Scheme propounded by Mr. Walter Long, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th May, observes:—. . . The speech of Mr. Walter Long advocating the establishment of such forms of Government in countries like Ireland,

Egypt, Canada and India as are suited to the circumstances in each case as the chief means of strengthening the bond between them and the Empire, is worthy of note . . It is well for the Empire that statesmen should at once understand the fact that Federal Self-Government is the only refuge for the British Imperial constitution as well as for the constitution of the Government of India.

49. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th May, observes that the root cause of Russian Bolshevism is the destitute condition of the people in Russia, that riots and revolutions are possible only when the economic condition of the people of a country is intolerably bad, that the absence of unrest in countries like England and America is due to the good financial condition of the people in those countries, and that it is not proper to attribute strikes and unrest to political causes, when it is a well-known fact that even in the ordinary times the people in this country live on half-rations. The paper thinks it necessary to inquire how many are starving in the present hard times for want of even those half-rations. Referring to the Local Government communiqué, issuing instructions to District Magistrates for the prevention of unrest in the districts under their charge, it points out that when prices of foodstuffs and cloths have risen up to two and four times respectively over their normal rates, magisterial authority is little calculated to pacify the hungry multitudes, and prays that the Government may organize relief bodies in every village to help the poor labouring classes in times of need.

The hard lot of the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th May 1919.

50. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th May, remarks that Imperial preference may do more harm than good to India in the absence of proper protection of her industries and advises the people to unanimously ask for fiscal autonomy, realizing the relation between fiscal autonomy and self-government.

Imperial preference.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th May 1919.

51. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th May, refers to the opinions of some papers in England on the recent disturbances in this country and urges the introduction of liberal reforms to allay the unrest.

Disturbances and political reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th May 1919.

52. Referring to the Government communiqué on the Rowlatt Act, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th May, writes:—. . . Though we have severely condemned the Rowlatt Act, our readers will understand that we have not spread any false reports as has been stated by the authorities. Our representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council have all unanimously condemned it. Would they spread false reports? The people are aware of the horrors of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act. Are securities demanded and deportations inflicted for anarchical crime? Are Mrs. Besant and Mr. Horniman anarchists? The Government communiqué promising protection to all well-behaving citizens and threatening with severe punishment all those who disobey just laws already in force, will strike terror.

The Rowlatt Act and the official communiqué.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th May 1919.

53. Referring to the withdrawal of the application of martial law in respect of students of colleges in Lahore, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th May, remarks under this heading:—. . . It is desirable to remove forthwith the other restrictions imposed upon them. We hope that Sir Edward McLagan will follow such a conciliatory policy.

Punishments in the Punjab.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th May 1919.

54. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 10th May, writes to the following effect:— . . . The Government have passed the Rowlatt Bill in opposition to public opinion, and there has been some unrest in the country on account of the indiscreet action of the authorities. The Government have adopted a repressive policy to establish peace. . . At a time when work is required to be done in connexion with reforms with a clear and peaceful mind, it is regrettable that an adverse state of affairs should prevail. Once again, the leaders have understood that the object of reforms is the protection of the rights of the people of India and not to make them helpless. It has been admitted by British statesmen like Mr. Montagu that the present system of administration is not calculated to secure this object. The first duty of the rulers as well as the ruled is, therefore, to

Concentration of all forces.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 10th May 1919.

work for the introduction of a system of Government favourable to the permanence of the British Empire and the development of India alike. That such a system would greatly contribute to the strength of the Empire has been amply demonstrated by Canada, Australia and New Zealand during the war. We can say for certain that there would have been no crisis in the country now, if the Government had not thought fit to pass laws without popular support.

On account of censorship in the Punjab, it is not possible to have a thorough grasp of the situation there. The accounts published by the Government so far are also not complete. . . But the people are beginning to suspect that the method of punishment followed there is severe. And the Moderates have really done a service to the rulers as well as the ruled, which can never be forgotten, by expressing their opinion that repression will only arouse feelings of enmity and indignation among the people and by suggesting for the restoration of peace and order measures such as the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, the removal of restrictions imposed on Mr. Gandhi and the immediate installation of the Lieutenant-Governor-designate in his office. The value of unity of opinion among all communities at a critical time cannot be over-rated. . . When the Indians are thus united among themselves, a great force will be generated among them which will help the Government and improve the condition of the country. If the Government had known that the Moderates could not accept the Rowlatt Legislation, matters would not have come to the present stage. . . It is, therefore, hoped not in vain that the Moderates would win the gratitude of the people by expressing their aspirations in the matter of reforms also as fearlessly as they have expressed the sense of public opinion on the Rowlatt Legislation. Then only will they have done disinterested service to the people and to the British Empire. . . The heart of India, as revealed by the present union of the Moderates with non-Moderates, is a sign of the bright future before her.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 10th May 1919.

The present situation and the duty of the people.

55. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 10th May, observes that the accounts of disturbances in India published in English papers show that the India Office version is highly misleading, and that the India Office is nothing but a tool in the hands of the Government of India. He gives the riots at Calcutta last year as an instance, . . and says with reference to the Delhi disturbances that the Government have unjustly opened fire on unarmed multitudes, killed some persons and caused a breach of public peace and safety.

Referring to the situation in the Punjab and the attitude of the Government of India in the matter, the correspondent writes:—But the Government of India are showing even greater laziness and blind faith in regard to the Punjab disturbances. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has become mad with weapons such as machine-guns and bombs. It has been ordered that as fans are required for the army, soldiers may freely enter into houses and take as many fans as they please. In short, military tyranny is rampant in the Punjab. . . It is understood that a Government based on brute force would be established in the Punjab. A perusal of the orders issued under martial law will show the manner in which uncivilised actions are being done in open contravention of law. The people of the Punjab are not in a position to represent their present condition on account of censorship. But truth cannot be hidden for ever, and it is sure to come out one day or other and to expose to the world all the sickening and unbearable deeds of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. It must be proved before the freedom-loving British public that his administration has been full of blunders.

The correspondent then advises the leaders of the people to request the Secretary of State for India to appoint an impartial commission to inquire into the disturbances. Should the Secretary refuse to comply with their request, he urges that the people themselves should form such a committee composed of members belonging to different communities, that one Labour representative and one Liberal representative from England should be invited to sit in the committee, that a report made by this committee should be discussed in the House of Commons, that the guilty should be severely punished, and that till then the question of reforms should be kept in abeyance.

56. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhravani*, of the 10th May, observes that the deportation of Mr. Horniman is the result of a careful consideration on the part of the Government, that the Hon'ble Mr. Patel who proceeded to England on behalf of the Congress may not work well single-handed and that the presence of Mr. Horniman will be of much use to him there, and thanks the Government for their service to the people by this action. He requests the Government to deport the following eight gentlemen also, namely, Mr. Jamna Das Dwarak Das, Pandit Malavya, Mr. Hasan Imam, Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, Mr. G. S. Kaparde, Mr. C. R. Das and the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma, all of whom are sure to co-operate with Mr. Montagu in the matter of reforms.

Olla Podrida.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 10th May 1919.

57. In its leader on the reports of the Franchise and the Subjects Committees, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th May, appreciates with certain reservations as to details, the breadth of view taken by the Reform Committees and expresses general satisfaction with the proposals embodied in the report. It criticises the view of the Madras as well as the Imperial Governments, and particularly the opinions of Sir Alexander Cardew and Mr. Couchman on the subject of communal representation, and remarks that it is no wonder that such local authorities stood always opposed to the Home Rule movement. Against them, it ranges the views of the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nayar for whose minute of dissent it expresses the gratitude of the people of India and observes that he in no way yields to those who are called agitators in expressing the aspirations of the country.

Reports of the Reform Committees.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th May 1919.

Turning to the disqualifications of voters and candidates for election to the Legislative Councils, it takes objection to the clauses relating to women, insolvents and those sentenced to imprisonment by criminal courts, and points out that the last mentioned of these clauses prevents patriots many of whom are undergoing political punishments, from being returned to the Legislative Councils. The wider the scope for election, the better would the people be represented.

The paper is glad that the proposals of the Congress regarding the number of elected members in Legislative Councils have been accepted by the Franchise Committee, and observes that as the electorate is broadened more and more, the non-Brahman communities will benefit better than the Brahmans.

Referring to the reports of the Franchise and Subject Committees, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th May, observes in its leader that as the number of non-Brahmans qualified to vote will be four times that of Brahmans, and as education has not been made a qualification to vote, the position of non-Brahmans will be strengethened according to the proposals of the Committee, and that in such circumstances, the recommendation of the Government of India to reserve one-half of the elected seats for non-Brahmans, and to leave the rest to be competed for by both the communities is unjust to Brahmans. The paper expresses dissatisfaction about the electorate of the University member in that it is limited to the Syndicate and not extended to all graduates. Similarly it recommends that the electorate of merchants should be extended to all merchants and not confined to trade-associations, as the latter do not properly represent the merchants as a whole. It is disappointed to see that the depressed classes have not been given communal representation, and observes that their representation by two official members is altogether inadequate, and that depressed classes missions should bestir themselves and try to secure communal representation for those classes, since it would give them that much-needed political training which they can little hope to get in future, if they miss the present opportunity. The rule that only those who pay income-tax or profession-tax in municipalities and sist of Rs. 20 in villages, prevents many of the people in general from taking part in elections. The paper points out that according to the committee's recommendations there will be only one out of every hundred of the population, who is fit to vote, and suggests that the people should, therefore, try to have the electorate still further broadened. It regrets that no Andhra town finds a place in the list of important towns in the Madras Presidency, which have been allowed

Reports of the Reform Committees.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th May 1919.

special representation, and observes that Cocanada at least which has a population of more than 50,000, should have been included in it. As regards the election of members to the Imperial Legislative Council, it does not agree with the committee in its proposal to have the Provincial Legislative Councils as the electorates, and disapproves of the suggestion of Sir William Vincent that landholders should elect their representatives to the Council of State from commercial bodies alone as only the rich can then find admission into it. On the whole, it considers the proposals of the Franchise Committee liberal.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th May 1919.

Reports of the Reforms Committees.

Continuing its criticism on the reports of the Reform Committees, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th May, writes in its leader :—. . . From the opinion of the *London Times* on these reports, it appears that there is no truth in rumour that the system of diarchy has been wholly abandoned. . . Provincial autonomy is desirable only when the Provincial power rests in the hands of the people. Otherwise, the attempt to release the provinces from the control of the central Government will make the former even more arbitrary than now. . . The system of diarchy has not been approved of by any party, as it will lead to unnecessary conflicts. . . So, the Congress and the Provincial Governments have condemned it, though from different standpoints—the Congress view being that the people may get wider self-government as against the Provincial Governments' view that the people should not be given the least administrative control. . .

The paper regrets that the departments of Law, Justice, Police, Medicine, Land Revenue, etc., have not been included in the transferred list. It remarks that the grounds advanced by the Government of India for not making education and industries transferred subjects are unconvincing and that their hollowness has been very ably exposed by Sir C. Sankaran Nayar in his minute of dissent. If as the India Government has proposed the classification of subjects be made according to the revenues derived from the different branches of administration those under the popular control will waste away for want of funds.

Referring to the position of ministers, the paper observes that the office of a minister will be critical as he is responsible to the Legislative Council, while at the same time he is liable to be dismissed by the Governor, if he does not follow his advice, that no self-respecting man can accept such an office, and that the proposals of the Government of India in this connexion afford room for all the transferred subjects being resumed by the Government one after another, and will eventually defeat the scheme altogether, as has been pointed out by Sir C. Sankaran Nayar. In conclusion, it observes that the recommendations of the Reform Committees fail far short of the aspirations of the people in many respects and that the country cannot accept any proposals which go behind them even, and exhorts the people to preserve union among them and work with perseverance and determination till they secure a sound form of self-government.

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 6th May 1919.

The Defence of India Act.

58. Referring to the alterations made in rule 24 of the rules under the Defence of India Act by the Government of India, the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 6th May, observes in its leader under this heading :—. . . Whether in Government or railway or any other service, it has been the practice till now for any person to work as long as he likes and to resign his post, when he does not like it. But under the newly altered rule, it would be an offence to advise any man to resign his post on hearing his grievances. It is laws like these which are absurd, . . . and the Government should know fully well that they are not liked by the people. What necessity is there to make such alterations now? Service is no slavery. We hope that His Excellency the Governor-General will be pleased to reconsider the matter and modify the rule in question. . .

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 6th May 1919.

Mr. Horniman.

59. Referring to the deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman, the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 6th May, observes that it would have been better if the Government had merely warned him, since his writings in English are not likely to reach the masses.

60. Referring to the appointment of the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Acharlu, C.I.E., as the Vice-President of the Madras Governor's Council, the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 6th May, remarks that His Excellency the Governor has earned the gratitude of the people of this Presidency by making this appointment.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. Rajapopala Acharlu, C.I.E.

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 6th May 1919.

61. Referring to the forfeiture of the security deposited by the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, *the Godavari Patrika*, of the 6th May, writes. . . Unless the Government relax the fetters, proprietors of newspapers will incur great loss. The Government will not be benefited to the extent to which they should be, by newspapers which sing them lullabies. They will be able to know the real heart of the people from a free Indian Press, and it is statesmanship to know the heart of the people every moment. How can they know the two sides of public opinion, if they gag the Press? A Government which is not informed of the current events will sustain heavy loss. . .

Forfeiture of security deposits.

GODAVARI PATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 6th May 1919.

62. The *Godavari Patrika*, of the 6th May, publishes in Telugu the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastri at a farewell entertainment given to him at Bombay before his departure to England, making the passing of the Rowlatt Act by the Government in defiance of public opinion mainly responsible for all the recent disturbances, observing that the Government should be told that they should never employ more power than what is absolutely necessary to suppress disturbances and advising all Indian parties in England to work in harmony for the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastri's opinion.

GODAVARI PATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 6th May 1919.

63. In its leader under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 11th May, writes:— . . . Every good movement and especially a movement of self-sacrifice will be surrounded by evil forces. . . As has been remarked by the *Times of India*, it is certain that the arrest of Mr. Gandhi has led to these disturbances. There would have been no disturbance to the peace of the country, if the Bombay and the Punjab Governments had acted with a little liberality and foresight. . . The Government should inquire why there should be disturbances at Lahore, Ahmadabad, Amritsar and Delhi only, while the *Satyagraha* day passed off quietly at other places. Though the excitement of a section of the people may be regarded as a reason for this, it cannot but be remarked that the high-handedness of the Police and other authorities has contributed to the disturbances. . . This self-sacrifice also will gain in grace and permanence, as its obstacles increase. . .

Self-sacrifice.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 11th May 1919.

64. Referring to the deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman, the *Hitakarini*, of the 11th May writes:—. . . Mr. Horniman has been one of the leaders of the *Satyagraha* movement . . . It is no wonder, therefore, that the Indian heart melted when his deportation was heard. The perfect quiet that prevailed in Bombay was due to the presence and the messages of Mahatma Gandhi and not to any fear of the people for the precautionary measures of the Government or for their fire-arms. It is always by love, kindness and moral force and not by terrorism, repressive laws, and brute force that the world can be subdued and ruled. . . There is no doubt that the presence of Mr. Horniman in England will greatly facilitate the propagandistic work carried on by Mr. Tilak and others. We, therefore, convey our thanks to the Government for their promptness and sympathy in sending Mr. Horniman to England at an opportune moment. Instead of feeling sorry for his absence, the country will do well to be quiet in the hope that he will work for them in England.

The deportation of Mr. Horniman.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 11th May 1919.

The *Srivazhumcode*, of the 16th May, understands that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, was quite against the deportation of Mr. Horniman and that His Excellency Lord Carmichael withstood the orders of the Government of India three times in respect of the forfeiture of security by the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* but had to yield to pressure from above on the fourth occasion.

The deportation of Mr. Horniman.

SRIVAZHUMCODE, Trivandrum, 16th May 1919.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 11th May 1919.

65. Referring to the letter addressed by Mr. Tilak to the President of the Peace Conference, the *Hitakarini*, of the 11th May, observes under this heading:—. . . Who can venture to say that self-determination will not apply to India which has earned the gratitude of the Government, to India which will be represented by Lokamanya Tilak? If peace is to prevail in the country, is it not better to grant the wishes of the people as represented by Mr. Tilak in his letter and to accord a place to an Indian representative like Mr. Tilak in the Peace Conference than to enforce Martial law, and to unnecessarily create unrest among the people by passing repressive laws like the Rowlatt Act?

Mr. Tilak's letter.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 11th May 1919.

66. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Hitakarini*, of the 11th May, writes:—The object of 'control' is to protect the destitute who have no food to eat and no cloth to wear, and not to increase famine allowances to Collectors and Governors on the ground that they have no food to eat. . . The average coolie who gets 4 annas a day, squanders his money on drinking and his wife feels helpless to support her children. Who is there to look after that woman wailing in utter anguish? Collectors and Governors do not trouble themselves with these thoughts. . . From the indigent, whom it is intended to protect in the name of 'control', the Government is realizing 14 to 15 lakhs of rupees in every taluk by means of Abkāri shops. . . It is not the well-to-do, but generally the Panchama coolie, who has to maintain his wife and four or five children with the four annas which he earns as his daily wage, that resorts to drinking. To gain a 'Reverend' or 'Canon' title, the missionaries hold out high hopes to Panchamas and make them follow other religions, giving up Hinduism. But no one cares to think how to put an end to this habit of drinking. . . In conclusion, the correspondent advises his fellow-ryots to take a vow to sell a paddy bag for not less than Rs 25, until and unless the Government gives up its habit of earning crores from drunkards in rags dying for want of food, and cancels the rule compelling people to pay high prices for articles bought cheap.

Control of paddy and the high-handedness of authorities.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 11th May 1919.

67. Under this heading the *Hitakarini*, of the 11th May, publishes in Telugu an extract from the *Business* which says that if the *Satyagraha* movement inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi is carried into every department of life, it is certain that the heavy burden of the Excess Profits tax will fall on such items of purely British trade as hemp and coal concerns, that the closing of business by the members of the Bombay Stock Exchange when the first Rowlatt Bill was passed into law, is a sign of the future, that the hasty introduction of the Rowlatt Act in the Imperial Legislative Council by Sir William Vincent in spite of the advice of the Rowlatt Commission to use the Act, when necessary, spells a grave danger to the new commerce encouraged in India as a result of the war, and that in its opinion, none will feel more sorry for the passing of such an Act than Sir James Meston and Sir Thomas Holland.

Criticism of the Rowlatt Act.

HITAVADI, Masulipatam, April 1919.

68. While justifying the Rowlatt Act, the *Hitavadi*, for April, remarks under this heading:— . . . It is understood that the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty the King-Emperor have both approved of this Act recently. . .

The present agitation.

GODAVARI PATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 13th May 1919.

69. In its leader under this heading, the *Godavari Patrika*, of the 13th May, referring to the differences which have arisen between Mrs. Besant and the Indian leaders, observes that when the country is agitated all over by the Rowlatt Act, disturbances and punishments, this is a time more for union than for disunion among the people.

Mrs. Besant.

GODAVARI PATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 13th May 1919.

70. Under this heading, the *Godavari Patrika*, of the 13th May, requests the Government to pass a law to validate marriages conducted by non-Brahman priests.

Non-Brahman priesthood.

GODAVARI PATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 13th May 1919.

71. The *Godavari Patrika*, of the 13th May, publishes in Telugu an article contributed to the *Times of India* by Sir N. Chandravarkar, criticising the movement of passive resistance directed against the Rowlatt Act.

Satyagraha.

72. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Godàvari Patrika*, of the 13th May, observes that the foreign civilization is eating into the vitals of the basic characteristics of the Hindu community and criticises the imitation of European dress and manners by Indians, and such habits as the holding of games in which girls are made to take part, and the giving of dinners according to European customs on the occasion of retirement or transfer of European officials. He also urges that men of loose morals and drunkards should not be allowed to occupy responsible positions in Government Service or to become members of Taluk or District Boards or Legislative or Municipal Councils, and that they should not be honoured with any titles.

Stange modern civilization.

GODAVARI PATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 13th May 1919.

73. Referring to the dismissal of the appeals perferred by Mrs. Besant to the Privy Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th May, observes:—. . . Such an autocratic Act (the Press Act) has made the freedom of the press nominal. It will be difficult to express the views of the public freely, unless this Act is repealed. It is but right that the leaders should devise means for its repeal and take suitable steps for the purpose.

Mrs. Besant's appeals.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th May 1919.

74. In its leader under this heading, the *Ravi*, of the 8th May, proposes that such facilities as tea parties, etc., should be more extensively provided than at present to promote the social relations between the Europeans and Indians in India.

Europeans and Indians.

RAVI, Cocanada, 8th May 1919.

75. Referring to the Afghan aggression, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 17th May, says under this heading:—. . . We should not hope that the Afghan war will come to an end so soon. It may take a little more time to teach the Afghans a lesson. It is said that Russian anarchists are backing up the Afghans!

The Afghan revolt.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 17th May 1919.

76. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 17th May, writes an allegory representing a sailor (an oriental) at the entrance of two vast branches of a river which run in the opposite directions of east and west (the eastern and the western civilizations), not knowing which way to take. After describing the main features of the two civilizations, the correspondent says that the sailor has eventually made up his mind to take the eastern channel, and has guided his vessel that side, never to turn back.

This way or that?

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 17th May 1919.

77. Referring to the Triennial Report of the Board of Revenue on the working of the village panchayats, submitted to the Madras Government, and to the intention of the latter to depute a Provincial Civil Service officer to draft the Village Panchayats Act, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th May, writes:—. . . It will be better to publish the Act beforehand to ascertain the views of the public. The Madras Government deserves thanks for its having undertaken to place the panchayats on a constitutional basis without accepting the discouraging remarks of the Board of Revenue. In ancient times, the village was in an excellent condition. The village life gradually deteriorated, and at last affected the condition of the country itself. . . Given sufficient pecuniary aid, legislative and administrative power and statutory support, the village panchayats will be a thorough success, and a source of strength to self-government.

Panchayats without statutory foundation.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th May 1919.

78. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th May, refers to the special cables received by the *Madras Times* and observes:—. . . The object of the House of Commons Committee in arranging a reception to Indian delegates is, says the cable, to see that they do not fall into the hands of extremists like Colonel Wedgewood and Sir John Rees. Leaving alone Colonel Wedgewood, we should like to know when Sir John Rees has turned out an extremist. . . We are glad to learn from the cables that His Excellency the Viceroy has wired to Mr. Montagu expressing the hope that the action of a few in the recent unrest will not affect the introduction of the reforms. This is galling to the *Madras Times*. It will be easy to imagine what disappointment this message of the Viceroy must have caused to those Anglo-Indian papers which have been

The Reforms Bill and the Parliament.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th May 1919.

fondly hoping that the reforms will be a failure on account of repressive laws, disturbances and martial law!

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th May 1919.

79. Referring to the refusal of permission by the military authorities at Lahore to Mr. Norton and other Barristers-at-Law of Calcutta to enter the martial law area in order to defend certain accused persons, and to the cable of protest against this action of the military authorities, sent by the President of the Calcutta Indian Association to Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th May, says under this heading:—. . . Every accused person has the liberty to engage a counsel in whom he may have the greatest confidence. That freedom should not be interfered with through martial law. . . We hope that the higher authorities at least will safeguard the interests of justice.

The Punjab trial.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 14th May 1919.

80. Adverting to the surprisingly light sentence of five months' imprisonment awarded in England to David Ramsay, convicted of having delivered a public lecture violating military law and calculated to cause great agitation among the people and to undermine their loyalty, the *Malayali*, of the 14th May, observes:—Oh! What would have happened if an Indian had done one-hundredth of this? He would have been set fire to and sent up in a rocket.

Administration of justice in England and India.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 10th May 1919.

81. A note in the *Samadarsi*, of the 10th May, says:—The state of the Punjab continues heart-rending. There is no relaxation as yet of the rigour or terribleness of military rule. The bureaucrats are daily cutting the crop of patriotic citizens. It has been impossible to determine how many have been arrested till now. The severity of the punishments under the Martial Law is terrifying. . . All the public leaders of India are against this Martial Rule of the Punjab. And it remains an undoubted fact that the disturbances became so serious on account of the unjustifiable actions of the bureaucracy.

The condition of the Punjab.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 10th May 1919.

82. In another note, the *Samadarsi*, of the 10th May, says:—The one root-cause of all the present unrest is of course the new Sedition Law. All non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council stood against it and all Indians, be they moderates or extremists, oppose it to-day. Yet the opinion in England seems to be that only the extremists are against it. We can see from this how Indian news get perverted before reaching England. The reply given in the Parliament in reply to a question on the subject was that no protest has been received from among the moderates in India. That seems to imply that the moderates are in favour of the new law and that the opinion of the extremists may be discarded. If this is not a case of falsehood, it is certainly a case of misunderstanding. Even Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, the moderate of moderates, has expressed his opinion that the law will conduce to increase of unrest instead of to the preservation of peace. What can we think, then, of that reply given in Parliament? The basic principle of a foreign Government is 'Divide and Rule'. . . It is well known that the Indian bureaucracy is intensely loyal to this principle. It is their shadow that we have now seen in the Parliament. The bureaucracy is pleased to see Indians divided into two camps, moderates and extremists.

Perversion on the way and the bureaucratic shadow in Parliament.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 10th May 1919.

83. Adverting to the intimation given by Mahatma Gandhi that *Satyagraha* will be renewed if the Sedition Law is not withdrawn within two months, a note in the *Samadarsi*, of the 10th May, wishes that the coming July may not come for a very long time yet or that the authorities may be pleased to annul the Rowlatt Act before then. If neither the one nor the other will happen, we can only wait and patiently suffer the consequences.

Satyagraha and the Rowlatt Act.

MARGADARSI, Calicut, 9th May 1919.

84. Adverting to the speeches delivered by the President of the Malabar District Conference which was recently held at Badagara and by the President of the Reception Committee, the *Margadarsi*, of the 9th May, asks "Whose oppression is greater—that of the British Government or of the caste

The Malabar District Conference.

system? Whose speed of progress is greater—that of the British Government or of the caste leaders? and concludes with the following observation:—

"Let us not be misunderstood. We hold no brief for the British Government. Our opinion is that the present political struggle in India is a purely caste struggle. Two high castes, one black and the other white, are fighting for power and privilege. The rule of the white Brahmans is in no way an ideal rule. We are only afraid that the rule of the black Brahman will be worse. Whoever wins, the people of India will gain nothing. If any man thinks that either the white Brahman or the black Brahman will uphold the real interests of the Indian people when their selfish interests are opposed to these, he is deluded. The people must work out their own salvation without much help from either class of Brahmans."

Among the many resolutions passed at the Malabar District Conference which was held at Badagara on the 5th and 6th May, as reported in the *Manorama*, of the 6th May, are a solution that a Bill should be passed by the Parliament granting self-government to India as per resolution of the Thirty-third Indian National Congress held at Delhi, a resolution condemning the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill and the Rowlatt Act recently passed in contravention of all principles of freedom and justice and praying His Majesty the King-Emperor to revoke the same and a resolution recording the opinion of the Conference that the harsh measures adopted by the authorities to put down the agitation in Northern India were unnecessary and excessive.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 6th May 1919.

85. The *Margadarsi*, of the 16th May, asks what, if not the introduction of the martial law in the Punjab, could have withstood the onslaught of *Satyagraha*. The critics may suggest the giving up of the Rowlatt Act as the best means of securing peace and quietness, but the Government hold and have adduced reasons to show that the law is indispensable. Do the supporters of passive resistance recommend to Government the policy of 'preaching philosophy to an angry bull'?

The trouble in the Punjab.

MARGADARSI, Calicut, 16th May 1919.

Adverting to the recent trouble in the Punjab, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 16th May, observes that later incidents and the reports received from the Punjab lead us to believe that Mahatma Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement was not the cause of the trouble as was first supposed, but that the examination by some European soldiers of certain Sikh ladies travelling in a train and the deportation without trial of two or three influential gentlemen of Amritsar under orders of the Lieutenant Governor of that Province caused great agitation among the people. The intrigue of the Amir of Afghanistan was over and above all this. When these circumstances are considered, it will be evident that to apply strong and harsh measures against the people will tend to increase discontent.

Trouble in the Punjab.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 16th May 1919.

86. A correspondent writing in the *Samadarsi*, of the 17th May, on the subject of 'Native States and administrative reform' concludes with the observation that it is the duty of Indian Princes to provide the required organizations to support and conserve public opinion and that if this is not done, the political agitation that is prevalent in British India will mightily spread in Native State also. It is high time therefore for Indian Princes to lay the foundation for popular Government in their States.

Native States and reforms.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 17th May 1919.

87. The *Yogakshemam*, of the 16th May, is pleased with the report that it hears that His Excellency Lord Willingdon is attending office daily at the Secretariat and intends shortening the stay of the Government on the Hills.

His Excellency Lord Willingdon.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 16th May 1919.

88. In its leading article the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 19th May, urges the need for immediately opening the contemplated school in connexion with the Government Soap factory at Calicut in view of the large demand for technical instruction in soap making, the facilities available in Malabar in the large output of oils and other needed substances and in the presence of a real expert like Mr. Kesava Menon and in

Calicut Soap Factory.

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 19th May 1919.

view of the necessity to prevent the market being captured by inferior cheap Japanese and other foreign products. The paper advocates the possibility of development of the industry both as a cottage industry and as big business concerns.

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 19th May 1919.

Indian Administrative reforms.

89. In a preliminary note about the recommendations of the Southborough Committee and the dissenting minutes attached to the Government of India order on the subject, the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 19th May, remarks that some people should sympathise with the Doctor Nayar-Tyagaraja Chetti-Sydenham party in their grievous defeat in that communal representation is not allowed to Hindus, be they Brahmans or non-Brahmans.

MANORAMA, Cochin, 20th May 1919.

The India Government and the Reform Scheme.

90. In its leading article on "The India Government and the Reform Scheme", the *Manorama*, of the 20th May, gives a short summary of the recommendations of the Southborough Committee and the remarks of the Government of India thereon and observes that the report of the committee only adds force to the popular criticism that the Reform Scheme takes away with one hand what is granted by the other. The recommendation that the Governor can interfere whenever necessary with the authority vested in the Indian Minister will certainly make that piece of reform purely nominal.

The paper devotes considerable attention to the dissenting minute of the Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nayar and expresses the hope that the Parliament will give due heed to Sir C. Sankaran Nayar's opinion especially in respect of education of which department he is the supreme head in India and that non-Brahmans will realise from the attitude of Sir C. Sankaran Nayar that the reform scheme is not, as it is often alleged to be, opposed to the interests of non-Brahmans.

III.—LEGISLATION.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th May 1919.

The Rowlat Law.

91. Reproducing an extract from an article said to have been contributed by Mr. Edgar Wallace, an Englishman, to the *Manchester Guardian* about the introduction of the Rowlatt Law with the object of stifling Indian public opinion, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th May, expresses its gratitude to the writer for having spoken out the truth and remarks that, while the Englishmen themselves are of this opinion, the bureaucrats are trying to justify their action by telling the people all manner of things. The following observations occur in the above extract:—The Indians are already discontented. There is no difference between the bureaucrats who brought forward the Rowlatt Law and those of the Kaiser, except that the latter are said to respect public opinion, while the former pay no heed to it. The present discontent in India cannot be rooted out. So it is essential for the British subjects to ascertain the real cause of the discontent and do the needful. The Rowlatt Law has been introduced for very trivial reasons. Though the bureaucrats might contend that it has been introduced to put down conspiracy, in reality it has been brought in only to crush the Home Rule movement.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 15th May 1919.

Referring to an article on the Rowlatt Law said to have been written by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in the *Labour Leader* for the information of the Labour Party, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th May, observes:—In this article, the writer has pointed out that the Rowlatt Law is incompatible with liberty, that it is likely to sully the nature of British administration and that it is remarkable for the Indians to have resorted to the *Satyagraha* movement in opposition to this law. He has also stated that the Labour Party should no longer be inactive and that the law should be suspended until the Parliament consider about it and explain its nature and necessity. He has further stated that, as a result of the working of the Rowlatt Law in India, a painful situation will arise, the harmony between the rulers and the ruled will not be fostered and the innocent will be deemed to be guilty under it. He has finally remarked that the introduction of this law is a serious blunder in the Indian administration. Will our bureaucrats note all that he has said about the Rowlatt Law?

The Rowlatt Law.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 14th May, reproduces in Tamil the substance of the reply written by Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar of Salem, the Secretary of the *Satyagraha* Sabha, Madras, to the pamphlet issued by the Government about the Rowlatt Law.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 14th May 1919.

The Nambudiri Sabha and the Rowlatt Act.

92. The *Yogakshemam*, of the 9th May, gives a detailed report of the proceedings of the eleventh annual meeting of the Nambudri Yogakshema Sabha held on the 7th and 8th instant. The third resolution passed by the sabha expresses regret that the anarchical law which curtails the freedom and privileges of Indians should have been passed by the Imperial Legislative Council discarding the opposition of the representations of the people and suggests that it should be immediately annulled.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 9th May 1919.

IV.—Native States.

Distribution of expenditure —Town *v.* Rural areas in Travancore.

93. The *Keraleeabhimani*, of the 7th May, in its leading article on 'Towns and the Darbar' complains against the policy of diverting for the purpose of beautifying towns and for providing them with conveniences, the revenues contributed by poor hard-working agriculturists of rural areas. The conveniences in towns are enjoyed by merchants, vakils, officers, etc., who do not pay a pie to the general revenues. The people who pay get very little in return. The article suggests that the needs of towns should be attended to and paid for by town councils as is done in British India and in other countries.

KERALEEABHIMANI, Mavelikkara, 7th May 1919.

The Travancore Diwanship.

94. The *Samadarsi*, of the 17th May, is not pleased to hear the rumour that Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar, Diwan of Travancore, is likely to retire very shortly and that Mr. Raghavayya, Collector of Anantapur, is to succeed him and wishes for the continuance of the peaceful administration of Mr. Krishnan Nayar.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 17th May 1919.

Errata.

Report No. 19.

Page 704, paragraph 5, line 2, *for* 'Finne' *read* 'Fume'.
,, 726 ,, 59 ,, 13, *for* 'foget' *read* 'forget'.
,, 726 ,, 61, lines 2 and 5, *for* 'Moderates' *read* 'Moderates' '.
,, 727 ,, 63, line 4, *for* 'alleged' *read* 'allayed'.
,, 727 ,, 65 ,, 5, *for* 'district' *read* 'districts'.
,, 733 ,, 94, margin, *substitute* 'Badshai' *for* 'Badshayi'.
,, 733 ,, 94, line 9, *omit* 'at' *after* 'deplore'.

Report No. 20.

Page 767, paragraph 74, line 1, *after* '*Andhrapatrika*' *insert* 'of the 10th May' and in the margin '10th May 1919'.

[Issued, the 28th May 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 22 of 1919.

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 31st May 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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(k) *General*—cont.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

1. *New India*, of the 26th May, writing under the heading "A Hindu Citizen of the United States of America," says:—"A remarkable decision has been promulgated by the United States District Judge, B. F. Bledsoe, with regard to the question whether a Hindu—we presume 'Indian' is meant—can become a citizen of the United States of America. According to the decision of the United States' Congress, naturalization, i.e., admission to United States' citizenship can only be conferred upon 'free white persons'. . . Judge Bledsoe has decided that Hindus are to be included in the term 'free white persons'. . . A curious and significant result of the decision is that while an Indian may obtain political freedom in the United States of America, it is still denied to him in his native land. . . Let us hope that Judge Bledsoe's decision may stimulate the Imperial Parliament to insist that the rights an Indian can get in a foreign land he ought to be able to enjoy freely in his own country."

New India, Madras, 26th May 1919.

Naturalization of Hindus as United States American citizens.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

2. The *Wednesday Review*, for week ending 21st May, states:—"We do not believe that the Southborough reports deserve any detailed examination and criticism. As we have said they are only an echo of the joint-report and contain no fresh argument nor do they bring out any fresh facts in favour of the proposals. It would appear that the Local Governments and the Government of India do not see eye to eye with the Southborough Committees in their recommendations. Especially on the proposal to entrust certain subjects to be called transferred subjects to ministers chosen from the elected members of the Legislative Council, opinion is sharply divided; and we are glad that the Madras Government are totally opposed to the idea."

Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly, 21st May 1919.

The Southborough Committees' Reports.

The *Commonweal*, for the week ending 23rd May, writes:—"It is quite clear that if Mr. Montagu and the Imperial Parliament were to accept the Government of India's recommendations, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme would not be worth the paper on which it is printed, and the advent of Home Rule would be indefinitely postponed. It almost looks as if the Government of India were growing nervous at the approach of reform in the Indian Government, and could not bring themselves to further any scheme likely to be acceptable to the Indian people. We trust that facts belie appearances, but the Government of India Despatches have come as a distinct shock to all."

Commonweal, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

3. The *Cochin Argus*, of the 24th May, observes:—"The other day we had our *Tiyya* friends repeating their own particular note of protest and alarm, and since then the *Pulayas* of Malabar, assembled in conference at Cannanore, have been, if anything, more outspoken than the *Tiyyas*. The Government would be very ill-advised to underrate the importance and significance of all such manifestations as these and to continue hugging the fallacy that the clamour of a very small minority, thirsting for power, represents the voice of all the millions of the Indian population. The grievances enumerated by the *Pulayas* at their conference should serve to give the Government a fairly clear idea of the condition to which these miserable classes would be reduced, if Home Rule came to Malabar, while the resolutions that were adopted bear testimony to the alarm which has been aroused among them on their being told of the likelihood of their being cast back into the submergence out of which British rule is still engaged in uplifting them, and is doing so, be it noted, in spite of subtle yet powerful opposition on the part of those very classes, who pretend to hunger and thirst after liberty, equality and fraternity."

Cochin Argus, Cochin, 24th May 1919.

Home Rule for India and the *Pulayas* of Malabar.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

The Peace Conference.

4. Adverting to a representation said to have been made by the people of Corea, a small province under Japan, that the republic recently established by them should be recognised by the Peace Conference, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd May, observes:—Ireland is making Herculean efforts for becoming a republic. Egypt and India are seeking only a form of government responsible to the people on liberal lines. When these have had no relief, how is the Peace Conference going to consider Corea's request? How does the Conference expect to establish peace and quietude in the world, discarding the prayer of these countries?

Indian Emigrant, Madras, 15th May 1919.

The Peace Conference.

Adverting with appreciation to the petition regarding the Indian affairs submitted by Mr. Tilak to the Peace Conference and remarking that, in view of the statement of the President of the American Republic that even the affairs relating the Philippines will be considered at this Conference, the demand of the Indians to have the affairs relating to their country as well discussed and decided at it will not be loathsome to lovers of truth and progress, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 15th May, observes:—The English Government having sent to this Conference one or two persons of their own choice as the representatives of India, have declined to permit the representatives selected by the people to go to the Conference. This act of the Government is no wonder to us, but is highly regrettable. It is doubtful again whether the petition of Mr. Tilak will receive consideration at the Conference. It is also to be regretted very much that there are no facilities for matters connected with the Indians who have gone out to foreign countries to be discussed at this Conference, because complete liberty has not been demanded for India at the Conference and also because such liberty is not to be given to her by the Englishmen in accordance with the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms. If complete liberty is granted to India, she can herself attend to what shonld be the treatment accorded to the Indians in foreign countries. As in her present condition she cannot do so, a representative for the Indian emigrants should have been sent to the Conference, but it is certain that there will be no place for such a representative in the Conference, while there is no place therein even for a representative of India chosen by the people.

Indian Emigrant, Madras, 8th May 1919.

Indians in the Fiji Islands.

5. Referring to the several hardships suffered by the Indians in the Fiji Islands and, remarking that the temporary prohibition of indentured labour system gave immense satisfaction to the Indians, *Indian Emigrant*, of the 8th May, points to the resentment of the Europeans in the Islands against this prohibition and to the threat of a correspondent in the *Fiji Times* and *Herald* that if the Government of India do not agree to send Indian labourers to the Fiji Islands, the Colonial Government should immediately pass a new law to send back to India all the Indians in the Islands and observes:—This correspondent does not realise who will suffer if all the 40,000 Indians in the Islands are sent back to India. It appears they will get Negroes from America; they are quite welcome to do so. A feeling is now spreading among the Indians that, if they go to foreign countries, it should be only with equal rights and privileges. May God strengthen this feeling and develop the sense of self-respect among the Indians. The Indians in the Fiji Islands have presented a petition to the British Government that the Islands should be brought under the control of the Government of India. If the Islands require the labour of the Indians, it is but fair that this prayer should be granted. But we do not think it will be granted.

Indians in the Fiji Islands.

Reverting to this subject and referring to the opinion of the Secretary of State for India that, by mere abolition of the indentured labour system, the evil connected with it cannot be deemed to have been removed altogether, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 15th May, observes:—The remark of the Secretary of State makes us apprehend whether the identure system may not be completely abolished. This system cannot change its nature in spite of all improvements effected in it. At this time when knowledge and justice require that one man should not be a slave to another. it is not at all fair for the British Government, who took all possible trouble to banish slavery from the world, to tolerate in any form this system which in a way encourages slavery. Further, if the Secretary of State should allow even a shadow of this system to prevail in spite of the unanimous opposition of all the members of the Imperial Legislative Council and the public, he will be causing great affliction to the Indians in general. We hold that the Secretary of State exists only for helping the Indians to carry out their wishes and not for helping the people of any other country that want to disgrace the Indians.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 15th May 1919.

Segregation camps.

6. Adverting to the detention of passengers from India to Penang, Singapore and Malay States in segregation camps under medical surveillance for a few days and the disinfection of their baggage before they are allowed ingress into these places, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 15th May, observes:—This causes great hardship and loss to the Indians going from here. Instead of carrying the coolies over to Singapore from here and subjecting them to inoculation and similar hardships in a strange place, it is but proper that they should be well examined and inoculated here alone, and sent direct to the scene of their labour as soon as they land there. But the Europeans fear that coolies cannot be largely recruited from India, if this system is followed. We, on the other hand, think that it is only then that we can get the right set of men for coolie work.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 15th May 1919.

Asiatic emigrants.

7. Referring to the resolution brought forward by the Japanese before this Conference, that in all countries all nations should have equal privileges and to the fact that it is under contemplation by this Conference to introduce an international labour legislation, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 15th May, observes:—If this labour legislation comes into force, the differences that have already cropped up in the Colonies between the whites and other races will only increase, and the whites will find themselves armed with a fresh weapon to commit greater iniquities. In case this law is to be introduced, a separate provision should be made therein for labourers of Asiatic countries.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 15th May 1919.

The Afghan war.

8. Referring with regret to the conduct of the Amir in beginning a war with India, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 15th May, observes:—The Amir has entered into the war considering the internal riots in the Punjab to be serious. It is reported that the mother of the present Amir has got a strong hatred for the English and that it is at her instigation that he has entered into this war. There is little doubt that this Afghan war will only increase the grief of our Muhammadan brethren who were already in great pain of mind in connexion with the war with Turkey. However, they will not forget the benefits they have derived from the English. Our Indian Government have sufficient strength at present. The army mobilised for the recent war has not yet been disbanded. It appears that about 20,000 soldiers are expected from England. The Amir will have to repent for his folly ere long. But we cannot say when this war will end, and what all difficulties will befall the Indians in the meantime.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 15th May 1919.

The Afghan war.

While observing that neither Afghanistan nor Russia in its present disintegrated condition is a fit match for Great Britain which has broken the power of such a world menacing country as Germany the *Hitakarini*, of the 18th May, remarks that there is every hope that the Afghan War will be soon brought to a successful termination.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 18th May 1919.

The Afghan war.

In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th May, writes:— . . . . When some of the Anglo-Indian papers have thought fit to make false statements to

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th May 1919.

the effect that the whole country is seething with revolution, describing the recent disturbances in the Punjab as open rebellion, it will be easily understood what wrong impressions this may create in foreign countries. The chief means of allaying the unrest which has followed the introduction of the Rowlatt Bill is to repeal that Act and make an early grant of self-government. But to give it big names and to resort to repressive measures will naturally deceive the people of foreign countries. . . When the Bolsheviks are losing their influence in Russia, their own country, their support will be of little use to the Afghans. The Afghans will, therefore, either come to terms shortly or will have to wholly surrender. Nobody need be anxious about the Afghan war.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 17th May 1919.

The Afghan war.

Referring to the Afghan war, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th May, suggests that the subsidy of 18½ lakhs of rupees now paid to the Amir should be discontinued, that the expenses of war already incurred should be demanded from him and that he should be asked to pay to the Government of India every year the cost of a Frontier Defence Army.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 17th May 1919.

The Afghan war.

Under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 17th May, observes that no Indian will be deceived by the false reports which are being spread by the Amir and that the people will most loyally co-operate with the Government in averting the Afghan trouble.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st May 1919.

The German arrogance.

9. Referring in its leader under this heading to the defiant attitude of the Germans towards the Peace treaty, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st May, observes that the terms of the Allies are not harder than those which are generally offered by the victorious party to the vanquished, and that if the Germans do not accept them, their ruin will be complete ere long.

Next turning to the differences among the Allies themselves, the paper thinks it necessary to effect a reconciliation between China and Japan in order to ensure peace in the East.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 26th May 1919.

The League of Nations.

10. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 26th May, writes:—President Wilson contemplated the formation of an assembly in which the representatives of all nationalities would meet together and settle all disputes that come up for discussion before it. But he was unable to attain his object; because the Allies have not forgotten and forgiven the atrocities committed by Germans and regained the calmness of mind for the purpose of forming the League of Nations. What has now been formed does not deserve to be called a League of Nations. President Wilson loudly proclaimed that the main functions of the League of Nations will be to protect labour, to abolish military service and to uplift the backward classes. The interests of the labourers have not been satisfactorily dealt with; numerous labourers are dying of starvation being unable to maintain themselves with their wages while the prices of articles are steadily rising. Militarism has not disappeared. The vanquished are without arms but the victors have armed themselves to repletion. The backward classes are going as much farther back as those in the forefront are advancing. The belief prevailing in some quarters may be true after all that the talk about the League of Nations is mere display of rhetoric and nothing sincere.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

The red horizon in the East.

11. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 22nd May, commenting on Mr. Lovat Fraser's letter in the *Daily Mail*, London, that Turkey in Europe should be wiped out, that Constantinople be made an international city, that Turkish misrule should be brought to an end in Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Armenia and Mesopotamia, and that the fate of Turks cannot be decided in accordance with Indian Muhammadan aspirations, makes the following observations:—This is a belief similar to that invented by Mr. Burke, and Mr. Gladstone copied and issued the pronouncement that the Turks should be turned out of Europe bag and baggage. The logic of this belief is so involved that any and every one cannot understand the secret of it. Although there existed till yesterday and still exists even to-day the same States in Europe whose administration has been proved to be bad, yet the idea of

turning them out of Europe did not even by chance occur to Mr. Burke and his colleagues. Time was when Turks were famous as just rulers. Although the pages of history may be misty and the print faded, is it a fact that the colonial Christians of Hungary and Transylvania having fallen into the hands of the Royal family of Hapsburge preferred Turkish Government to Hapsburge rule? Is it not true that the Protestant Christians of Serbia were anxiously awaiting the arrival of Turks? Is it not correct that in the seventeenth century A.D. the Greek Christians of Morea, after having suffered untold hardships at the hands of the Danes for fourteen years, welcomed Turks? Ye, it is all true, and History bears witness to the fact that there were people in Italy who were anxisus to swear allegiance to the Muslims; because they believed their religious liberty would thus be assured. In the seventeenth century the Lord Bishop of Antioch prayed to God that the Turkish Empire might last for ever and ever.

The writer admits that there is mismanagement in Turkey, and that if this be stopped, the matter can be settled, but asserts Mr. Fraser's suggestion to exterminate Turkey is undoubtedly objectionable.

II.—Home Administration.

(*a*) *Police.*

Motor-cars.

12. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 24th May, says that the present police staff regulating traffic in the Madras roads is too inadequate to deal with all cases of rash and negligent driving of motar cars, and requests the Police Commissioner to increase the number of traffic regulators so that they may bring to book all thoe that violate the orders of the police in regard to the driving of motor-cars.

Andhraprakasika, Madras, 24th May 1919.

(*c*) *Jails.*

The Jail Committee.

13. Adverting to the starting of work by the Jail Committee, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 8th May, says:—We cannot say that the points observed by the Committee in foreign countries will be applicable to India. Once a committee is appointed, we see only the money of the poor Indians wasted unnecessarily with no commensurate work and benefit. By touring to America and England, the members of this Committee may imprve their knowledge and experience, and go round the world for some days at the expense of the Indians; but we do not think that their tour will be of any use to the reform of prisons in India; for the ideals of life in the west are quite contrary to our own ideals. The reforms to be introduced in the prisons in India are (1) prisoners should be classified according to the crimes committed by them, (2) education and especially religious instruction should be given to them, (3) those failing to furnish securities should be kept separate from other prisoners, (4) the present law should be so changed as to enable insolvents to pay their debts little by little, as nothing is gained by imprisoning them, (5) under-trial prisoners should not be kept in custody for a long time, and they should be enabled to have some work and status in society soon after their release, (6) the treatment accorded to political prisoners should be reformed and (7) the question of transportation to the Andamans should be carefully considered and provision made for information being available about the events in the Andamans. All the above should be determined by impartial persons. The merits or otherwise of an administration can be judged only by the reforms introduced in jails. What is the object of punishment—to subject an offender to hardship or to reform him so as to prevent him from committing a similar crime again? If it is the former, it should be stated to be only the nature of *Asurās*. As the aim of establishing jails is only to remedy this state of affairs, the present Committee should suggest proper reforms.

Indian Emigrant, Madras, 8th May 1919.

(*d*) *Education.*

A college for Tanjore.

14. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 22nd May, invites the attention of the authorities to the need for a college in the town of Tanjore, and, referring to a representation said to have been made by the people of the district to the District Board for starting a college by

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

utilising the large surplus of nearly nine lakhs of rupees in the *Chattram* funds for the purpose, hopes that the prayer will be considered favourably by the authorities concerned.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The provincial educational service.

15. Referring to the order of the Government of India increasing the initial pay of the Provincial Judicial Service to Rs. 250, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th May, observes:—The most unfortunate people are those of the Provincial Educational Service, where the initial pay is still Rs. 200. Though the Provincial Educational Service is as important as the Provincial Judicial Service or the Provincial Civil Service and though the initial pay of both these is Rs. 250, it is not known why a difference is maintained by the Government of India in the case of the Provincial Educational Service alone. In our opinion, the Educational department deserves greater respect. Though it may not receive a preferential treatment, it may be given at least an equal treatment along with the others.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

The Third Andhra Students' Conference.

16. Referring to the Third Andhra Students' Conference held at Nellore, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd May, writes:— . . . The President requests the authorities to encourage the desire of collegiate students to take part in politics. It is the students of to-day that will become the citizens of to-morrow. Those who are ignorant of politics as students, can be hardly expected to discharge their responsibilities of citizenship with ability in their after-lives. We hear that students in England take part in elections. Such being the case, it will be a loss to the country, if the collegiate students at least do not participate in politics. There must therefore be a change in the very system of education.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The Third Andhra Students' Conference.

The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th May, publishes in Telugu an account of the speech of the President of the Andhra Students' Conference held at Nellore on the 23rd, advocating the imparting of instruction on political subjects to collegiate students, the opening of religious classes in all educational institutions and the improvement of the status of vernaculars and Sanskrit in universities by making them compulsory subjects of study.

DEENABANDHU, Masulipatam, 15th May 1919.

Pledges and proclamations about education.

17. The *Deenabandhu*, of the 15th May, says that on account of the indifference of the people, the pledges and proclamations of the authorities to the effect that, in imparting education to the people in schools and colleges under the Government, no differences of caste will be observed, have become a dead letter.

MARGADARSI, Calicut, 23rd May 1919.

The Rowlatt Act in the school syllabus.

18. The *Margadarsi*, of the 23rd May, takes exception to the decision made in some provinces of North India to teach the Rowlatt Act as a text-book in schools and observes that this will appear absurd even to those who have no great objection to the Act, that even if the Rowlatt Act were as good as the Magna Charta, it would still be unsuitable as a text-book, that really there are many that oppose the Act and that even if the teachers who for the most part are opposed to it, try to teach its good points, much against their conscience, such instruction cannot be beneficial to their students.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 20th May 1919.

Village panchayats.

19. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 20th May, writes:—In reply to a proposal made in the Legislative Council about four years ago that, if village panchayats were introduced with some powers and a small income, social life would become strengthened and villages would greatly improve, the Government stated that they intended to try an experiment by establishing informal panchayats without either powers or funds. We gave a warning even then that such an attempt would be tantamount to asking one to make a somersault without resting his hands on the floor. Still the Government started informal panchayats in many districts with the help of the local officials. The reports on the working of these panchayats for the last three years with the remarks of the Board thereon and the Government Order reviewing the same are now before us. At the end of last year there were 691

panchayats throughout the Presidency. But most of them existed only in name and did no work. This is attributed by the Board to the existence of factions in the villages, want of funds, the indifference of the panchayatdars, the stress of the times and the spread of epidemics. Had the panchayats been properly formed, there would have been no factions in villages. There were no factions whatever in villages in ancient days, when the panchayats were looking after the needs of the village. It was later, after the introduction of the foreign rule, when power began to be centralized in the hands of one that the village leaders ceased to exist and everybody began to assume importance. This gave an opportunity for some people to please the petty officials and, making much of their influence with them, harass the villagers. It may be these very persons now obstruct the satisfactory work of the panchayats. The best way to do away with faction is to establish the panchayats legally and grant them powers and funds. Many Collectors have reported that even, without powers and funds, some panchayats have done admirable work, and so there is no doubt that exceptionally good work can be guaranteed, if they are constituted according to law. The Revenue Board say that there is nothing at present to show that these informal panchayats will win the esteem of the people and we think the opinion of the Board is that they will win the esteem of the people if they are constituted legally. The Board has again stated that if, under the Local Boards Act, unions had been formed, they too would have done the work of these informal panchayats. But these unions are entrusted by law with only certain items of work, while the informal panchayats have been doing various kinds of work. As the present experience has been so far satisfactory and as the Government of India have decided to establish village panchayats, the Government of Madras are going to appoint a Civilian to draft a Bill for the purpose. If this had been done as early as 1915 as suggested by the popular representatives, the benefit of all these years would not have been lost to the people. If, now at least, the Government consult persons experienced in panchayat matters and come to a conclusion, the people will be benefited by it.

Village panchayats.

The *Dravidan*, of the 24th May, reproduces an article from the *Justice* of the 22nd idem, entitled "Informal panchayats" and hopes that, as the quick development of panchayats is one of the important factors essential for the progress of the country, the Government and the people will work for this development without paying heed to the difficulties in the way.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The new Palakollu Municipal Council.

20. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th May, proposes that a paid chairman or a paid secretary who will bear the full responsibility for the municipal administration, should be appointed for the new municipality at Palakollu.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th May 1919.

The *Hindu* security.

21. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th May, publishes in Telugu the letter of Dr. Subrahmanya Ayyar with reference to the security demanded from the *Hindu*.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th May 1919.

The non-Brahman movement.

22. Under this heading a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th May, observes that the non-Brahman movement has only served to promote internal quarrels and mutual hatred by making too much of the few faults of Brahmans and attributing to them many unfounded ones, and that it is just what is wanted by those who say that the people of India are unfit for political rights. He says that it is the misfortune of India that such movements rousing mutual hatred should come into existence at a time when all the people should work conjointly for her freedom.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th May 1919.

(*h*) *Railways.*

Railway passengers.

23. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th May, complains under this heading that booking clerks in Railway stations are in the habit of making money by refusing to pay the passengers the balance due to them after deducting the actual ticket fare on the pretext they have no change with them. He requests the Railway authorities to redress the grievances of passengers.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th May 1919.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th May 1919.

Railway highhandedness.

24. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th May, publishes in Telugu under this heading a wire from two correspondents of Chirala, Guntūr district, complaining that the rates of demurrage enhanced by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway authorities last year have not yet been reduced to the usual rates at Chirala, though the pressure which called for enhanced rates was over long ago, that they have not time even to go to the Guntūr Bank and get money, and that no such difficulties are felt by the merchants at Guntūr and Bezwada. They pray for the refund of the excess demurrage collected from Chirala merchants from the date on which the enhanced rates were discontinued at other places.

MUSHIR-I-DAKHAN, Hyderabad, 19th May 1919.

The management of railways in the Hyderabad State and that of the other railway lines. A contrast.

25. The *Mushir-i-Dakhan*, of the 19th May, in drawing a contrast between the management of railways in Hyderabad and that of the other lines makes the following observations:—The comforts and facilities, which passengers enjoy on other railway lines, are not available on the railways here. For example on most Indian railway lines in general and on the Madras and Southern Mahratta line in particular an effort is made to provide third class passengers with refreshments as has hitherto been done for first and second class passengers; but no such convenience is afforded to third-class passengers here. Secondly another facility, which third-class passengers enjoy elsewhere, is that their compartments are provided with a water-supply. Third-class compartments here are, no doubt, furnished with tanks but passengers can rarely get a drop of water from them which is a very real hardship for the travelling public. Thirdly on other lines attention is paid to booking the third-class passengers according to the available accommodation and overcrowding is, as far as possible, avoided, but here second-class compartments even do not get this consideration.

Fourthly on other railways arrangements are made to supply Muhammadan and Hindu passengers with water on the arrival of the trains, without requiring them to leave their compartments. But passengers frequently complain that water is not to be had at the stations on our line! For instance, it is stated that at the Hyderabad Railway station the water is cut off at the arrival and departure of trains. There are many other contrasts between the management of other lines in India and our own railways from which he, who hears of them, can only draw the inference that little attention is paid here to the comfort and convenience of passengers.

It is incumbent upon the railway authorities for the sake of the good name and fair reputation of their line at least to take early steps to remove the cause for all reasonable objections and legitimate complaints.

(*k*) *General.*

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 28th April 1919.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Burma and the present situation.

26. Referring to the remarks of Sir Reginald Craddock recently made at a meeting of the Legislative Council in Burma that it is a great blunder in the political history of India that Indian political leaders should not only oppose the Rowlatt Law but also cheer up those opposing it and that their action encourages the growth of sedition to an unprecedented extent in the country, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 28th April, observes:—If people are to be punished for unduly reviling the Government or their officials, what is our remedy if the officials too make disparaging statements about the people as they like? Sir Reginald Craddock can only point out the difference of opinion existing between himself and the popular leaders, and the leaders who are known for their loyalty, will not put up with the mean words that opposition to the Rowlatt or any other law will promote disloyalty. At the present juncture such insulting words about the Indian leaders and the Indian newspapers will only increase the discontent of the people. The authorities always look on these Indian papers with ill-will, as the latter reveal the real condition of the country, the needs of the people and the actions of the authorities. As they are armed with the cruel Press Act, they enforce it as they like and it has become a habit with the Indians to complain often without obtaining any relief. They are being treated with increased

contempt day by day. We hope that the Government of India will at least in view to public peace take notice of these words which are likely to foment discontent between the Government and the people. The authorities should realize that cruel laws, the different kinds of weapons of the present day and reviling words cannot assuage the grief of the people and make them loyal. It is really disappointing that, in spite of the last 170 years of their administration, they have not realized that it is difficult to secure proper government if the rulers have no love for and confidence in the ruled.

The officials in India.

27. Remarking that the flogging of persons in the public street under martial law in Lahore, the appointment of respectable persons as special constables in Delhi and the deportation of popular representatives in Amritsar may be referred to as special incidents in the present British administration, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 28th April, observes:—Are the people here armed like the westerns to justify the introduction of martial law in this country? Are these prepared to fight in return? What injustice have they done to deserve the introduction of martial law? It is certain that flogging the Indians like beasts and shooting them like birds and the unsympathetic treatment accorded to the civilized Indians here are not to be found anywhere else. The appointment of respectable men as special constables betrays the attitude of the bureaucrats towards the Indians. The law provides for the appointment of special constables in view to public peace only in places where there are signs of unrest and where the Police force is not sufficiently strong. With the object of disgracing the respectable persons in a place, the officials appoint them as special constables even when the strength of the ordinary Police is sufficient, and make them go on beat and expose themselves to rain and dew during nights. We hope that the authorities, without incurring the displeasure of the people by such a step, will adopt proper measures for winning their support.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 28th April 1919.

The cause of unrest in India.

28. Referring to an incident in the Bristol Hotel at Calcutta on the *Satyagraha* day when the infuriated mob became quiet on being pointed out in the name of Mr. Gandhi, that they should not resort to force, as a proof that the Indians are not boors, the *Vaisyamitran*, of the 28th April, observes:—How can unrest result from *Satyagraha*, as according to the tenets of the *Satyagrahis* one should do good in return for evil? People begin to make a great clamour; because the feeling that the unanimous opinion of the Indians against the Rowlatt Law was discarded is ever rankling in their minds. Calcutta witnessed a similar situation at the time of the partition of Bengal. When such clamours are of common occurrence whenever measures disadvantageous to the people are introduced, is there any justification for attributing the unrest to *Satyagraha*? There was no *Satyagraha* movement at the time of the partition of Bengal. The Indians do not exhibit as much of boorish propensities as is found in the actions of the people in the west. But it may be definitely asserted that, in the Punjab, the discontent which the people already had in respect of the administration, added to the Rowlatt Legislation and the frequent deportations, contributed for the unrest, and the statement made by the Government that the people were prepared for an open rebellion is really incongruous.

VAISYAMITRAN, Karaikkudi, 28th April 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st May, says:—Who is responsible for the present discontent and unrest in India? The Anglo-Indian papers blindly say that it is the educated Indians that are responsible for these, and the bureaucrats who read these papers believe in what they say without any hesitation. But Sir Sankaran Nayar has truly said that the Indian industries have been crushed for want of patronage on the part of the Government after the Sepoy Mutiny and, on account of the levy of heavy duties which prevented Indian articles from being sent to England, that in matters of commerce preference is being shown to European interests, that the want of patronage at the hands of the Government has made a very large number of industrialists lose their living and compete with the agriculturists, and that the attitude shown by the Government of India in this matter accounts for discontent and unrest in India. What can the poor do if industries are crushed and agriculture is impaired? As the increase of poverty

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st May 1919.

has driven people to starvation, unrest and discontent have been on the increase in India. We need not say that the Government of India are the cause of this situation.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st May 1919.

Referring to the statement of some that the recent disturbances in India were created at the instigation of the Bolsheviks and also to certain observations said to have been made by Mr. John Pollock, the Russian correspondent to the *Daily Express*, that a Government official told him before he escaped from Russia that an agitation would be started in India in March and that the affairs connected with the unrest in India were being supervised by the Indians who had gone to Moscow from Berlin, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st May, writes:—Even granting that all this is true, the creation of disturbance in India in March, the very month it was suspected to occur, only exemplifies the accidental coincidence there is between the alighting of the crow upon the palmyra fruit and the fall of that fruit. Had the Government found out the truth with the help of the secret police, on the suspicion that the unrest in India was due to the instigation of the Bolsheviks, they would be justified in resorting to martial law. Even then, the wise would think that a civilized and humane Government will not resort to such cruel measures. The harsh and brutal acts of the Punjab Government are such as to sully the name and fame of the British Government. Had the authorities thought that the Bolsheviks were the cause of the unrest in India, they should have attempted to take the leaders of the people into their confidence and in consultation with them, adopt the necessary measures. As a matter of fact, it is now patent that the unrest in India has no connexion whatever with the Bolshevik movement. It is only the mean-minded Anglo-Indian papers which are intend on speaking disparagingly of India and the Indians that would be proclaiming about the spread of the Bolshevik movement in India. Even the ignorant would decline to accept this view. But it is a well-known fact that in Afghanistan the late Amir was assassinated and unrest cropped up only on account of German devices, for it is only Germans who were unable to win over the deceased Amir to their side, that have given rise to the present tumult in Afghanistan. Under the impression that a few Indians are agitating against the Government, to spread a false rumour that there is Bolshevik movement in India is contrary to truth. *The Empire* states that Mr. Rash Bihari Bose, one of the famous agitators in Bengal, was receiving great help from the father-in-law of the deceased Amir. Even granting that a few Indians were in league with the German conspirators in connexion with the disturbances in Afghanistan, it will be clearly seen that they have no influence in India and that no harm can result to her from them. Though the Anglo-Indian papers might blab in any manner they like, at least the responsible authorities should ponder over the matter and adopt the legitimate course.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 15th May 1919.

29. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 15th May, reproduces in Tamil a letter written by Mr. S. E. Stokes and published in the *Leader* under the heading "Duty of Government and the Englishmen", condemning the measures at present adopted in the Punjab and recommending that a conciliatory policy which will strengthen the harmony between the Englishmen and the Indians should be resorted to.

The present situation.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 20th May 1919.

30. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 20th May, reproduces in Tamil a letter written by Doctor Rutherford in the *Daily News* remarking that the Rowlatt legislation has aroused indignation and given birth to suspicion in the minds of Indians about the good faith of the British Government and pointing out that the remedy lies in the withdrawal of the legislation and in speedily carrying out the reforms promised long ago.

Doctor Rutherford on India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

Reproducing some of the observations made by Doctor Rutherford about India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd May, comments as follows:—At the end of his letter, Doctor Rutherford rightly asks a question whether the British Government cannot grant reforms to India in the same way in which Lord Durham introduced them in Canada and Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman in South Africa. As the people of South Africa and Canada are of the white race, they secured the reforms readily. Had the Indians also been white-coloured like them, the British Ministers would have granted reforms to India long ago! What can be done? Indians are not whites!

31. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 21st May, observes:—It is true that Lord Chelmsford had to issue severe orders to put down unrest that cropped up here and there in this country. This has furnished an additional proof that his interest in the welfare of India and the progress of the Indians remains unaltered and undiminished. We are not wrong in our opinion that His Excellency the Viceroy is not one of those that mistake the disturbances caused in the Punjab and other places for a rebellion and revile the Indians in general for it. He has only come forward to put down unrest and will never accuse the Indians as a set of seditionists. We understand that he has wired to the Secretary of State that the welfare of the crores of people should not be neglected on account of the risings of a few. Is there anything more magnanimous than this ?

The Viceroy and the reforms.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 21st May 1919.

32. Referring to the note sent by the Government of Madras to the Madras Corporation stating that the annual administration reports of the Corporation should hereafter be written concisely, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 21st May, observes:—The matter that came up for discussion in the meeting of the Corporation yesterday bears ample testimony to the fact that the bureaucrats will not in the least favour the grant of complete liberty in the matter of self-government, though in the resolution passed by the Government of India last year and in the Montagu-Chelmsford report the grant of such liberty is explicitly recommended. Even Mr. Molony, the President of the Madras Corporation, though belonging to the bureaucratic class, does not countenance the interference of the Government in this matter. If the Government are to insist on Local Boards keeping to a page-limit in the preparation of their administration reports, what are we to say of our rights of local self-government.

Local self-government.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 21st May 1919.

33. Referring to one of the resolutions said to have been passed at this Conference held at Karaikudi, on the 19th May 1919, stating that the passport restrictions in the Malay States are affecting their trade prejudicially and requesting that these restrictions may be modified or removed, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st idem, observes:—It is understood that much hardship is caused to these Chettis by the above restrictions. We hope that the authorities will bestow attention on the subject and comply with their request. The Chettis should not think that their grievances would be redressed by the mere fact of their having represented them to Government by means of a telegram. They should apprise the Government through press and platform of the losses and the difficulties caused to them, as the Englishmen are sure to act when there is an agitation in the matter.

Nattukottai Chettis' Conference at Karaikudi.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 21st May 1919.

34. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd May, says:—Of all the departments under Government, the Postal Department is one that serves the Government and the public most It is necessary that the pay of the clerks of this department should be raised and it will be well that the Government of India, in consideration of the high prices of foodstuffs, also consider the question of raising the pay of the postal peons.

Pay of postal employees.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

35. Adverting to the sarcastic remarks of a correspondent to the *Madras Times* that nothing has been done to celebrate the hundredth birthday of Queen Victoria this year and that Mr. Gandhi may probably organise a loyal movement for the purpose, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd May, remarks:—The birthday of Queen Victoria is indeed a sacred day for the Indians. There are among us people who would deify the queen. But we cannot help referring here to the fact that India which was loved by her very much is at present governed in a manner which is quite contrary to the assurances given by her when she ascended the throne as the Empress of India. If perchance she should have the (mis)fortune to personally witness the present bureaucratic administration in India, there is little doubt that she would shed tears at the sight of the hardships of her beloved Indian subjects. She might even doubt if this is British administration.

The birth-day of Queen Victoria.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

Punishments to the *Satyagrahis*.

36. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd May, remarks that, as the authorities detest the *Satyagraha* movement, they punish as they like those that join this movement however great they may be, and reports that Rai Sahib Sita Ram of Meerut, who was held in high esteem by the officials till now, was ousted from the post of a Honorary Magistrate and that certain merchants had to forfeit their licences because they took part in this movement.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd May 1919

Peace in the Punjab.

37. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd May, observes:—We understand that Punjab is now calm. The Afghan danger has been averted. Hereafter at least the Government should calmly concert measures to establish peace in this province. There is no need for the martial law to remain in force any longer there As the people of the Punjab have suffered badly by the effects of this law, it is necessary that the Government should treat them with special sympathy. Quietude has been restored only by the introduction of the martial law. But such quietude, which results out of fear, is not likely to last long. The British statesmen cannot fail to realise that it is better for the authorities to secure the co-operation of the people than their obedience from a feeling of fear.

YATHARTHAVACHANI, Kumbakonam, 21st April 1919.

The *Satyagraha* movement.

38. While admitting the valuable help rendered by Mr. Gandhi in the Transvaal with the aid of this movement, the *Yatharthavachani*, of the 21st April, remarks that, while the Indians in the Transvaal had, on account of their long stay there, become united, those in India are still divided into several classes and observes:—The spread of this movement will affect the quietude in the country and lead to disturbances in different places. Just as the people do not rightly understand the attitude and views of Mr. Gandhi, the subordinate officials at times act without properly understanding the attitude and inclinations of the Government. This is creditable neither to the country nor to the Government. If a craving is roused, it will not subside until it is satisfied, and till then there will be hardships, losses, misery and anxiety. So it is well to keep the *Satyagraha* movement in abeyance.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 20th May 1919.

The Southborough Committees' report.

39. Remarking that the Franchise Committee have very carefully considered the interests of every class and community in determining the popular representatives in the Indian Legislative Councils, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 20th May, observes:—In response to the prayer for special facilities for encouraging Indian trade and industries, the Committee have increased the number of Indian commercial representatives in the Provincial Legislative Councils, for which we feel grateful. Our merchants want a further increase in the number of their representatives. Their contention is that the representatives given by the Committee are not sufficient as their number is large and they deal again in a variety of things.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 20th May 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 20th May, reproduces the sentiments of the *Justice* of the 17th idem, expressing the view that communal representation with a mixed electorate will confer no benefit on the non-Brahmans of this Presidency and that the grant of communal electorates to Muhammadans and Sikhs and denying them to non-Brahmans belies the proverb that what is sauce for the gander is sauce for the goose, and, remarking that the action of the Government of India in not having recommended communal electorates for the non-Brahmans while conceding the necessity for communal representation to them, only shows that the magic net of the Brahman is encircling the whole of India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st May 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st May, reproduces in Tamil an article appearing in the *Young India*, of which Mr. Gandhi is the editor, expressing dissatisfaction at the report.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 21st May 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 21st May, reverts to this subject and says:—The whole of Sir Sankaran Nayar's minute of dissent leans towards the Congress. It is seen that the Committee, as well as certain others, anticipated this. While the Committee have recommended that education should be wholly a transferred subject, the Government of India are of opinion that only primary education can be left under the management of the people. Though Sir Sankaran Nayar has

demurred to this view, the conclusion of the Government of India that higher education should not at present be entrusted to the people will, we think, be approved by all. In regard to the opinions of the different Provincial Governments about the classification of subjects as reserved and transferred, we appreciate the bold and frank statement of Mr. Couchman here that, in this province, no subject should be left in the hands of the people and that the proposals of the Franchise Committee are such as to make the Brahman element preponderate in the Councils, which would not conduce to the benefit of the public.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st May 1919.

In commenting on this the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st May, observes:—Seeing that the Government of India have submitted their recommendations to the Secretary of State five or six times and some portions of which have not at all been published and that only one of the dissenting minutes of Sir Sankaran Nayar has been published, it is not possible for any one to express any definite opinion about the Committees' proposals or the recommendations of the Government of India. However, we can infer the attitude of the Government of India and the object of the Committee from these papers. It is evident that the Viceroy has yielded to the devices and machinations of the bureaucrats in India. Though we have to concede that the Committees' proposals have been drafted with the best of intentions, some of them are such as to shake the very foundation of responsible government and the recommendation that, if a Governor is not satisfied with the administration of the subjects entrusted to the minister in his province, he can remove such a minister, may be quoted as an instance in point. If this proposal is approved and brought into force, it is certain that India will derive no benefit whatever by responsible government. The Committee have suggested many such proposals contrary to the principles of democracy. In fine, the mischievous agitation of the Anglo-Indians and the attitude of the Government of India are not in favour of reforms. We feel sure that India cannot get reforms even to the extent expected by the moderates.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd May, publishes a letter addressed to the press by Margaret M. Cousins on behalf of the 45 branches of the Indian Women Association protesting against the Committee's denial of the franchise to women and urging that meetings should be held to protest against this decision and copies of the resolutions passed therein sent to the Government of India, the Secretary of State and the British Women Suffrage Societies.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 22nd May, reproduces the remarks of the *Justice* of the 20th idem expressing dissatisfaction at the grouping of districts for purposes of election to the Madras Legislative Council and at the depressed classes not having been given proper representation by the Committee and remarking that there is no justification for the great difference that is made between the rural and the urban voter.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 22nd May, is also dissatisfied with the conclusions arrived at by the Southborough Committees and observes:—The Franchise Committee have not granted franchise to women. When even men have not adequate privileges, we need not pay much attention now to the rights of women. But it is foolish to say that women had never any rights in this country. It is really surprising that the Goverment of India should differ from the report of the Committee, in spite of the fact that Lord Chelmsford was one of the two who drafted the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals on which the Committee's report is based. The Government of India are bent upon making puppets of the Indian ministers in the Provincial Governments and carrying on the administration in the same manner as is done at present. On the whole, some reforms are sure to be introduced in our country. But it remains to be seen how far they will be favourable to us and helpful in the matter of our acquiring Home Rule. Unless some way is found for our getting out of the power of the Civilians, it is doubtful if we can acquire Home Rule.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

The Southborough Committee's Report.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 22nd May, says:—The Functions Committee was appointed to consider about the division of functions in accordance with the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and, though there are a few Indians on it, the majority of its members are Englishmen. So a recommendation by this

committee, that certain departments should be left to the Indian Minister, cannot be deemed to be a partial one. But the same credit cannot attach to the opinions expressed in the despatch of the Government of India. As the Functions Committee appears to have viewed that, considering the way in which certain departments have been managed by the Executive Council till now, it would not conduce to the progress of the country to allow the Council to manage the said departments even hereafter, it is quite natural for the Government of India to protest against the transfer of these departments to the Minister, for, by accepting this recommendation of the Functions Committee, the Government will be practically admitting that they have not been doing their work all these years. Therefore the dissenting minute of Sir Sankaran Nayar preventing the views of the Government of India from prevailing and upholding the recommendations of the Functions Committee is a great service to the country indeed. Two points on which he thus agrees with the committee and demurs with the view of the Government of India are about the management of the Industrial and the Educational Department. While the Functions Committee and Sir Sankaran Nayar are for treating industrial matters as a transferred subject, the Government of India are against it. If the Government had till now done all that was possible for them to enable the Indians to start and improve industries, we can rely upon their doing so even hereafter. India was far advanced in industries when the Englishmen first settled here and what is the reason for the deterioration of the country in this matter? It is, as stated by Sir Sankaran Nayar, the wanton neglect of the Indian industries and the imposition of heavy import duties on Indian goods landed in England. Though this statement is a harsh one it is nothing but plain truth, and many letters written by the Government of India themselves bear testimony to this. Of course there were occasions when the Govarnment of India were compelled by the Secretary of State to act in such a manner as would be favourable to the England industrialists and prejudicial to India and the Government of India raised their voice against it. The case of starting of an Industries Department in Madras can be quoted as an instance in point. Thus it is seen from Government records themselves that the Government of India have, either of their own accord or under compulsion from the Secretary of State, not been discharging their duties to India. It is possible to improve the industries of India with the aid of foreign capitalists, and if this department is left under the management of the Executive Council, it will give room to their encouraging the English capitalists ignoring the claims of the Indians. But if it is entrusted to the Indian Minister, he cannot ignore the interests of the English capitalists, for it is not possible in the present conditions to improve industries in India without foreign capitalists, and he will at the same time encourage the Indians. So, impartial men cannot but accept the recommendation of Sir Sankaran Nayar that the department should be in the hands of the Indian Minister. Coming to education, the Functions Committee and Sir Sankaran Nayar are for its being a transferred subject, while the Government of India would leave only primary education in the hands of the Minister. The Government of India have evidently ignored the view of Mr. Hornell that the control of education should not be divided. If primary education is in the hands of the Minister and all other education in the hands of the Executive Council, the former may not exactly dovetail with the latter and so the best policy will certainly be to leave all kinds of education in the hands of one authority. If the Executive Council had done its duty in this matter properly till now, we can rely upon its doing it hereafter. But it is a fact known to all that it has not done it. At this time when free and compulsory elementary education is given to all children in every civilized country, the Government of India rejected a very moderate proposal made by the late Mr. Gokhale in the Legislative Council. They have not again done anything to impart instruction to the people on industrial secrets. Sir Sankaran Nayar points out that the present system of education has been strongly condemned by the Calcutta University Commission. The reasonable course would therefore be not to entrust any responsibility regarding education to those who may continue to have the same attitude, but to leave it entirely in the hands of the Minister. We trust that this view will be accepted as it is supported by the Functions Committee, the Calcutta University Commission and crores of Indians.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

The Southborough Committees' report.

Referring to the recommendations in the report regarding the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 22nd May, appreciates the decision of the Committee to reduce the number of nominated members as much as possible and observes:—If there are a large number of nominated members, they will, with the official members, exceed the elected members in number. As the official and nominated members always used to speak on the side of the Government, the resolutions of elected members fail to get a majority. It is in consideration of this that the report wants the number of nominated members to be reduced. In fixing the number of members of the Madras Legislative Council, the Committee has struck a mean between the suggestion made in the memorandum of the nineteen and that in the Congress-League scheme. But we doubt if the proposed constitution will secure a sufficient majority for the elected members. Though the number of nominated members is only 27, the number of those who will stand by the Government seems to work at a third, while the prayer of our people has been that three-fourths of the members of the Council should be elected. Though the Government of India mostly approve of the proposals of the Committee, they view that the seven representatives allowed for the depressed classes in all the Provincial Legislative Councils are insufficient, and it should be conceded that this number is very small when compared with the total number of members in all the Councils. But the depressed classes are also Indians and not foreigners and again it cannot be stated that the other members of the Council will not attend to the needs of these classes. So we think it is unnecessary that these classes should have representatives in the Council in proportion to their population. We hope the Southborough Committee and the Government of India will note this truth. This is a special feature with this country. In other countries, every class may belong to a different race and that is why perhaps the Government of India want a larger number of representatives for the depressed classes here. The decision of the Government of India that petty zamindars need have no representatives in the Legislative Council and that they should elect representatives along with the ordinary electorates is quite fair.

In commenting on the report in general, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th May, says:—The report has evidently come as a disappointment upon the Indians, as it was stated in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme that the majority of the Indians would be granted the right of representation. But the report of the Southborough Committee has dispelled that hope. If the people are to have political rights, they should advance in education. But the Franchise Committee do not propose any means of improving the education of the masses. According to the present rules, only a few are qualified to become members of the Legislative Council and so many, who can labour sincerely, are not able to get into it. Thus, the object of the Legislative Council is not completely fulfilled. Now the Committee have ruled that dismissed Government servants, persons sentenced to imprisonment and lawyers debarred from practising should not stand as candidates for election, though they give the Government the power of removing the disqualification of any one belonging to the above classes. Even the existing rules do not preclude one sentenced to imprisonment for six months or less from standing as candidates. We do not see why the Committee has changed it. In no civilised country do the Government have so much power in the matter of the election of members to the Legislative Council. The decision of the Committee apparently discloses a feeling of distrust. The people cannot hereafter be sure of returning to the Council such leaders as will work in their interests, unless they are approved also by the Government. In these days imprisonment has become a very common occurrence. It is indispensable that those representing the people in the Legislative Council should have a knowledge of politics. But those working in the field of politics now have to expect imprisonment every moment. On the whole, the report of the Committees is such as to cause dissatisfaction to the Indians. If their suggestions are accepted by the Parliament, even the shadow of responsible government cannot be expected soon in India. If the Montford report caused dissatisfaction to the Indians, the Southborough Committees' report is such as to cause far greater dissatisfaction. Those who expected the defects in the former

to be removed by the latter cannot fail to feel disappointed now. In spite of this, the Government of India want to curtail even the proposals in the latter report. Let us see what the British Parliament does eventually.

MARGADARSI, Calicut, 23rd May 1919.

The report of the Southborough Committee.

In the course of an article on 'The Report of the Southborough Committee' the *Margadarsi*, of the 23rd May, makes the following observations:—The opinion of the Committee is of course beneficial to the people of this country. . . As regards separate franchise for non-Brahmans, the Committee does not say anything. This is extremely unjust. Nothing is more absurd than to say that since Brahmans and non-Brahmans are all Hindus, they form one class. . . There are reasons to believe that as a result of the work done in England in this matter by patriots, like Dr. T. M. Nayar, separate representation will be given to non-Brahmans. But even this is not enough. The Panchamas who are included among non-Brahmans should be given separate representatives of their own, belonging to their own community. . . As regards the question of transfer of subjects, the opinion of Sir C. Sankaran Nayar will generally be accepted by all people in this country.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 24th May 1919.

Referring to the fact that women and dismissed servants of Government cannot become members of the Provincial Legislative Councils according to the recommendations of this Committee, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 24th May, observes:—The authority that dismisses a Government servant happens to be the executive head of a department. Can the character of a man be gauged by means of the decision of this departmental officer? Though Messrs. Southborough, Surendranath Banerjea and Srinivasa Sastriyar pointed out to the Committee that it was not right so to gauge the character of a person, this restriction continues as the majority did not agree with him. The Government of India feel sorry that the provincial Governor has not been empowered to prohibit a person from becoming a member of the local Legislative Council, if his character and conduct do not appear to be satisfactory. If such a power were granted to provincial Governors, it is quite possible that it would be abused and acts contrary to democratic views which are at present developing will be resorted to.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

Imperial preference.

40. The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 22nd May, writes on this subject as follows:—Though we are exceedingly glad at the prosperity of the British Empire, the question arises whether in the present condition of our country we are fit to have free trade with other countries subject to the Empire. If India, in which all the industries have perished and which has to depend on foreign countries for everything, should have free trade with countries subject to the British Empire like Australia, New Zealand and South Africa wherein industries have considerably progressed, the result will only be harmful to India. Poverty will increase and, owing to want of encouragement even the few industries that are slowly dragging on here will disappear. So free trade is not suited to India at present. Even in England the question of free trade was taken up only after her industries advanced appreciably. So, if England is really interested in the welfare of India, she should find out means for India to improve her industries. Proper duties should be levied on the articles of import and export belonging to other countries, so that the industries of India may be safeguarded. If such safeguard is not provided for Indian industries, it is difficult for them to develop. Why should not foreign trade be objected to here, in view of the furtherance of indigenous trade?

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

Stray notes.

41. The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 22nd May, contains the following stray notes among others from the pen of a correspondent who writes under the pseudonym of *Narada*:—The Government of the Punjab refused to accord permission to Mr. C. F. Andrews to acquaint himself personally with the conditions in the Punjab and report them to the press. Nothing should be said about the Punjab Government. It is only for having written about that Government many newspapers are being oppressed under the Press Act. So, there is only one way of escaping the danger, that is to shout with joy "Victory to martial law, Victory to O'Dwyer and Colonel Johnson, Victory to bombs from aeroplanes and machine guns and Victory to the

Defence of India Act," and offer prayers in temples and mosques for these alone to continue in India for ever. . .

What? Will Germany again enter into war? The Germans are declining to accede to the peace terms. The terms are no doubt hard, but what is to be done? I do not like to give my opinion on this matter. . .

The Afghan war is going on. The particulars now gradually leaking out show that the Afghans were for a long time contemplating a war with India. We have to suspect whether the Afghans entered into war only under the influence of the Bolsheviks. . .

During the serious tumults that arose between the police and the people in Paris on the occasion of the May day celebrations, it is reported that the number of persons killed and wounded aggregated to about 420. However, no machine guns were used there and no bombs were thrown from aeroplanes, nor was martial law introduced. But that city is situated in France and not in India. Further, there is no O'Dwyer there fortunately.

Lord Ronaldshay and lootings in Bengal.

42. Commending the action of Lord Ronaldshay in having released from prison 147 persons convicted on account of the lootings last year, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 22nd May, observes:—These may have resorted to looting, being driven by the pangs of hunger. They are not looters by profession. Such acts inspire in the common public confidence in and love for the Government. In the Madras Presidency also there are many still in prison in connexion with the lootings which took place last year. Will our Governor too, following the footsteps of Lord Ronaldshay, set them free?

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

Rowlatt Law in schools.

43. Adverting to the letter of Mr. C. F. Andrews published in the *Independent* condemning the Rowlatt Law being prescribed as a a text book in schools and colleges in Lahore, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd May, observes:—Our sincere opinion is that teaching this law to students will only breed mischief among them, inasmuch as even those students who are quite ignorant of politics till now would come to learn about anarchism and disloyalty. This will give room even for a flawless mind to become poisoned and for pretension to increase. Will the authorities pay heed at least to the suggestion of people like Mr. Andrews though they cannot know it for themselves?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

Paper currency.

44. Endorsing the suggestion of a correspondent to the *Times of India* that, in view of the large circulation of currency notes among all classes of people, these notes should be issued in different sizes and colours to indicate the various denominations, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd May, observes:—At present the ten rupee and the fifty rupee currency notes are one and the same in size and appearance. It is only the literate that can distinguish between the two. The correspondent states that one with a fraudulent intention can make the illiterate people accept a ten rupee note for a fifty rupee note and that such cases have actually happened. So the Government should take proper steps to remove such difficulties.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

The *Hindu* and the Press Act.

45. Referring to the order demanding a security of Rs. 2,000 from the *Hindu*, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th May, observes:—The authorities are, without proper reasons, oppressing the newspapers conducted in strict accordance with truth and patriotism. They use the Press Act to suit their whims and fancies. Unrest and discontent have increased in the country only on account of the mischievous acts of the bureaucrats. Lord Willingdon has, without a little consideration in this matter, exercised his authority in accordance with the advice of his ministers. What is to be done?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The *Hindu* and the Press Act.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th May, reproduces in Tamil a letter written by Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar making a suggestion that a resolution should be passed at a public meeting convened for the purpose requesting the *Hindu* to republish the article on which the security order has been based, so that the Government may proceed to order the forfeiture of the security for such republication and that the

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th May 1919.

publishers should, at the cost of the public, take proceedings in the High Court against the forfeiture order if one follows.

The same paper comments on this letter as follows:—The suggestion of Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar is no doubt good; but the question is whether others will abide by it. We need not point out that it is a valuable suggestion for getting rid of the Press Act.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran* and the Press Act.

46. Referring to the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Madras served on the manager of the *Swadesamitran* Printing Press on the 24th May 1919, requiring him to be present at his court on the 28th idem to receive final orders regarding the security to be furnished by that Press, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th idem observes:—Let us see what the final orders are. At this juncture we wish to apprise the authorities of one thing. We humbly point out that by gagging newspapers disunion between the rulers and the ruled will increase. What more can we say?

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

Brahman ascendancy.

47. Remarking that, in spite of the paucity of their numbers, the Brahmans command much influence and power, the *Dravidan*, of the 23rd May, observes:—About 70 or 80 per cent of the Government officials are Brahmans. This is the cause of their success in political affairs. Perhaps this fact has been purposely omitted by the Madras Government and Sir Alexander Cardew when they expressed their views on the political reforms. It is not at all true that the preponderance of Brahmans in Government offices is due to the dearth of non-Brahmans. The fact that Brahmans are getting further advancements in offices in spite of their committing faults which, if committed by non-Brahmans, would have ruined them for all the rest of their lives shows that there are other causes for this preponderance. The cause for the progress of the Brahmans in politics is that they are holding 80 per cent of the Government appointments, especially in this country where Government officials are all influential.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 26th May 1919.

Depressed classes and the Reforms.

48. The *Dravidan*, of the 26th May, reproduces the sentiments of the *Justice*, of the 23rd idem appreciating the recommendations made by the Government of India on behalf of the depressed classes who are entirely reposing their faith in them and recommending that these classes should be protected against oppression by other classes and also raised to a position of equality with the rest.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 8th May 1919.

Narada's diary.

49. The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 8th May, publishes what is stated to be the diary of one *Narada*, who chronicles his impressions of men and things in the course of an imaginary tour and in this diary the following find place:—I met Lord Chelmsford on 2nd May 1919. He is more arrogant now than what he was. His reply to the press deputation that waited on him nearly two years back proved his real nature. He is now gloating over his having demonstrated his words to Mr. Gandhi. It looks as if his contempt and aversion for the Indian leaders have now increased. There is no doubt whatever that Lord Chelmsford is the root cause of all the present disturbances in India. Though the troubles in the Punjab are due to the repressive policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, is it not wrong on the part of Lord Chelmsford to have allowed Sir Michael to run as he likes without holding the reins tight. The following conversation then took place between Lord Chelmsford and myself:—

Lord Chelmsford.—What do the Indians think? Have they forgotten that this is the English Government? Will we not place them at the mouth of the gun? Let us see who is the stronger.

Myself.—The Indians did think that this is the English Government. But on hearing that numerous unarmed people have been put to death by the authorities by means of bombs and machine guns, they doubt whether this is now a German Government.

Lord Chelmsford.—What do we care, if they have a doubt? Can they move a finger hereafter? We will crush them like bugs. Take care, O Narada! It is your *tamboor*, *vīna*, *mirdang*, etc. (meaning thereby the *Bhajana* conducted

throughout the country on the 6th April) that have created unparalleled disturbances in the country. I am therefore going to declare under the Defence of India Act that no one in India should have any musical instrument except the English ones.

Myself.—O, Viceroy! I have seen the country being saved from weapons like guns and swords. But it is really strange for one to like to save the country from musical instruments, which melt the heart. This—

Lord Chelmsford.—Take care. That will do. Your stars too seem to be bad.

Myself.—Sir, I will not speak hereafter. But I will make only one request of you. We have confidence in the English system of administration. We cannot forget our old dame, Queen Victoria, nor her grandson, the present king. But people like you try to shake that confidence of ours.

I met Mr. Gandhi on the next day and told him: "You have suspended your *Satyagraha* movement. But the authorities have not stopped theirs. You are against holding public meetings. If there is no outlet to a feeling of discontent in the mind, will it not probe inward and come out with a horrible explosion later?" He said: "Let the authorities do as they like. Truly our *Satyagraha* will win. . ." On this, I told Mr. Gandhi: ". . . There is another way in which the *Satyagraha* movement can be pushed on. Once every month all the people in the country should bathe naked and sit in different places for three days, as if in a trance, and this may help us in achieving our object. Our European authorities will, on seeing the great ones sitting naked like statues in different places, realise the transient nature of this world and the awkward features of the body. Then the Rowlatt Law will be removed and *swaraj* acquired."

I met Sir Michael O'Dwyer on 7th May 1919. When he saw me he twisted his moustache and the following conversation ensued:—

Myself.—You have had much trouble.

O'Dwyer.—What can be done? It is on account of people like you that those like us have to undergo trouble. Well. Do you see how Punjab has quieted down now?

Myself.—The whole country is shuddering and wailing is heard in every house. The people have no happiness or comfort. This is the condition of your province.

O'Dwyer.—It is your people that is the cause of all this. They talk about one Gandhi, a mad man, and about *Satyagraha*! Will this madness avail in the present world, which is full of strife? Will the English Government, which crushed to pieces Germany that was terrifying the whole world, be afraid of this threat?

The *Indian Emigrant* continues this diary, in its issue of the 15th May, in which the following occur:—I met Mr. Devalara, the leader of the Sein Fien Party in Ireland on 12th May 1919, and he received me gladly, when he knew that I was an Indian, and said: "The people of your country have no spirit of resentment. It is difficult for you to secure liberty" and the following conversation ensued:— INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 15th May 1919.

Myself.—Have you secured liberty. Both of us are in the same position.

Delavara.—You are going to have liberty by petitioning the English public. We are going to have it by unsheathing our sword.

Myself.—Ah! How long can the liberty secured at the point of the sword last? That is all vain talk. Instead of trying to acquire liberty gradually by prostrating at the feet of the Englishmen, why do you foolishly blab like this?

Delavara.—Which is greater—honour or life? Is there any one who has become rich by prostrating at others' feet and begging alms? Is it you or I that blab without understanding the world.

The Press Act and Indian newspapers.

50. Adverting to the demand of a security of Rs. 2,000 from the *Hindu* by the Local Government the *Desabhaktan*, of the 22nd May, points to the lot of the *Independent*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Tribune* and the *Punjabee*, and says:—Newspapers published in India by the Indians and working for the progress of the country by voicing forth the true opinion of the people have to incur the displeasure of the bureaucracy and bow to the operation of the Press DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

Act. If the authorities spend some thought over the matter, they will easily see that the policy adopted by them is harmful not only to the people but also to the Government. Government communiqués express the view of only one party, viz., the officials. Though the Press Act has to apply equally to all newspapers in India, it is the Indian papers alone that enjoy the privilege of tasting the sweets of its operation. It does not approach the Anglo-Indian papers and those that prove traitors to the country. It is clearly pointed out by the *Indian Social Reformer* that it is the Anglo-Indian papers that cause an enmity between the whites and the Indians in India. The Indians never provoke the enmity of the Englishmen and this is proved by the fact that many Englishmen have been elected as Presidents of the Indian National Congress. A correspondent to the *Pioneer* gloats over the action of Colonel O'Brien in Gajranwala in having fettered a Hindu and a Mussalman together and led them through the streets and remarks that the Hindu-Moslem unity is patent even here. How much should Hindus and Moslems be provoked on reading this? The *Englishman* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* have been writing always in a disparaging manner about the Indians. Does not justice consist in meting out impartial punishment for all papers that transgress the limits of law? If, instead of this, the Press Act is applied only to suppress the newspapers that boldly express the real opinion of the country, though it may be deemed proper by the authorities, it is contrary to British justice. A Government which aims at establishing justice and righteousness should not be averse to the public expressing their opinion through the Press and the platform, but should encourage the people to voice forth their views within constitutional limits. The liberty of the Press is indispensable for the progress and peace of India and political agitation. Life in India will become happy only when the newspapers in India acquire liberty. The *Hindu* has now become a victim of the Press Act. The fame of this paper is known not only in India but also in western countries and it has all the characteristics which a paper should have. Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, its present editor, has all the qualifications required of an editor and is also well versed in law. One peculiar feature with him is that he always expresses his views sincerely and impartially. Though he appreciates the merits of the Government, he does not hesitate to condemn their defects. It is these excellent traits in him that brought about his selection as one of the Indian press representatives and he interviewed the King-Emperor too. If his writings are declared to be against the Press Act, which paper can keep within the limits of the Act? It is perhaps the object of the authorities that all people who speak out the truth should be suppressed, whatever may be their nature and however cautious they may be. Even the *Swadesamitran* was threatened under the Press Act. It is also one of the leading papers in the country and it never publishes anything contrary to truth. That papers, which speak out the truth without transgressing constitutional limits, should be condemned like this shows only the irresolute attitude of the authorities. Indian papers can perhaps live hereafter, only if they write about potatoes and plantains!

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 23rd May, reproduces a portion of the above article and also comments on the same subject in the following strain:—The reason for the procedure adopted in other provinces being begun here can be easily understood. As there were disturbances in the Punjab, martial law was introduced there and an order issued that the local papers could publish news about the events there only on the approval of the local officials. Many of the papers published in other provinces were also prohibited from entering into the Punjab, so that those in the Punjab may not know what other papers say about the occurrences there. It may be said that security has been demanded from the *Hindu* only on this principle. If the authorities do not want the occurrences in the Punjab to be divulged, the question arises whether they are doing such things as cannot be divulged. If not, what is the harm in their being divulged? If what is done there should be done, what if the people come to know them and what if the papers understand the opinion of the people? If any one says "we will adopt several measures and the people or the papers should not say anything about them," we will say it is not statesmanship. News is out that the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nayar has resigned his responsible seat, as he could not approve of the measures adopted in the Punjab and as he did not like to be one of a Government

which countenanced the adoption of such measures. If this is true, no Government following the British policy is justified in preventing papers from condemning the actions of the Government in a constitutional manner. Further, if newspapers are not to publish news of the occurrences in different places and to voice forth the ideas of the public about those occurrences, we do not see what they are to do. Are they to write only about plaintains and potatoes as was funnily put by the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika?* What fault has now been committed by the *Hindu*, which has been enjoying the esteem of both the Government and the public for the last forty years? A leader in the issue of the 8th instant on the application of martial law in the Punjab and the reproduction of a lecture delivered by Mr. Lala Govardhanadas were pointed out by the Magistrate as the basis of the demand of security. If what was decided to be unobjectionable by Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, who possesses a clear knowledge of law, ripe experience and a high culture and who has won the esteem of both the authorities and the public by his writing articles without any flaw for the last 15 years, is declared objectionable by a Magistrate subordinate to the Government, how can the people accept it? Did the Government of the Punjab see the article in the *Hindu* and write to the Local Government that they could not carry on the administration if such articles appeared in the papers, or was there any excitement among the people either in the Punjab or any other province on reading these articles? We know nothing happened anywhere. Neither the Punjab Government nor the Government of India could have written to our Government about them, for the articles appeared in the *Hindu* on the 8th instant and the Magistrate issued his notice on the 12th idem and there is no time between these two dates for the authorities in the Punjab or at Simla to have perused the matter and corresponded with the Local Government. So this action should have been taken by the Madras Government on their own initiative. The Government on the hills could have seen the articles in question only on the 10th idem and the fact that the Magistrate issued his notice on the 12th idem shows that the Government should have sent a wire to Madras on the subject on the 10th itself. The hurry with which this action has been taken may make one suspect that the Government deemed this to be the best opportunity for adopting a repressive policy towards the *Hindu*. This paper has been conducted by Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar since 1905, and the world and the Government know that he has been doing his duty, without being afraid of any one except God. It is because this paper was appreciated by the Government that they chose its editor as one of the Indian editors to visit the front and the same Government have now demanded a security from this paper. How are these two actions to be reconciled? As Lord Willingdon is new to this Presidency, he has no personal knowledge of its editor. All the others know him well. The Indian Member has moved closely with him for several years and knows him in and out. Is it his sincere opinion that Mr. Ayyangar should conduct his paper only after depositing security? If so, how did he applaud the rectitude of Mr. Ayyangar in bidding farewell to the latter on the eve of his departure to England, as one of the six Indian editors? How are the people to guage his attitude? Seeing that the other European officials of the Government have ventured to take this action, in spite of their having known Mr. Ayyanger personally and esteeming him, it becomes clear that the respect Indians receive from time to time at the hands of foreigners is of no practical use at a time of political controversy. When repressive laws like the Press Act, which permits newspapers being injured at will, are exercising their full sway, the benefit we are going to derive from political reforms is only a dream. The danger that has now befallen the *Hindu* may gradually extend to other papers too. Then public life itself may come to a stop. So all should unite to remedy this state of affairs. Otherwise, we will have the curse of our progeny.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

The condition in the Punjab.

51. Expressing its surprise at the order of the authorities in the Punjab that lawyers of other Provinces engaged for the defence of the accused under martial law should not enter that Province without the permission of the Martial Law Officer, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd May, writes:—News received from the Punjab from time to time since a disturbance occurred there clearly showed the pitiable condition of the people of that Province, and the present order proves that it is very bad indeed.

We have to doubt whether the Military authority has realised the nature of his action. The offences with which the Punjab leaders are charged are punishable either with death or with transportation. It is not fair for any official in the British Empire to prevent the unfortunate British subjects, that are deemed to have committed such heinous crimes, from having legal assistance. As the Martial Law Inquiry Commission has been constituted with reference to special circumstances, though there are many famous jurists of the Province on it, they have to follow a strict procedure, which is different from the ordinary one. Considering these facts, the indispensable necessity of the accused having legal assistance becomes quite patent. Then again, as rich men would seek the help of the best counsel, such may not be available in the Punjab itself. It is not an easy thing to try cases under martial law. The lives of several people are in the hands of those that try such cases. So it is necessary that the latter should, to satisfy their own conscience and the anxiety of the accused, not refrain from permitting the help and counsel of eminent lawyers. The Inquiry Commission would have permitted such help if left to themselves. But they have not the power to do so! It is the Military Officer exercising martial law that is wielding unbounded powers in the Province. We are not able to understand on what ground the present cruel order has been issued. The Counsel who were engaged for the defence intended to get into the Punjab only for professional business and not for indulging in political agitation. Even if the Military officer had a suspicion that they might perhaps take part in the disturbances in the Punjab, he could have issued an order that they should not attend to any other work in the Province except the conduct of their cases. Even this order would be disparaging to the lawyers. But it would have been better than their exclusion from the Province. The present order, besides being disparaging to the lawyers, also subjects the accused to a serious danger. It again creates a suspicion in us. Could those accused under martial law in the Punjab till now be after all innocent? Is the Military authority afraid that the offences may not be proved if eminent lawyers come and crossexamine, or are a few, who have escaped arrest, afraid that they would be caught, if the cases are conducted well? Could not even those who created class-hatred have been the cause of the disturbances? If the authorities do not want that the people should suspect them, they should not prevent the appearance of lawyers. Perhaps the Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer cannot behave better at this juncture. But it is necessary that the Government of India at least should see that such wrong impressions do not take root in the mind of the people. Such thoughtless actions mar the British justice, which is the very foundation of the British rule in India. Further, when they sully the good name of the Provincial Government itself, how disparaging should they be to the Government of India? So we trust that the latter will hereafter at least see their way to cancel the cruel order of the military authority without delay.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 24th May 1919.

Remarking in passing that a repressive policy is now being followed by the Government in all the Provinces, as is evidenced by the application of the Press Act to a number of newspapers and that the people are striken with panic not knowing what will come next, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 24th May, refers to the present condition of the Punjab and observes:—Though there appears to be no change in the peaceful condition of the Punjab now and there seems to be therefore no necessity for continuing the martial law there, the operation of this law is still in full swing in the Province. Besides slightly altering the orders passed by the Military authority, he does not seem to be inclined still to have justice administered by ordinary courts of law. News has been received to-day that it is a fact that the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nayar has resigned his seat on account of his unwillingness to continue as a member of the Government of India, which is acquiescing in the actions of the authorities in the Punjab. It appears those accused under martial law there are suffering much on account of their inability to have proper counsel. It is quite natural for those within the area under martial law to fear whether their appearing for the accused may provoke the authorities. When permission was refused for Mr. Norton, Mr. C. R. Das and other Barristers to appear for the accused in the Punjab, the Barristers' Association of Calcutta protested against the action of the authorities. In a communiqué answering this protest, the Punjab Government say that the order

refusing permission to Mr. Norton and others was not passed with reference to these Barristers individually but in pursuance of the orders of the Military authorities that vakils from other Provinces should not get into the Punjab. But the question is whether the accused can be denied the help of the vakils they wish to have and no one complained, not even the Barristers' Association, that Mr. Norton and others had been insulted personally. So the statement of the Punjab Government cannot at all be an explanation. Even the explanation of the Government of India on this matter is a strange one. It says that the said order was issued by the Military authority, that the Civil authorities would not interfere in it and that the accused had secured the services of effecient vakils locally. We do not understand this statement. Have not even the Government of India the power of interfering with the order of the Military authority in the Punjab? If a Military authority makes it impossible for the people to enjoy their rights, to whom can they complain? Many say that several big vakils in the Punjab refuse to appear whatever fees are paid. Even granting that some one eventually consents to appear, as stated by the Government of India, does the accused agree to his appearance and deem his assistance to be sufficient? If not, has he not the right to engage another, according to his status and having the qualifications required by him? If the authorities are afraid that vakils from other Provinces entering the Punjab may deliver lectures and disturb the peace of the people there, will the Government of India note the suggestion of Mr. Andrews that an order may be passed prohibiting their doing anything other than their professional work? Ever since Mr. Andrews was prevented from entering the Punjab, the anxiety of the people about the events there has increased. It is stated that he went to the Punjab only after securing permission from the Viceroy. As nevertheless he was stopped half-way, many ask why the Government of India cannot attend to this and relieve the anxiety of the people. It is not known how long still the Viceroy's Government have decided to allow Punjab to be in this condition. Though it is their duty to secure peace by the exercise of authority, it is as much their duty to console the people and adopt a sympathetic policy. The people will rely only on the Viceroy for everything. We should pray to God that the Viceroy too should understand the real attitude of the people and conduct himself accordingly.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th May 1919.

Remarking that the 'merciless' orders issued by the Military officer in the Punjab prohibiting those charged with offences under the martial law from securing the services of vakils from other provinces are condemned alike by the Indians and Englishmen and that the English barristers in Calcutta have come forward to protest against this order, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th May, observes:—We think that due regard will be paid at least to the protests of English barristers though those of the Indian vakils and newspapers may not receive any consideration. The action of the Military authorities has affected the faith of the Indians in the British justice to some extent. Of what avail will these protests be hereafter? Many cases have already been disposed of without the aid of vakils and we do not know what the lot of the accused will be.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th May 1919.

Adverting to the refusal of permission to persons like Messrs. Norton, J. N. Roy and C. R. Das to enter the Punjab to defend those charged under the martial law and also to the statement of Mr. Andrews in the *Times of India* that the law should not be neglected for the convenience of the executive officials and that either inquiry should be suspended until quietude is restored or permission accorded to the vakils to enter the Punjab, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th May, observes:—Of what avail is the view expressed by Mr. Andrews or any other person on this subject? The Government of India are under the impression that the action of the Military authority in the Punjab is just. Is the Viceroy disinclined to exercise his extensive powers even to find out whether the action of the Military authority is just or not, or has he no powers in reality to interfere in this matter?

KANTHEERAVA, Mangalore, 27th May 1919.

The situation in the Punjab.

Commenting on a recent speech by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab in support of the martial law operations, the *Kantheerava*, of the 27th May, remarks:—It may be possible to render the country quiet as a cremation ground by cowing down in a minute a weak and helpless subject people (who have only their own arms left to

them) with the help of martial law and the display of arms and weapons. But if the country is quiet, why should martial law be still in force?

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The Brahmans.

52. A correspondent to the *Dravidan*, of the 24th May, observes:—Are not Brahmans, otherwise known as Aryans, fit to be called wicked men? Alas! Is it not wickedness on their part to have settled in *Bharata Khanda*, deceived and enslaved ignorant people and treated them worse than slaves? Should these false Brahmans be called wise men? Is it not wickedness that, in the present agitation, they should speak ill of the Government? Are these traitorous and ungrateful Brahmans going to elevate the poor Dravidas when they get self-government? Even our ancestors considered the Brahmans to be wicked men and were keeping them at a distance.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th May 1919.

Retirement of Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

53. Expressing its joy at the news of the retirement of Sir Michael O'Dwyer from the office of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and commenting at length adversely on his administration, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th May, remarks that Sir Michael O'Dwyer is solely responsible for the present condition of the Punjab and that the Indians in general and the people of the Punjab in particular will never forget his name and observes:—We hope that hereafter at least God will save us from such 'strong' men becoming governors of provinces in India. It is only those that can establish British justice and equity and move with the Indians with a feeling of love that deserve to become governors.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th May 1919.

The departure of Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th May, writes, with reference to the termination of the regime of Sir Michael O'Dwyer as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab:—Sir Michael O'Dwyer could create panic among the people of the Punjab. He showed his spirit of intolerance towards educated men and lawyers. By extolling the loyalty of the people of the Punjab and by despising the people of other provinces, he caused resentment to many. But at last, it so happened that disturbances were rampant in the Punjab, while all the other provinces were peaceful and strong repressive measures were resorted to in the former. He had not much faith in the view that the people should be bound to the Government by love. Loyalty which results from fear cannot stand long. Nobody will feel sorry for the termination of the office of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Sir Edward Maclagan is known to be a liberal-minded gentleman. We wish that he, at least, may try to remove, by his tact, the panic created among the people of the Punjab, bind them to the Government by love and earn their gratitude.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 26th May 1919.

Indians and the Rowlatt Law.

54. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 26th May, writes:—Why do the Indians have a liking for the British administration though under it they are treated disrespectfully both in the mother land and in the Colonies and denied political privileges? Why should they repose confidence in the British justice and equity? It is nothing but their conviction that, under the British rule, the liberty of a person will not be forfeited either unnecessarily or without inquiry. The Indians have had this lesson taught to them from the schools. While so how can they accept the Rowlatt Law? The National Council newly started in England have sent a petition to the British subjects and the authorities praying for the repeal of this law. It is clearly manifest that this law does not find favour even with influential Lords and editors of newspapers in England.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 17th May 1919.

The Narasapur Taluk Conference.

55. Under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 17th May, gives in Telugu a summary of the resolutions passed at the Narasapur Taluk Conference which met at Achanta on the 8th and 9th instant. One of the resolutions protests against the Village Offices Amendment Bill and regards it as quite unnecessary.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 17th May 1919.

The futility of old methods for the improvement of education among the Panchamas.

56. Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th May, publishes a letter from a Panchama correspondent who has been a teacher for the last fifteen years. The correspondent observes that for the tuition and inspection of Panchama boys, the Government should appoint

Panchama teachers and Inspectors only, and that the Government will not be successful in their efforts to improve the condition of the Panchamas whatever be the number of their orders so long as they continue to appoint Brahman teachers and Inspectors to educate and examine Panchama boys. He remarks that it is regrettable that even some European officers in the Educational Department should fall into the snare laid by the Brahman officers and act according to their advice. He mentions Mr. M. C. Raja now acting as the Superintendent of Schools attached to the Wesley College, as a Panchama who is fit to hold a high office in the Educational Department, and requests Mr. Paddison to appoint Panchamas only as the members of his establishment.

57. Referring to the report on the Franchise Committee, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th May, observes, in its leader that it is a wonder that Lord Southborough who understood the necessity for special communal representation for Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Europeans could not recognize the need for the extension of the same privilege to non-Brahmans. The paper says that without a proper representation of non-Brahmans in the Madras Legislative Council, the administration in the Madras Presidency will be open to the charge that it is carried on by a few gentlemen only, and suggests that of the 61 elected seats 30 should be reserved for non-Brahmans and the rest distributed without communal distinction among all except the Muhammadans. It is of opinion that the statement of the committee that the grant of communal representation will aggravate caste differences is unfounded and that, on the other hand, communal representation would level the present social inequalities by bringing about political equality.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 17th May 1919.

The report of the Franchise Committee.

58. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 17th May, writes: —. . . In a country where the heart of the people does not express itself, their rights and freedom are apt to be disregarded by the official heads at their will, and this will give rise to agitation among them. The Government of a country where the rights and freedom of the people have not been fully established cannot be a model of civilisation. When the Indians think of the present situation, and realize how distant they are from a civilised Government, they cannot help giving way to dispair and disappointment. . . Though there are some who think that there is no good of any Indian deputation going to England just now, we hope with our veteran leader, Sir D. E. Wacha, that if the members of these deputations properly discharge the duty entrusted to them, the condition of the country will improve and the rights of the people will be safeguarded. . . Though the people have unanimously asked for the appointment of a commission to inquire into the necessity of opening fire on the mob at Delhi, the Government of India have not respected their request. It is becoming a custom to deport popular leaders without any trial. One man in the Punjab has been sentenced to transportation for life for spreading false reports. The Anglo-Indian papers which want to terrorise the Government as well as the people by connecting nationalists with Bolsheviks without understanding the character and temperament of Indians, are playing their game freely and fearlessly. . . Though it is urged by the people that when peace has been established in the country, martial law should be abolished and offenders should be punished in ordinary courts of law, the Government have not heeded their representation. The Government have not afforded an opportunity to the people to publish the affairs of the Punjab to the world. They have not even permitted Mr. C. F. Andrews to go to the Punjab and ascertain the real state of affairs there. When the people are not entitled to that much freedom, what can there be for Indians to desire in the Government? From this, the authorities must understand that they are giving room for the people to think that the methods followed by the Punjab officials are condemnable. . . We cannot attain anything, unless the British statesmen are informed of our real condition. We need not concern ourselves so much with the fate of reforms. The idea expressed by Mr. Natarajan that the members of deputations will have no other duty than representing truth, is commendable. . . They must tell Englishmen that Indians value their natural rights and freedom more than anything else, and see that suitable steps are taken to safeguard them.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 17th May 1919.

The duty of the deputations.

This is the noble mission of Indian deputations. The people can enjoy the fruits of a good government and be happy, only when it is impossible for despotism to play with their freedom. There is no doubt that the British people with their world-wide reputation for defending the rights of men will surely do the Indians justice if our deputations co-operate with them.

ANDHRAVANI, Berhampur, 17th May 1919.

What a contrast!

59. Under this heading, the *Andhravani*, of the 17th May, contains an article contrasting the measures adopted by the authorities in this country, to put down the recent disturbances with those adopted by the authorities in France in connexion with the May riots at Paris. It observes: When, unfortunately disturbances break out in the country, it will be admitted by every one that the duty of the authorities is to prevent loss of life. Those who have an idea of the forbearance shown by the French authorities on the occasion of the 1st May festivity, will see that there is a vast contrast between the conduct of the authorities in this country and that of the authorities in Europe on such occasions. . . The Police in Paris did not open fire on the mob though they were assaulted with revolvers; nor were bombs hurled from aeroplanes; nor was martial law proclaimed. They did not think that the people were rebelling. So, the disturbance subsided there at once. Though the authorities there are also sure to punish the guilty, they have not thought fit to use violent measures calculated to rouse the indignation of the people. It cannot but strike any one that the habit of executive authorities opening fire on innocent people without sufficient reason is absent in Europe. . . In short, the authorities in Paris acted just in the way in which officers in a country not governed despotically should act, and pacified the people at once. . . If matters come to a crisis through the hasty and indiscreet actions of some officials, it is necessary to hold an open inquiry forthwith. . . The people cannot view the actions of the authorities with sympathy so long as bureaucrats like Sir Michael O'Dwyer defy public opinion and behave in a manner discreditable to good government It is only when the people are reconciled, that administration can be carried on smoothly. . . May the Government in India put a stop to the free exercise of absolute power by the authorities, pacify the country and uphold British justice.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 17th May 1919.

An Indian Chief Justice.

60. While thanking the Government for the appointment of Sir B C. Mitter as the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 17th May, presses the claims of Mr. Venugopal Chetti to one of the vacancies recently created on the Bench of the Madras High Court and remarks:—. . . We are afraid that the Government will be open to blame, if they do not recognize his just and undisputed claim, and do not appoint him to one of the vacancies.

DHRAPATRIKA Madras, 21st May 1919.

Discussion on Indian affairs in the Parliament.

61. Referring to the ensuing discussion on the India Budget in the House of Commons, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st May, observes that the enthusiasm of the people for reforms has largely cooled down on account of the Rowlatt Act and the subsequent events, and that repression and conciliation cannot go hand in hand, and trusts that the House of Commons will uphold the honour of Great Britain, which has so freely sacrificed all that it possessed for five continuous years in the interests of freedom and justice, by doing justice to India in her present crisis. If the House of Commons also shows indifference, the people of India, says the paper, will feel it very keenly.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st May 1919.

The Montford scheme and the opinions of Provincial Governments.

62. Referring to the opinions of Provincial Governments on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st May, observes:—. . . Taking advantage of these adverse opinions, the Sydenham party in London may be fondly hoping that their movement has a good chance of success. But they do not know what danger their efforts are likely to create to the well-being of the Empire and what unrest they may produce among the Indians. If the British statesmen act with foresight and do not lend their ears to the counsels of the Sydenham party, they will be strengthening the bond of love between England and India.

63. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st May, writes:— . . . When the desire for political reforms is growing stronger and stronger in the people of Ceylon, it is not just that the Governor should delay the fulfilment of that desire. . . When the problems of Ireland and India are about to be solved, the postponement of the Ceylon problem may create strong discontent among the people of Ceylon. It is desirable that the British Government bestirs itself in the matter and orders the Ceylon Governor to submit his report soon.

Ceylon and Reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st May 1919.

64. The *Andhrapatrika* publishes in Telugu, in its issues of the 15th and 19th May, the resolutions passed at the Guntūr District Conference held at Dachepalli, relating to the repeal of repressive laws, the establishment of responsible government in India, the admission of India into the League of Nations, and such other subjects.

The Guntūr District Conference.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th & 19th May 1919.

65. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 15th May, writes:— . . . The name of Sir Sydney Rowlatt has unexpectedly gained notoriety in connexion with the terrible events which took place in Bombay and in the Northern Hindustan during the last three weeks. . . Though many false reports have been spread about the Rowlatt Act, it is necessary to recognize the need for some alterations in it. . . The discontent in India has never been wholly political or religious. It may be said that it cannot be so dangerous, if it is not particularly based on hatred against the Government, and if it is not the result of social and economic hardships. The British administration is to-day in a critical position in every way.

Discontent in India.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 15th May 1919.

66. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th May, publishes in Telugu a wire from its Cocanada correspondent to the effect that two godowns belonging to Mr. Basivi Reddi were forcibly opened by the Special Deputy Collector for the control of the prices in conjunction with local police authorities, that the said officials had taken 1,000 bags of good rice therefrom, refusing to give any written order and saying that very low prices will be paid for those bags, that other merchants in the locality were afraid lest their shops also should be similarly opened by force, and that no other enactment would appear to authorise this action of the officers than the Ordinance No. 9 of 1914 which was to be in force only for six months from the 30th November 1914.

Cocanada prices.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th May 1919.

67. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd May, writes to the following effect:—The people of India have faith in the British democracy and do not want to sever the British connexion. Prompted by this faith, they have shown to the world their unshakeable loyalty to the British Empire in its crisis during the war. The British people have in their turn recognized that the change in men's ideas which has followed in the wake of the war has also spread to India, and the result has been the Montagu-Chemsford Scheme of Reforms. But the speeches of His Excellency the Viceroy assuring the English merchants and the Indian Civil Service officials of the preservation of their superior position under the new Reforms Scheme, the attempts of the Sydenham party in England, and the policy of repression adopted side by side with an offer of reforms afford room for the fear that the reforms may be whittled down. The Minto-Morley Scheme failed as the Government and the people held opposite sides. A similar fate, the Indians strongly suspect, will befall the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme also. What then is the reason for the silence of the British people? The reason is that they have no proper knowledge of the affairs of this country. Mr. Tilak has told us that owing to the enactment of the Rowlatt Act and the throwing of bombs on unarmed subjects from aeroplanes, the people in England have formed an unfavourable opinion of the method of administration in India. Their views on the Rowlatt Act and the Reforms, as may be seen from the English papers such as the *Observer* and from the letters of prominent Englishmen, confirm the hope conveyed by Lokamanya Tilak that India will easily get self-government, if the several deputations fearlessly and unanimously press her claims before the British public.

The present situation in India.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

Representation for women.

68. Referring to the disqualification of women to vote and stand as candidates for election as recommended by the Franchise Committee, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd May, observes :—. . . Both the Bombay and the Delhi sessions of the Indian National Congress have urged the right of women for representation in the Legislative Councils. There are no grounds for the Franchise Committee to disregard the opinions of the Congress and of the associations of women. It is needless to state whether the Indian public or the few members in the Committee are better able to pronounce on the position of women in India. The Committee has recommended special representation for the University. Does it, then, think that women graduates are unfit to vote? When women are fit to appear for the Degree Examinations in Universities and take Degrees along with men, how are they unfit to vote? If the Committee thinks that the gosha system comes in the way of women in India voting at public elections, why should not special officers be appointed to go to the houses of such gosha women and take their votes, as is done in Australia? The Indian women should protest against the Committees' unjust decision by holding meetings, and should carry on agitation, till they obtain their rights. It is but right that men should co-operate with them in their attempts and thereby show their love of women's freedom.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

The Ganjām District Conference.

69. Referring to the speeches of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President at the Ganjām District Conference held at Baruva on the 19th instant, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 22nd May, reports :—. . . The President has condemned the statement of officials defending the Rowlatt Act. His proposals in respect of agriculture, irrigation sources and the publication of the annual district reports in Telugu are quite appropriate and are worthy of note by Government. . . The Chairman of the Reception Committee has urged the introduction of the permanent Revenue Settlement in this Presidency. . . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st May 1919.

The Ganjām Conferences.

A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st May, reports that a resolution was passed at the Ganjām District Conference condemning the Rowlatt Act and the arbitrary rule in the Punjab.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

Lord Sydenham and a new opportunity.

70. Referring to the articles of Lord Sydenham in the *Daily Graphic*, tracing the causes of the present unrest and suggesting remedies for it, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd May, writes in its leader under this heading :— . . . What is the lesson which the recent events teach? They make it clear that the bureaucracy cannot understand the mind of the people, and that the unrest in the country cannot be allayed, unless the representatives of the people assume the administrative responsibility. This establishes the urgent necessity for reforms, instead of disproving the need for them. . . Lord Sydenham attributes the present unrest to the tour of the Secretary of State in India, to his attempts to placate the Extremists, and to the publication of the Montford Scheme which has ignored, according to His Lordship, the interests of the dumb millions of India. He connects the Bihar riots with political agitation, though it has been pointed out by Mr. Norton in the *Looker-on* that nothing can be more condemnable than such an attempt. Finally, he recommends that the prestige of British authorities in India should be maintained at all costs though the evils of prestige were never more eloquently described by anybody than by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons before he assumed the office of the Secretary of State for India. It was by doing away with this demon of prestige that Lord Hardinge could so endear himself to the people and could preserve peace in the country with an army of 15,000, sending out the rest of the Indian army to the various theatres of war. But after Lord Hardinge, the old system began to be adopted again, and since the passing of the Rowlatt Act, the Government of India has been relying more on prestige than on the wishes of the people. Whether in carrying out the Rowlatt Act against the unanimous opposition of all parties, or in not reprimanding Sir Michael O'Dwyer for his bureaucratic methods, or in being indifferent to the resignations of important members of the Imperial Legislative Council, the upholding of prestige has been regarded as essential. The resignation of Sir

C. Sankaran Nayar is the final result of this policy of prestige, and it clearly shows with what evils such a policy is fraught. Men like Lord Sydenham who are the real enemies to the progress of the British Empire are afraid that any danger may befall this policy, and are trying to defeat the reforms thereby. We hope that Mr. Montagu will turn a deaf ear to the advice of Lord Sydenham. The repeal of repressive laws and the introduction of satisfactory reforms are the chief means of allaying the existing unrest and spreading contentment in the country. . . The civilised world is waiting to see how the Government will act at this critical time.

The management of newspapers.

71. Referring to the application of the Press Act, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd May, writes:—While the Press Act is applied even to the *Hindu* which is conducted with much ability and responsibility and which has commanded respect at the hands of His Majesty the King-Emperor, it is clear that it will be no easy task to conduct newspapers with safety in future. Almost all papers except the Anglo-Indian papers are being dealt with under the Act. Under such circumstances, the doubt cannot but arise whether there is any good of conducting a paper at an enormous loss of money. The suggestion made by the *New Times* that in case the Press Act still continues to be applied as in the past few weeks it will be well to stop all newspapers till the times become favourable, is right.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

The paper, then, quotes some passages from the *New Times* dealing with the subject and observing that the Anglo-Indian papers, however violent their writings may be in the matter of provoking class-hatred, are left free.

Reports of the Reforms Committees.

72. Referring to the cables received by the *Madras Times*, saying that English papers are not prepared to express their opinions on the Reports of the Reforms Committees, until they read them completely, and to the news that the Reforms Bill may be introduced early in June, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd May, remarks:— . . . The British public will do well to understand that for the success of the reforms, it is of supreme importance to repeal repressive laws in the first instance and create a favourable atmosphere in India.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

Reports of the Reforms Committees.

In its leader on the Reports of the Reforms Committees, the *Hitakarini*, of the 18th May, observes:— . . . According to the recommendations of the Franchise Committee, not even 3 per cent of men will be fit to vote in the Madras Presidency. Why should the number of voters be so small for such a vast population? It is said that women have no votes at all. . . It is not just to say that though a person is wealthy and educated and pays taxes to the Government she should have no vote for the mere reason that she is born a woman. . . Women have now the right of voting in the western countries. It is but just that in India also the right should be conceded to women possessing equal qualifications with men.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 18th May 1919.

The Fifth Ganjām District Conference.

73. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd May, publishes in Telugu portions from the speech of the Chairman, Reception Committee, at the Fifth Ganjām District Conference held at Baruva on the 18th instant, which contain the following observations among others:— . . . We know how difficult it is to pay taxes to the Government in these famine times, and how many people are contracting debts and disposing of their lands on account of them. In such circumstances, two kists have been collected only in one instalment in the Berhampur taluk. This is very regrettable. . . Though there are no roads to villages, they have imposed the road-cess and they do not construct roads in spite of any number of memorials. They are incessantly collecting taxes from those living in municipal towns. . . In this way, the people are ruined by a number of absurd taxes. It may be asked how in the absence of these taxes it will be possible for the Government to spend money for a good number of purposes, and for municipalities, to meet their expenses. Why cannot the Government provide for this expenditure out of the revenues they derive from lands, opium, liquor, ganja, salt and stamps, and why can they not give a part of these revenues to municipalities? Why should fresh taxes be imposed? Why should

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

not the Government avoid absurd wars and curtail their armies? Why should they contract national debt and pay lakhs of rupees as interest thereon? We cannot set right all these unless we get *swaraj* . . . In Madras especially, two sects, known as Brahmans and non-Brahmans, have been created. These seem to have been encouraged by the chief officers of our Government. Whether the Reforms Scheme will be beneficial or not, the loss caused by these sects is obvious . . . Our country will be rid of her poverty, if we have full control over our commerce. Whatever powers may be accorded to our ministers in our local Legislative Councils and in the Imperial Legislative Council, there is no chance of improving our wretched condition, if we are not given commercial freedom. We should, therefore, continue our agitation till we get it . . . I think that *Satyagraha* should have been resorted to before the advent of the Rowlatt Act. The Rowlatt Bills do not appear to me to be so dangerous as to merit the inauguration of the *Satyagraha* movement. There have already been Acts some of which are as dangerous as, while some are even more dangerous than, the Rowlatt Bills . . . There is section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code; there is the Sedition Act; and there is the Regulation of 1818. Does the Rowlatt Bill surpass them all? . . . But we shall do well, in my opinion, to adopt *Satyagraha* or a movement stronger than *Satyagraha* to secure the complete control of our commerce. . . Though the deportation of Mr. Horniman is in contravention of the universal rights of men, I think that it will do us good shortly, as his presence in England at this time when the Reforms Bill is about to be introduced will be of immense help to our leaders working there. . . It is a matter of great sorrow that a war has been begun with Afghanistan. . . Last time, Lord Lytton unjustly picked up a quarrel with the Amir and waged war. It was our money that was spent then. We have not got sufficient material before us to say whether the present war is just or not. But be it as it may, we should request that the expenses of this war should be met from English funds and not from our Indian funds. . . The Collector of Ganjām has proclaimed Ghamsara and Chokabad only as famine areas, while our whole district should be declared as a famine area. . . The prohibition of the sale of kerosene-oil except on permits, as in the case of opium and ganja, is unjust. Every one should be at liberty to trade in whatever article he likes without any obstruction. But the obstruction caused by the Government through their regulations violates the principles of Free Trade. . . I think that the present price of kerosene-oil will not go down, unless the A permits are taken away from those possessing them just now and transferred to proper persons. . . It is said that we, the descendants of those who were experts in village panchayats, are unfit for self-government and that we have to be trained in self-government through taluk boards and municipalities. What madness! The way in which our non-official presidents of taluk boards are acquitting themselves shows our administrative ability. It will be well if the President of the Berhampur Taluk Board is elected instead of being nominated by the Government, and if they give a non-official president to our district board also.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 18th May 1919.

Mr. Horniman and the Ali Brothers.

74. The *Hitakarini*, of the 18th May, publishes in Telugu an extract from *Mahratta* condemning the deportation of Mr. Horniman, and another extract from the letter of Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shakut Ali to the Commissioner of the Central Provinces, intimating their intention to disobey the order passed against them under the Defence of India Act.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The Indian situation and the English Papers.

75. Referring to the observations of the English papers on the recent disturbances in India, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th May, writes in its leader under this heading:—

. . . Whenever some petty disturbances occur, Reuter sends cables to England making much of them, and some English papers try to create panic by publishing articles under big headlines. This has been the usual practice. . . We are glad to note that in spite of the cries of the Northcliff papers, all sane-minded English papers such as the *Observer*, *the New Statesman*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Nation* understand that the repeal of repressive laws and the immediate introduction of reforms are the chief means of

establishing permanent peace in the country. . . Doctor Rutherford is reported by Saint Nihal Singh to have said that colonial self-government should be granted to India at once. . .

Self-respect.

76. Referring to the speech of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Pannidharchaliha in the Assam Legislative Council criticising the Excise policy of the Government, to the remarks of the Chief Commissioner thereon and to the subsequent resignation of the Honourable Member, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th May, writes under this heading :—It is unbecoming that in a Council a mere statement of the case for the necessity of reforms in the system of administration should be treated as condemnation of the Government. At that rate, the representatives of the people will have no chance of criticising the methods of the Government. . . No person can afford to forego his right of criticism, simply because he gets pension from the Government and holds a title. Otherwise, there is no use of such men entering Legislative Councils as the representatives of the people. It seems that the Rai Bahadur has resigned his seat in the Council, being unable to brook the insulting language of the Chief Commissioner. No self-respecting member can do anything else. It is the duty of the Imperial Government to see that the representatives of the people are not treated with disrespect in Legislative Councils. . . It is when justice is not done in such trivial matters that the seeds of unrest take root in the country and begin to grow. It is the duty of far-sighted rulers to root out these seeds.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The resignation of Sir Sankaran Nayar.

77. Referring to the resignation of Sir C. Sankaran Nayar, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th May, says :—When such a high official as Sir C. Sankaran Nayar finds it necessary to resign his office, it will be obvious that the methods of the Government are in need of immediate change. The introduction of the Rowlatt Bills has been the occasion for the resignation of four well-known representatives of the people, and the system of administering martial law, for that of a member of the Government. In view of this critical condition, the British people will do well to put a stop to the repressive policy at once and thus uphold the honour of the British Empire.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The resignation of Sir Sankaran Nayar.

In an article under this heading, the *Kantheerava*, of the 27th May, observes :—The rumour which has been current for a long time that Sir Sankaran Nayar has resigned his membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council has at last been confirmed. It must be painful to the country and the Government alike that in these bad times so patriotic and loyal a member of the Council should find it necessary to quit it. It was expected that he would probably resign in connexion with the difference of opinion between him and the Government of India in regard to two recent reports of Committees. It is now rumoured that he resigned, because of the different view he held in regard to the enforcement of martial law in the Punjab. He must have felt that he could no longer continue in the Council keeping his own honest opinions to himself. The popular leaders however have already accorded him welcome to their fold in order to receive help in the task of carrying his views into practice and of furthering the advancement of the country by promoting the common interests of the Government and the people. We trust the Government will make known the causes which led to his resignation and at the same time, ponder over them themselves. The good which will result from the resignation will surely be more than the harm which, the public say, the Punjab disturbances might cause to the grant of the Reforms.

KANTHEERAVA, Mangalore, 27th May 1919.

Sir C. Sankaran Nayar.

The *Yogakshemam*, of the 23rd May, refers to a telegram reporting that Sir C. Sankaran Nayar has resigned his membership in the Imperial Executive Council and observes :—Be the cause of his resignation what it may, if a Government is not prepared to conduct the administration agreeably to public opinion and to the advice of the leaders, there will be no one to help that Government.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 23rd May 1919.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 23rd May 1919.

Sir C. Sankaran Nayar.

Adverting to the rumour that Sir C. Sankaran Nayar has resigned his membership in the Imperial Executive Council the *Manorama*, of the 23rd May, observes:—If he has done so, it will be a great loss indeed to the Government of India and Indians will have the satisfaction of having got for themselves a noble-hearted man great in all respects.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 22nd May 1919.

Sir Sankaran Nayar.

The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 22nd May, writes:—There is a strong rumour that Sir Sankaran Nayar has resigned his membership of the Executive Council of the Viceroy on account of his dissatisfaction with the action of the Government in the matter of the recent unrest in the Punjab. We hope and wish this rumour turns out true. Sir Sankaran Nayar should have been fully convinced that Indians are appointed as Members of Executive Councils only to echo the feelings of the Indian public.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 23rd May, also wishes that the rumour about the resignation of Sir Sankaran Nayar will soon be confirmed and says:—No progressive Indian can refrain from taking exception to the recent actions of the Government of India and particularly those of the Government of the Punjab. While so, it is not a matter for surprise, if Sir Sankaran Nayar, an ex-president of the Indian National Congress, should at this stage resign his office to show his dissatisfaction at the actions of the Government. By doing so, he will be only crowning all the good services rendered by him to the country in various positions occupied by him till now.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th April 1919.

Action against lawyers.

78. Referring to the acceptance by the District Judge of Agra of the explanations offered by certain lawyers there in reply to the notices issued against them to show cause why they should not be dealt with under the Legal Practitioners Act for absenting themselves from the court on the 11th April last, which was observed as the *Satyagraha* day at Agra, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th April, remarks under this heading:—. . . If the authorities act with some tolerance with regard to the enthusiasm of the people on critical occasions, it may be said that nothing untoward will happen.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th May 1919.

Political Reforms.

79. Referring to the views of the Government of India on the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th May, remarks:—. . . It is regrettable that the Government of India should still further curtail the Montford Scheme, and render it ineffectual.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th May 1919.

The Gudivada Taluk Co-operative Conference.

80. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th May, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the first Gudivada Taluk Co-operative Conference held at Angalur on the 20th instant and the resolutions passed thereat, relating to the building of typical villages for Panchamas on the principles of co-operation, the modification of the Usurious Loans Act, the appointment of a special co-operative officer for each district to train the people in methods of co-operation as regards buying and selling things required, and to such other subjects.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 26th May 1919.

Zamindari revenue sales and ryots' grievances.

81. Under this heading, the Secretary of the Gannavaram Taluk Ryots' Association writes to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 26th May, complaining that owing to the mischief of some Government and zamindari officials, the auction sales of lands for recovery of arrears due to zamindars are being very irregularly conducted, and that many innocent zamindari ryots are incurring heavy losses thereby. He gives the sales conducted on the 15th, 16th and 17th May at Mustabad as instances in point.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th May 1919.

Digging a mountain.

82. Referring to the Government of India Despatch on the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th May, writes under this heading:—. . . The narrow views of the Government of India have caused extreme disappointment in the country. . . They preserve the outward form of the Montagu Scheme while depriving it of its life. They make the position of Ministers

ridiculous. No self-respecting man can accept the office of a Minister under such circumstances. . . There is a proverb in the Bible which says that no man can serve two masters. The Ministers should be responsible either to the people or to the Governor; and they cannot be responsible to both. . . The power of the Governor will be more arbitrary than what it is at present, because he need not be responsible to the people, and the control of the Viceroy over him will be lessened. . . As at present, the Budget resolutions of Legislative Councils will not be binding on the Governor's Executive Council nor on the Ministers, and the people cannot have the control of the exchequer either in reserved or transferred subjects. Where then is the right of self-government given to the people? . . . The time has come for uniting England and India by a firm bond, and we hope that the British nation will make a proper use of it and will grant a satisfactory form of self-government to the people of India.

83. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 24th May, says that a non-Brahman Government servant in the office of Revenue Settlement at Tanjore is being persecuted by the Brahman Government servants in the office because the former remarked against the grant of Home Rule to India. It exclaims, "may the non-Brahmans who still think that Home Rule is not Brahman rule realize from the above fact what Home Rule means!". ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 24th May 1919.

Brahmans and Home Rule.

84. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 24th May, refers to the false reports spread about the Rowlatt Law. It reports that the people are made to believe that the Government have passed the Rowlatt Act in order to collect money by force from the people and that the latter are selling currency notes to pleaders at a discount and gives the suggestion of a correspondent to the effect that to disabuse the minds of the people about the Rowlatt Law, meetings should be held all over the country to give lectures, and pamphlets bearing the signature of the Governors distributed to the people. ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

85 The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 24th May, refers to the preponderance of the Brahman element in the several departments of Government service and in the various professions, and says:—That the Brahmans wield great political influence is therefore no wonder. What more proof is required to show the need of communal representation for non-Brahmans. We hope the authorities will consider the opinion of Sir Alexander Cardew in this matter. . . So long as the influence of the Brahmans prevails, there can be no educational or political progress among the non-Brahmans or the Panchamas. . . The non-Brahmans are now waiting to see what attitude the Government are going to take towards their advancement. ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The non-Brahman question.

86. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 24th May, says:—New *Kabulees* are selling almonds, etc., in the Mount Road, Ellis Road and such other places in Madras. We have never seen them before. They may be bona fide traders. But who knows what conspiracies they are not the authors of in secret and what they are not preaching to the common people among the Muhammadans? ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 24th May 1919.

Kabulees.

87. The *Deenabandhu*, of the 15th May, says that besides rice and kerosene oil, other articles also such as dhal, tamarind, chillies, oil and ghee are sold at high prices and requests that like the former articles, the latter also may be brought under the control system, so that these necessaries of life may be within the reach of the poor, and the unrest in the country may disappear. DEENABANDHU, Masulipatam, 15th May 1919.

High prices.

88. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st May, gives in Telugu, a summary of the resolutions passed by the Bezwada Divisional Congress Committee at its meeting held on the 14th May, condemning the deportation of Mr. Horniman, protesting against the adoption of the policy of Imperial Preference and asking for the prohibition of liquor traffic and for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and of the orders passed against Mr. Gandhi under the Defence of India Act. ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st May 1919.

The Bezwada Divisional Congress Committee.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th May 1919.

89. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th May, gives in Telugu the proceedings of the meetings of the Andhra provincial and the Andhra standing committees held at Nellore on the 25th May. One of the resolutions passed at the said meetings requests the Government to withdraw the second Rowlatt Bill, as it is contrary to the rules of Criminal Procedure in all civilized countries and as it is objectionable and unnecessary.

The Andhra committees.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 27th May 1919.

90. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 27th May, reports the Travelling Secretary of the Gōdāvari District Association to have remarked in one of his lectures that a day may come when the payment of the local cess by the people of Razole taluk will have to be stopped in order to draw the attention of the Government to the necessity of giving a separate taluk board to their taluk, in case their repeated petitions and memorials fail to attain this object.

The Gōdāvari District Association.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 23rd May 1919.

91. In concluding its leading article under this heading the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 23rd May, writes:—The blaze of the war has begun to spread in the north-western frontier of India. It is gratifying to note that, at this critical juncture, the Muhammadans have loyally supported the cause of the Government. But it is at the same time necessary to sound a note of warning to the officials in authority. Whatever may be the cause of the war, the authorities should not allow their brains to get unnecessarily heated by this war blaze. There can be no wisdom in resorting to more stringent legislation and wholesale repression, because these drastic and terrible laws can never produce the desired effect, namely, steadfast loyalty of the people and mutual good will between the rulers and the ruled, which can only be brought about by conciliating the people. It is not necessary to draw the attention of the all-wise bureaucracy to this fact. The Punjab Government appears to have needlessly assumed a fierce attitude, which, with a little change towards calmness, will result in spontaneous offers of popular co-operation. However, we pray that the new blaze may soon be quenched.

The war blaze.

MITAVADI, Calicut, May 1919.

92. Referring to the appointment, by the Madras Government, of Mr. Paddison to inquire into the condition of the depressed classes in this Presidency, an editorial note in the *Mitavadi*, for May, observes:—If the Government that rules over the country should find it impossible to redeem these people from the atrocities from which they suffer, we can only ask 'where then is the power of the Government?' There are sections in the Indian Penal Code to bring to book the man that defames another in talk, but is there no punishment whatever for driving a man off the public road? What is more defamatory to a man than to say that if he is touched an ablution will be required for purification? These matters will, it is hoped, be included in Mr. Paddison's investigation.

The depressed classes.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 21st May 1919.

93. In the course of its comments on the popular demand for an Executive Council for Travancore, the *Malayali*, of the 21st May, makes the following observation about Executive Councils in British India:—How clearly has it been manifested that the members of the Executive Councils support the Government and not the people. Do the rights of the people at large receive any accession of strength, merely because one person supposed to represent the Indians is crushed between officials in such a way that he cannot turn to the right or to the left? Not at all . . . the Executive Council has come to be looked upon by Indians as an engine of destruction for destroying the rights of the people.

Executive Councils.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 23rd May 1919.

94. Referring to the notice given by the Presidency Magistrate to the printer of the *Hindu* to show cause why a security of Rs. 2,000 should not be taken from him, a note in the *Yogakshemam*, of the 23rd May, remarks:—This is the *Sukradasa* (Heyday) of the Indian Press Act.

Security for the *Hindu*.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 21st May 1919.

95. A note in the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 21st May, approves of the dissenting minute of the Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nayar regarding Indian reforms, and remarks that his

Indian reforms.

observations are suited to the present circumstances and needs of India, are thoroughly satisfactory and are boldly presented with good reasons to support them.

Referring to the report of the Southborough Committee, the despatch of the Government of India thereon and the dissenting minute of Sir C. Sankaran Nayar, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 23rd May, observes that there seems to be a change in the attitute of Lord Chelmsford who was at first favourable to the reforms, but now, owing perhaps to the obstinate pressure of Anglo-Indians, seems to be on the whole opposed to reforms. The Government of India seem to have sent several despatches to England quite contrary in spirit to their first opinion on the Montford scheme. These are not published, but their tenor can be guessed from the reference made to them in the present despatch. YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 23rd May 1919.

The only consolation for Indians is that though the opinion of the Government of India is that of the majority, the majority could not refute the argument of Sir C. Sankaran Nayar.

The paper then refers to the recommendations of the Government of India which will make the Indian ministers mere puppets and put transferred subjects entirely at the mercy of any doles the Governor may be pleased to give for them, after meeting all the demands of reserved subjects. The general opinion of Sir Sankaran Nayar with regard to all these matters is: "In the present circumstances the administrative authorities need not be asked for anything. They are always opposed to administrative reforms." How true!

Overseas service.

96. A correspondent, writing from Baghdad to the *Sathianadam*, of 23rd May, in the course of a long descriptive letter, mentions the inequality of terms offered to clerks engaged from Bombay and from Madras for overseas service. The former get a pay of Rs. 150 while the latter get only Rs. 81, though they are of the same qualifications. The natives of the place get up to Rs. 275. "Look at the misfortune of Madrasis" exclaims the correspondent. SATHIANADAM, Ernakulam, 23rd May 1919.

The Punjab Government and Mr. C. F. Andrews.

97. A note in the news columns of the *Yogakshemam*, of the 23rd May, states that in the Punjab the Government manage not to let out the real news by stopping all newspapers, and that the Punjab Government seem to have arrested and taken to Delhi Mr. C. F. Andrews, who was sent by some of the important newpapers in India as their representative to find out the facts. YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 23rd May 1919.

Influenza.

98. In an article on "Influenza", the *Manorama*, of the 23rd May, refers to the havoc done by the disease in 1918 in India and observes that as the Sanitary Commissioner has reported that the cause of the disease is famine, grain depots should be opened all over the country. It is very necessary to pay serious attention to this subject. The Government have specially to remember that this disease quickly carries away larger number of people than did the terrible war itself. MANORAMA, Calicut, 23rd May 1919.

Public health in India.

99. In the course of its leading article on "Public health in India", the *Manorama*, of the 27th May, remarks with regrets that although the Government have done several things to advance sanitation and hygiene in India, none of these things has borne any satisfactory fruit as yet. . . To make light of public health is to make light of the safety of the country. . . The people complain that though enquiries are made and investigations conducted, nothing is done to secure to the people the benefits of such investigation. . . Why do the Government fail to use the knowledge obtained in this way? How sad that six million people should have been carried away by influenza in two months' time! If the epidemic is not prevented, the Government and the people have to remember that the country itself will go to ruin. The article observes in conclusion that the allotment of five lakhs of rupees for medical relief and prevention of epidemics is quite insufficient for the purpose and that in view of the anticipation of another epidemic of influenza, the necessary preventive measures should be adopted and carried out by the Government as early as possible. MANORAMA, Calicut, 27th May 1919.

Referring to the state of the Punjab, the *Samardasi*, of the 24th May, complains:—Though there is now no unrest anywhere in India, the cruel administration of the Punjab is not in the least relaxed. In that province, the fire of SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 24th May 1919.

martial law is still burning as violently as ever. The authorities have dismissed the prayer of Indian leaders to accept a respectable and noble European, whom they elected as their representative for finding out the true state of affairs there by personal investigation. That the bureaucracy should have thrown the Punjab into a dark dungeon and that the leaders have to be standing at a distance, while their hearts are burning on account of the perpetual groans proceeding from that dungeon, are the freaks of an evil fate. It is not known by what evil fate Mr. Andrews was arrested and taken out of the province when after being refused admission as a representative, he proceeded thither on his own account as a private gentleman.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 19th May 1919.

Unrest among Mussalmans.

100. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 19th May, has a leader on the subject in which it says:—The decline of Islamic power began with the series of revolutions of 1914. Muslim progress was arrested centuries ago while the game of playing ducks and drakes with the conquests of their ancestors is still played by selfish sovereigns. We do not call to mind the time when savage Mongolian hordes sacked Baghdad in 1358 H. or when plotting bands of Christians expelled Muslims from Cardova in 1334 A.D., but we contemplate with regret the year 1816 A.D. when the Afghan rule extended to Kashmir.

What is the condition of Muslims to-day? The answer is a very easy one. Look at the map of the world, and, behold the present state of Persia, Turkistan and Afghanistan. If you have any sense of self-respect, heave a deep sigh and be silent, and if you have the heart to do so, read burial service over your spiritual power.

At the present moment the fate of the Turks is being decided in Europe, and no one knows what God's will in the matter is. Whatever may happen, if flowers are not strewed over the bed, they will surely be placed on the grave. The Islamic Holy places have gone from the hands of Muslim international possession, while among the Muslims themselves, revolt, intrigue and anarchy have become rampant. Afghanistan has been drawn into the eddy of revolution, and is busy effacing the memorials of its past.

It would have been well if Afghanistan had taken a warning from the fate of the Turks. But it is not to the time to seek the interpretation of day dreams, but rather to discover the real latent cause of our decline.

The Muslims of to-day know only to weep and wail, to hold protest meetings, to send a few telegrams, or to lift their hands in prayer. They have learned something of the manners and customs of the world and all this is called constitutional resistance. But by such methods Tripoly could not be saved, Crete and Thessaly could not be retained, nor could the Balkan blaze be extinguished, and now there is no hope of saving Constantinople or Palestine. Change or revolution comes from God and whatever is happening is in accordance with His will. This is a terrible disciplinary lesson for Muslims to take to heart which can only be learnt in school of genuine repentance and pure determination. Britain and America cannot assist those whom God does not help. Their power also is transitory and they cannot help themselves. They have their own burdens to carry. Those, who have pinned their faith to human strength, are flattering their powers that be, and knocking at their doors which seems to prove they have forgotten God. In the world it is the Divine spirit alone that is powerful. It was He, who aided our ancestors, and it is through Him only that we can obtain the victory.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 18th May 1919.

The time for mutual help.

101. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 18th May, in a leader on this subject, writes:—It is pleasant to find a wave of enthusiastic mutual help at present spreading over the country and to see the flags of loyalty unfurling. The revolt in Afghanistan has made even agitators sympathetic, and they admit that the country is now in danger and therefore the door of internal dissensions should be shut. We hope the Government will cordially appreciate this correct attitude, dignified demeanour, and honest intention on the part of the people, realise the real object of our family quarrels. India is neither traitorous nor treacherous, otherwise at the first sign of external aggression, the bonds of loyalty, sympathy and devotion would have

snapped the Government, and the enthusiastic desire to support the Government would not have spread from one end of the country to the other. It is, however, regrettable to find that the Government has not appreciated the real significance of the genuine loyalty of the country. On our side peace and silence prevail in the country, while on the other court martials, extreme penalties, and imprisonment have become the order of the day. Is it not possible for the Government to postpone this question for a short time in order that both the rulers and ruled may unitedly oppose this external danger.

The country has raised the standard having for its motto 'Help to the Government', and now it is up to the Government to be willing to uphold the dignity of the country so that an atmosphere of mutual trust and sympathy may be created.

The case of internees.

102. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 18th May, referring to this subject, writes:— Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali have now ceased to obey the rules of internment and their act is due to indifference and selfishness of the Government. The Government appointed a committee to inquire into their case and when the latter made a suggestion that the brothers should be released, the Government declined to accept it. No innocent person could stand this treatment. It is high time the Government paid some attention to this matter and rectified a long standing error. Mental unrest is a very dangerous thing. God knows why the Government forces some people to a position of despair and desparation. We admit that the Government by virtue of its real powers is able to enforce its orders; but can the Government not admit that does command the hearts?

Qaumi Report, Madras, 18th May 1919.

The Muhammadans after the peace.

103. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 20th May, in a leader on this subject, writes:— Although it has not yet been discussed as to how the question of the Khalifate and the Holy Places will be settled at the Peace Conference and to what extent regard has been had to Muhammadan sentiments, the time has come for us to abandon our fool's paradise and empty dreams, and inferentially from current events to endeavour to understand what the condition and status of Muhammadans will be after the peace.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 20th May 1919.

Muhammadans solely depend on Islamic greatness and power. If Islam becomes weak and contemptible, neither political prestige nor national greatness will avail Muhammadans, while without Islam their existence would be impossible.

In fact. if, in addition to the Rowlatt Act, an O'Dwyer Act were also passed if Islamic greatness and power are not maintained and they were arrested without previous inquiry or punished without cause, Muhammadans would care little for it.

The proposed Rowlatt Act and the supposed O'Dwyer Act cannot efface Muhammadans from the page of existence, but the decision of the Peace Conference, may God forbid, put an end to Islamic power. Therefore the thing that calls real resistance is the attempt to destroy the Khalifate and the (authority over—*Tr.*) Holy Places. The Kaaba is the point to which we turn in prayers. Medina is the sacred shrine of our master, Jerusalam is a sacred Heavenly trust. Baghdad, Najap, Kazimin, Karbala, etc., are memorials of our ancestors, the drops of whose sacred blood still vitalise those regions. How can we surrender these trusts to a non-Mussalman power, or to a nominal Mussalman? Such decision would make our condition worse than that of the Jews, and we should not be able to show our face in the world People may regard these things as matters of no moment, but those places are more precious than all the kingdoms of Europe, and without them our existence would have no meaning.

Perhaps the wise councillors of the peace will be under the impression that Muhammadans have no right to interfere in affairs of the war and hold that they can treat the Sultan of Turkey just as they please, but their idea is wrong. We certainly have no political connexion with the Sultan of Turkey, but we are with him in his capacity of the successor of the Apostle, and in the matter of the Holy Places.

During the war it was explained to us that it was not a religious war, and in recalling this assurance we venture to assert that the Peace Conference has no right to interfere in religious matters.

Decide what you like with reference to the Turkish Sultan's territorial and political matters, and we will not complain, but we will not accept the decision of a non-Muslim, or for the matter of that, of a nominal Muslim in religious affairs.

The Peace Conference records its decisions on paper, but it cannot impress the stamp of its authority on our minds. We have already stated that we are willing to accept all the degradations in the world, but we will not tolerate religious degradation. We do not as yet despair and we still have a little assurance that the British Empire in loyalty to which we drew our swords against the Turks, will appreciate our religious zeal, and just as it promised to protect the Holy Places, it will deal rightly with reference to their security. We will patiently endure hundreds of the Rowlatt Bills and its thousands of severities and hardships, but at the slightest severity in the matter of religion we will raise the cry and shout Oh British Crown do justice to us!

God grant that our fear may prove to be groundless, and that our religious liberty may not be interfered with.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 21st May 1919.

Mussalmans in the Peace Conference.

104. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 21st May, has a leader on this subject which is briefly to the following effect:—It refers to a Muhammadan deputation consisting of His Highness the Agha Khan, etc., which laid before the conference the aims of Turkey. It expresses satisfaction at this and says: The future map of the world, which shows Constantinople in the possession of international powers, Medina under the King of Hedjaz, Jerusalam under non-Muslim supervision, and, removes Baghdad, Uajap, Karbala, etc., from Islamic Government control, would not be acceptable to Islam, nor would the Islamic world tolerate it. Such a contingency in the life of Muslims is impossible, and those, who treat Muslim aspirations with contempt, are unacquainted with the events of history, and it is no business of ours to teach them. It remarks the Peace Conference shatters the religious rule of Mussalmans, or if it destroy its spiritual power Mussalmans can never consent to live a wandering life like the Jews. Either let us be entirely blotted out from the world or live in honour. We pin our faith to the British Government, and hope it will assist us in our endeavours to secure an honourable existence.

Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, Madras, 21st May 1919.

Unrest in Afghanistan and Indian Mussalmans.

105. The *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, of the 21st May, has a lengthy leader on this subject of which the following is a summary:—When ruin is about to come upon a country the King and the statesmen are deprived of their senses (Quos Deus Vutt perdere prins dementat—*Tr.*). It is regrettable to find that this calamity has overtaken the God given Government, Afghanistan.

What has befallen the Ottoman Empire was sufficient to wound our hearts, nay, to break them. Indian Muhammadans had respectfully prayed Turkey not to break off with the British Government, but it was doomed to be duped by Germany, and to suffer the consequences. The single kingdom of Afghanistan, whose condition was to a certain extent considered reassuring was our sole consolation. Alas! that it too was not destined to remain at peace, although the things, that make for peace, were present.

The Martyar, Amir, Habib-ul-lah Khan, had with great foresight saved his country and people from the horrors of war, and prepared a bright future for the independent State—Afghanistan. By his neutral policy he secured substantial increase in the subsidy granted by the Government of India, which gave their friend and well-wisher the Amir a crore of rupees to strengthen the position of his country.

At first it was thought that Amir Amanullah Khan would pursue the wise and statesmanlike policy of his father, and rule in the interests of the country and the people. But this hope was not to be realised. In a short time, the young Amir Amanullah committed very many blunders, the greatest of all was his breaking off relations with the British Government.

The Young Amir, instead of deriving advantages after the termination of the war, has, by his ill-timed presumption, brought disaster upon his country, the result of which cannot be foreseen. We hope, however, that the Government will not be oblivious of the ancient friendship and loyalty of the Amir of

Afghanistan on account of the errors of young and inexperienced ruler, but will rather, by magnanimous action, give proof of its friendship and thereby place the Muhammadans of India under a debt of gratitude.

106. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 19th May, has the following extract from *Al Kibla* of the 22nd Jamadi-us-sani. Qaumi Report, Madras, 19th May 1919.

A new Turanian Government in Samarkhand. Anwer Pasha, Halaku Khan II. Three hundred thousand representatives take the oath of allegiance.

Al Kibla of Mecca writes under the above heading.

We have received from our correspondent information that Anwer Pasha and Jamal Pasha have arrived at Samarkand with a large number of followers. Their first act was to pay a visit to the sacred shrine of the Emperor Timur's tomb, where Anwer Pasha reverently seated crossed leg, read the prayers for the departed and said: "We have come" Oh Emperor!

A great conference was held at which several hundreds of thousands of Turanians, among whom were Ahmed Agha, one of the special ministers of the sanctuary, were present. He read a lengthy address in Turkish on behalf of Anwer Pasha, which was listened to, with great attention. After the reading of the address, a throne was brought for Anwer Pasha which was called the throne of Halaku Khan II, and Anwer Pasha was hailed by this title. Anwar Pasha wearing a blue robe ascended the throne.

The oath of allegiance was taken by kissing the brim of Anwer Pasha's garment, and placing a cup of milk under the throne in accordanee with the customs obtaining in those parts.

It so happened that there were also present two Turks, Ottoman subjects, who had been taken prisoners by the Russians in the fighting in the Caucases, and they also very enthusiastically desired to take the oath of allegiance, but Anwer Pasha would not allow them to do so, saying: I have severed all political relations with Ottoman Turks, and I do not expect to have any connexion whatever with them in future.

When the ceremony was over, a very large number of the people including all the Turanians assembled under a huge standard and embraced it.

107. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 20th May, writes:—We are being asked whether or not Bombay or any other city followed Maharaj Gandhi's instructions to Muhammadans to adopt *Satyagraha* measures with reference to the question of the Khalifate and what procedure the Editor of the *Qaumi Report* intends to adopt in that connexion. Qaumi Reports, Madras, 20th May 1919.

Satyagraha and Mussalmans.

As far as we know, no action has yet been taken on Maharaj Gandhi's proposition. Evidently the Muhammadans of Bombay and other provinces are considering the consequences that are likely to accrue. Although the humble Editor of the *Qaumi Report* is opposed to *Satyagraha*, still his opposition refers to internal matters. But the question of the Khalifate and the Holy Places is not an internal matter. The decision of the Peace Conference will probably render many of our proposals vain. Muhammadans for the present will have to choose freely, sincerely, and honestly a course of patient persistence which is mightier than *Satyagraha*.

But at present the Editor of the *Qaumi Report* will certainly oppose any attempt to disturb the peace or embarrass the Government.

III.—Legislation.

108. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 15th May, publishes a refutation of the pamphlet issued by the Government about the Rowlatt Law contributed in Tamil by Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar of Salem specially for the *Desabhaktan*, in which he makes the following additional observations to what is mentioned by him in his letter appearing in the *Hindu* of the 14th instant:—Though the pamphlet proposes to explain the very great value of this legislation to all law-abiding people, this very great value has not at all been detailed in it. It refers again to the murder of several Europeans and Indian Police officials as also to several dacoities that took place between 1908 and 1911. When the mighty help Desabhaktan, Madras, 15th May 1919.

The Government pamphlet about the Rowlatt Law.

rendered by the Indians in men and money for securing victory for the allies in the war proves that crores of Indians are devoted to English rule, why should the Government be anxious even if a few want to get rid of it? Some people will never reconcile themselves to the rule of a foreign race. Instead of finding them out and punishing them properly, is it just to introduce a law which will afflict many persons for the offences of a few? It is stated in the Rowlatt Committee report itself that the conspiracies in India have all been suppressed with the aid of the loyalty of the Indians. Why should a law be passed then against the wish of the popular leaders without relying on the loyalty of the public? The Government pamphlet says that the offenders who committed such dacoities and murders could not be brought to trial on account of the difficulty of securing direct evidence against them, and that out of 1,038 persons detected as having been connected with these crimes only 54 got punished after an ordinary trial. If, on account of the difficulty of getting evidence, a law is passed dispensing altogether with the necessity of adducing evidence, will it not give room to injustice? If only 54 persons out of 1,038 persons got a conviction, it is not fair for the Government to feel sorry that the remaining 984 had escaped punishment. On the other hand they are bound to regret for having unnecessarily put these persons to hardship. If a large number of offences are committed and yet the offenders are not brought to book, the remedy for it is not to do away with the necessity of proving the crime but the taking of precautions against the commission of crimes by rooting out the main cause thereof. The pamphlet goes on to say that the Defence of India Act and Rules were introduced only to bring such offenders to book. The Government were justified in taking special powers to curtail the liberty of the people during a period of war, but they are not justified in continuing it even after the cessation of hostilities. Then again, if we accept for three years a new law which is on the same lines as the one that was intended for a period of war, we will have to agree to it even after the three years, which means that the venom of anarchism will become perpetuated in the country, though the present repressive measure may secure a temporary lull. Then again the empowering of certain officials to punish people without trial will lead to many evils, which may be put up with during a period of war but not later. The pamphlet dwells upon the constitution of the Rowlatt Committee whose recommendations are embodied in this law. Of the five members of this committee, four are Government servants, three of whom again are Englishmen. Even the one non-official member thereof was nominated by the Government. True it is that these recommended the Rowlatt Law. But who oppose it? It is the elected representatives of the people in the Legislative Council as also the nominated non-officials therein. Besides this all the popular leaders object to it. The words of so many people cannot be brushed aside as false. It is stated in the pamphlet that the law will never be applied to any place without the sanction of the Government of India. But the Government of India does not mean the English public, the Parliament in England, the Legislative Councils in India or the popular representatives. It means only the Governor-General and the seven officials with him and the law will be brought into force the moment the majority of these eight executive officials will it. The pamphlet says that the sanction of the Government of India cannot be given unless they are fully satisfied with the necessity of its introduction in any place. The meaning of the word 'cannot' is not clear. When eight officials, who are heads of departments, come to a conclusion, it is final. No court or popular assembly has the power to alter this. It is the conclusion of the executive officials that is evidence of their having been satisfied. The pamphlet says that provision has been made for the 'committee' to visit those detained frequently and offer their opinion on their welfare and the way in which they are treated. The Government are bestowing as much attention as possible even on persons convicted for ordinary offences after their guilt is proved in courts of law. While so, what is the use of these words of consolation to one who is arrested on suspicion without any trial? These will not satisfy any one.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 24th May 1919.

A correspondent to the *Dravidan*, of the 24th May, writes:—The object of the Government in having issued this communiqué may be said to be frustrated as some of the Home Rule papers publish along with this communiqué a refutation.

thereof. The *Swadesamitran*, which prints in one and the same issue the Government communiqué and a refutation of it by vakil C. Rajagopala Achariyar may be quoted as an instance in point. What is the necessity for this, and what is the underlying motive? What explanation can the editor of the paper or the author offer? Does either of these know the purpose for which the communiqué has been issued. It is a wonder of wonders that the Government have not understood that, if such actions are not nipped in the bud, it is these that will give room for serious agitation and disturbances in the end. . . We think that the Government too are taking note of the fact that, as far as this Presidency is concerned, the trouble of Home Rule is being strengthened only by the vakils and in considering about the Rowlatt Law it is only they and not the Government that can inform the people about its general scope. Whether these vakils give a correct or an incorrect interpretation of the law, the people will accept only what they say, despite what is on the paper. Will the Government, therefore, understand that, though they may publish the real object of the Rowlatt Law, the people will have no confidence in them if the vakils begin to condemn it? What the Government should, under the circumstances, do is to prevent the vakils from speaking or writing in the newspapers about the Rowlatt law.

Mr. Patel's Marriage Bill.

109. Observing that Sri Sankaracharya Swamigal of Karwir Mutt in Bombay has made known that the Government of India have no powers to pass Mr. Patel's Bill, that, if they exceed their powers and pass it, the Hindus should resort to *Satyagraha* and that, if Mr. Patel does not withdraw his Bill, miserable consequences will ensue, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th May, writes :—The opposers of the Bill are in a majority while those in favour of it are only a few. We think that in such circumstances the Government of India will not venture to pass this Bill into law.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The Rowlatt Act.

110. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st May, gives a Telugu version of the opinions of Mr. Tilak and some prominent English men on the Rowlatt Act (published in English in the *Hindu* of the 21st instant) and observes:— . . . It will be clear from the said opinions that the method of throwing bombs from aeroplanes has caused disgust to Englishmen. We trust that the stir created in England will conduce to the well-being of India.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st May 1919.

IV.—NATIVE STATES.

The Travancore Diwanship.

111. Adverting to the rumour of the impending retirement of Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar, Diwan of Travancore, and of the possibility of the appointment of an outsider, the *Malayali*, of the 21st May, brings to the notice of the authorities that the importation of an outsider is opposed to the wishes of the people and that they wish to see an honoured Travancorean installed as the Diwan, whenever Mr. Krishnan Nayar vacates the post.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 21st May 1919.

Writing on the same subject the *Srivazhum Code*, of the 23rd May, remarks that so late as at the conclusion of the last Srimulam Popular Assembly there was no indication whatever of the impending departure of Mr. Krishnan Nayar or that His Highness the Maharaja wished for his departure and opines, therefore, that there seems to be some reason to suppose that the British (Madras) Government have exerted some pressure in this matter against the wishes of His Highness the Maharaja. And if this be true it is clear who the prime-movers are. The extension of Mr. Krishnan Nayar's Diwanship may not usher in any extraordinary benefits to the country, but it will not produce evils such as will arise from some others, who come from outside. The article concludes with an exhortation to the people of Travancore to unite and to consolidate and strengthen public opinion to prevent the undesirable experiences of administration by outsiders.

SRIVAZHUM CODE, Travancore, 23rd May 1919.

Errata.

Report No. 20.

Page 759, line 6, from the bottom, *insert* 'the' *before* 'Rowlatt Act'.
„ 759, last line, *insert* 'is' *after* book and *omit* it *after* 'itself'.
„ 760, paragraph 56, line 7, *for* 'fools' *read* 'people to be duped'.
„ 772 „ 98 „ 5, *substitute* 'avoid' *for* 'avowed'.
„ 772 „ 100 „ 6, *substitute* 'Satyagrahis' *for* 'Satyagraha'.

Report No. 21.

Page 782, line 28, *for* 'independent' *read* 'impudent'.
„ 784, paragraph 14, lines 14 and 21, *for* 'Statesmen' *read* 'statesmen'.
„ 804 „ 82, line 8, *for* 'in reply to' *read* 'to'.
„ 805, line 15, *for* 'solution' *read* 'resolution'.
„ 805, paragraph 86, line 6, *for* 'Native State' *read* 'Native States'.
„ 806 „ 89, „ 2, *for* 'minutes' *read* 'minute'.

[Issued, the 5th June 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 23 of 1919.

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 7th June 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

1. Referring to the security demanded from the *Hindu*, Madras, the *South Indian Mail*, of the 26th May, states:—"It comes to this that the comment and publication of news, which are the two main functions of journalism cannot exist unless they pass through the censorship of the bureaucracy, which possessing irresponsible powers could not conceive of a position tending to limit its scope of usefulness. The press in this country has either to be subservient to the governing authorities or to cease to exist. A systematised attempt is now being made to suppress all those organs of public opinion which have been fearlessly exposing the suicidal doings of the bureaucracy.

South Indian Mail, Madura, 26th May 1919.

The Indian Press Act.

"Deportations of editors, demand of securities from newspapers of influence have been resorted to and there can be no doubt that it is intended to terrorise independent journalism into servility. Bureaucracy in this country has bent upon removing root and branch everything which stands against its perpetuation and as the *Hindu* points out, the time has irresistibly come when the people of this country should be prepared to support the press cost what it might."

2. *New India*, of the 30th May, writes:—"The Despatch of March 5th provides special elaborate machinery to rob the expression of public opinion, with regard to money matters, of all its effectiveness. All power over the purse is definitely taken away, and bureaucratic government emerges triumphant from those dangers of extinction through which it has been passing during the last few years. A poor ending this would be to all our Home Rule agitation, to the strenuous work of the National Congress ever since 1885 and of the Muslim League! But it is not an ending. It is the beginning of a still more strenuous agitation on the part of the people of India to assert their rights. All shades of political opinion must unite to fight the serious dangers created by the Despatch of March 5th."

New India, Madras, 30th May 1919.

The Reform proposals.

The *Cochin Argus*, of the 31st May, observes:—"As might easily have been expected, the recommendations of the Southborough Committee are provoking a mass of hostile criticism in most of our politically-minded quarters, where 'agin the Government' is apparently the sole principle underlying all consideration of acts and measures emanating from the responsible Government of the country."

Cochin Argus, Cochin, 31st May 1919.

The *Karnataka*, of the 4th June, observes:—"It looks nothing short of a mockery that the Secretary of State for India should have presented a Bill for constitutional reforms in India to the British House of Commons before making a copy of that Bill available in India. But these are days when no consideration should be shown to India, because she has learnt to be assertive—a tendency not becoming a dependant; and even our friend Mr. Montagu might have persuaded himself that India would be the better for some slight punishment for all the noise she is making about the Rowlatt laws."

Karnataka, Bangalore City, 4th June 1919.

3. The *Nationalist*, of the 1st June, states:—"Distant Madras has been affected. The *Hindu* paid down Rs. 2,000 for publishing 'harmless' stuff. On the heels of that two other papers have been demanded security. The *Swadesamitran* has been asked to pay down Rs. 2,000; the *Hindu Nesan* Rs. 1,000. It will be remembered that there was some discussion about these papers recently. The *Swadesamitran* gave an assurance that it would not publish 'objectionable' matter. The *Hindu Nesan* actually gave an understanding that it would print nothing beyond moderatism. Lord Willingdon has not been with us more than a month and odd and what has induced his government to take

Nationalist, Madras, 1st June 1919.

The *Hindu* and the Indian Press Act.

such a serious view of matters we are unable to divine. . . Moderate or Nationalist does not seem to matter when 'repression' is the rule. Reform must be thought of only if 'repression' can be put up with. 'Mum' in the face of repression if you want *Reform*. That is the rule of the Liberal as well as the 'Conservative'. The Indian has to reply and his reply has always been 'Reform' is 'Reform' and 'Repression' is 'Repression'. The twain can never meet and India has to suffer; because she refuses to sell her birthright of freedom of speech and writing for a mess of pottage."

HINDU, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

The *Hindu*, of the 2nd June, remarks:—"The action of the Madras Government against the *Hindu* under the Press Act was avowedly taken in consequence of articles dealing with the situation in the Punjab. . . We have no hesitation in saying that if the Madras Government's action was capable of being challenged in a Court of law, it would either not have been taken, or it would have been held clearly unsustainable. . . It is rumoured that more repressive measures are in contemplation,—to include the writers of the pamphlets on *Satyagraha*, and those who have the unpardonable temerity in the Local Government's eyes, of exposing the errors in argument contained in the leaflets published by the Government justifying the Rowlatt Act. If the Government, unwisely as we think, have chosen to enter the arena of political discussion by publishing pamphlets, they must give fair play to their opponents in argument, and not attempt to terrify them into submission by the threatened exercise of arbitrary executive power. The extraordinary incidents which have taken place in this Presidency and elsewhere show upon what extremely slippery ground we stand in the matter of our civil rights. . . In the hot and unequal struggle with the bureaucracy which lies ahead of us, nothing less than the enthronement of our fundamental rights upon a statutory basis will protect our individual liberties, and promote our national progress."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 4th June 1919.

4. *New India*, of the 4th June, writes:—"We wish that the Prince of Wales might be permitted to visit India at an early date, provided, of course, he be allowed to meet the leaders of Indian opinion in private interview and to see for himself typical Indian conditions, not camouflaged for his inspection. We want our future Emperor to know India as she is and not as the bureaucracy might like to present her."

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and India.

JUSTICE, Madras, 5th June 1919.

5. *Justice*, of the 5th June, states:—"We fear that Mr. Montagu has been devoting a disproportionate amount of his attention to the causes of the discontent of the politically-minded. His imagination does not seem to have penetrated further, but it is time that he and those who are associated with him thought also of the masses, their difficulties and their requirements—a subject upon which Mr. Montagu in dealing with the Indian Budget seems to have bestowed no anxious thought. Indeed, everything that he has said related, directly or indirectly, to the reform question and the wishes of the limited *intelligentsia*."

The Indian Budget in Parliament.

HINDU, Madras, 6th June 1919.

6. In an article under the heading 'Sedition Re-defined', the *Hindu*, of the 6th June, says:—"The conviction of Mr. Kali Nath Roy of the *Tribune* has been received with horror and indignation throughout the country and the *New Call* case of Karachi will, we are sure, excite equal painful interest on account of the sentences passed on the two accused bordering on cruel severity. A study of these two cases reveals the astonishing fact that sedition is being interpreted in novel ways and its meaning extended to include criticisms which by no stretch of imagination could be characterised as tending to create disaffection. With due respect to the officers who heard these cases, the conclusion is irresistible that they have become easy victims to the wave of distrust and panic which, on account of various causes, has spread throughout the country. We challenge any dozen Members of Parliament to peruse the amazing judgments and say whether conviction was justified in any of them."

Trials for sedition.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

7. Remarking that, according to the peace terms proposed to Germany, both her military strength and economic condition will be seriously affected, the *Lokopakari*, of the 19th May, writes:—It is only on this account there is great excitement in Germany about the peace terms. Still, Germany cannot but sign the peace treaty. It is understood that there is a strong party there objecting to such a treaty being signed and that arrangements are being made very secretly for a war being waged against the allies. If Germany should refuse to sign the treaty and declare war against France, Great Britain and America have decided to help the latter. The conditions imposed by the allies should be said to be more liberal than those imposed by Germany fifty years ago when she encroached upon France and attacked her. It is indeed wonderful that Germany should dislike these conditions, even though proper punishment has not been inflicted upon her for the atrocities she committed in the war. The German Government have notified that they will publish certain terms which will be conducive to the establishment of permanent peace in the world. This is surprising indeed. It is but want of wisdom on the part of the party that is defeated to come forward to dictate terms to the party that wins. If Germany does not sign the treaty, her future lot will become much worse. Though the conditions of peace proposed at present may appear to be impracticable ones to her, considering her present condition, these conditions have been so framed that she cannot even dream hereafter to oppress the world with her military strength as she had done recently. It is very essential that the brutish tendency which might upset universal peace should be rooted out. So there will be none to regret the present humiliated condition of Germany.

The peace.

Lokopakari, Madras, 19th May 1919.

In the course of a lengthy article under this heading, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 30th May, writes:—Both the ailies and the enemy are swayed by passion at present and they do not seem to be entitled to bring about a lasting peace. In order to conclude a peace which would be just and would not give room for future wars the persons concluding it should not belong to either of these parties. The peace conference should consist wholly of neutrals and other altogether disinterested persons such as Gandhi and Dr. Subrahmanya Ayyar, at which the belligerents may merely press their claims but not vote. But the Allies will not accept such a proposal. The goddess of victory is on their side. Power to maintain equanimity of temper in prosperity can be had only by the grace of God and not otherwise. It is not unlikely that those who have suffered loss, being swayed by their anger, wish for the complete destruction of their enemies. All the members of the allied party having suffered heavy losses consider that the Germans are solely responsible therefor. It has been decided in the peace conference that the Kaiser should be severely punished and that Germany among the enemies should meet the larger portion of the loss sustained in the war by the countries belonging to the allies. It is imperative that all those who are responsible for the war, whether they be among the enemy, the allies or the neutrals, should be punished. The terms of peace have been ruthlessly criticised in the *Daily Herald*, a leading newspaper in England. There it is said that the British people and the allies are dealing, during the time of peace, as cruelly and autocratically as the Kaiser and others during the war, that such conduct is opposed to British principles of justice and that there is no justification for it whatsoever. But this is not their fault. Since they have personally experienced the sufferings arising from war, they are naturally bent upon seeing that all those who were responsible for it should be punished. It is this feeling that has prevented President Wilson's League of Nations from being brought into force.

The peace.

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 30th May 1919.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 17th April 1919.

8. Referring to the League of Nations formed by President Wilson and the "European white races" who agree with him, for the purpose of freeing the world from poverty and famine and securing a permanent peace therein, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 17th April, discusses the question, whether the League will succeed in its object or not, in the following strain:—Both the parties to the recent great war were asserting that it was waged for the purpose of protecting righteousness in the world and who is to decide on which side lay justice? When two parties fight for a certain right, the usual course is for a third party to interfere and settle the dispute. Has this course been adopted in this case? Otherwise, the peace that is concluded will only be one-sided. Then again, even if the plan of President Wilson is carried out, it cannot be stated that peace will prevail in the world; for, though all the European countries, which have never come out till now, are represented in the League of Nations, the nations in this wide Asiatic continent have not been included in it and this will create an impression that the object of this League is to secure a predominating influence in the world only for the European whites. As the Americans are wholly descendants of Europeans, they are only Europeans, though they are in a different continent. Is it not partial for the Europeans alone to conclude some agreements among themselves and try to secure the supremacy of the world? They may say that they have included Japan in the League to represent Asia. If Japan can represent Asia, cannot Brazil represent America and Belgium represent Europe? Further it is stated that this League will take proper steps in view of the economic advancement of the world and that the decisions come to by several Europeans regarding the economic condition of the world will bind the people of Asia and Africa. Two centuries back, the five Powers, England, France, Germany, Austria and Russia, made a compact for securing balance of power and extended their influence in the world. We know and feel what hardships resulted from this compact to the ancient communities in the world. In course of time the parties to this compact themselves could not agree and the outcome was the recent war. If, with this experience, an attempt is made again to form a League for securing the peace and the industrial and the economic advancement of the world, the object of the League will only be taken to be to keep the world under its control and none other. When a few strong people want to keep several weak people under subjection, how can truth be established, righteousness flourish and peace prevail? Unless all people are included in the League without any distinction between the strong and the weak and between the literate and the illiterate and its work is started, it is not possible to secure the peace of the world and to expect it too is unnatural. It is only the *Satyagraha* of Mr. Gandhi that will secure it. This is the good news conveyed by India, which has a long experience, to the world intoxicated with physical strength.

The world peace.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

9. Referring to the German counter-proposals to the terms of the Peace Treaty offered by the Allies, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd June, observes in the course of its leader under this heading:— . . . The Germans cannot but accept the Allies' terms, since otherwise their utter ruin will be the result, and that the American opposition to the Allies' Peace Treaty does not reflect the view of the majority.

What will be the result?

Turning to the Afghan war, it remarks that it remains to be seen whether the hill-tribes of Vajirstan will drive out Nadarkan who is reported to have entered their territory, that though the war may be prolonged for a few days more, the Amir is sure to learn some salutory lessons in the end and seek the refuge of the British. As the Bolsheviks have become weak in Russia itself their encouragement will be of little avail to the Afghans hereafter.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 30th May 1919.

10. Referring to the Afghan troubles, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 30th May, writes:—The only question that now remains to be solved is whether the Government of India should continue to pay the annual tribute of Rs. 18½ lakhs or make the kingdom feudatory like Baluchistan and consolidate the country up to its northern and western limits under the British flag. So long as Russia was a powerful country and was seized with the desire of conquering India, it was found necessary to use

The Afghan trouble.

Afghanistan as a buffer state to help her with money and war materials in order to protect the north-west frontier. Now that Russia has become powerless and disintegrated, where is the need for maintaining this mischievous country as a buffer and paying money? On the other band if she were kept under the protecting wings of the British Government and the passes through which enemies are likely to invade are placed under our control, the protection of the north-west frontier will not cost so much of the Indian money. Afghanistan too will progress and remain friendly to us under British protection and under British sphere of influence there will be no room for the demon of Bolshevism, anarchy and other disorders.

KANTHEERAVA, Mangalore, 3rd June 1919.

The Peace proposals.

11. A writer in the *Kantheerava*, of the 3rd June, subscribing himself M.V.S.K., observes:—War was declared for the sake of maintaining justice, for the liberty and protection of the weak and for destroying the wicked. Have the allies adhered to these aims? The allies have achieved only one of their objects and that is the destruction of the enemy. But what about the establishment of liberty? We have helped them with men and money. What have we now? A glance at the laws that come out of the Indian Legislative Councils and the events that are transpiring in some parts of the country will make everything clear. The Rowlatt Bill received the assent in Simla; restrictions were placed on Mahatma Gandhi's movements, Punjab is struggling under Martial law; Mr. Horniman who is a friend of India has been sent away. What else do we want? When such events are occurring in the world, is it possible to have peace?

Now about the enemies. No punishment is too severe for them; their acts must be retaliated. But how could that be done? What is our aim? It is to end the war and obtain an everlasting peace! That is all! 'Let the world be saved at least hereafter from these horrors of war.' That is our only prayer. But has the present peace put an end to future wars? What does the enemy say? Two parties in Germany will not accept these terms and a third party insists on signing the peace stating that it will be only a farce to be played for a short period, like all other previous treaties.

The same paper in another article observes:—The terms of peace which had been so anxiously awaited all this time have after all been published. Their effect on Germany will, briefly, be a slow lingering death instead of a sudden death at a single blow. The amount that Germany will have to pay as war indemnity will reduce her to beggary; and in point of her army and navy she will be completely weak and powerless. Portions of Germany will be distributed among the French and the Poles and some other portions will be made autonomous. Will Germany accept these terms? But recent telegrams state that Germany is going to decline them. This is but natural. But what is surprising to us is that some liberty-loving journalists and labourites do not approve of them. The *Daily News*, writing in these terms, says that such crushing terms were never inflicted on any nation before. Hitherto we suffered from the terrible effects of the war and now we have to await the tragic effects of peace.

QUAMI REPORT, Madras, 25th May 1919.

The fate of Turkey.

12. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 25th May, on the marginally-noted subject writes:—This is a problem which the whole Muslim world is engaged in solving and is very anxiously waiting for a reply from the British Government. We do not know what questions have been raised at the council of the Foreign ministers and at the Peace Conference Committee. Recently the intelligence has been received through an English paper that Constantinople will be placed under the supervision of America. If this be true, we do not know why America is given preference over Britain in the matter. Muhammadans have not the claims on America as they have upon Britain, nor can they expect such treatment from the former as they can hope for from the latter. We are amazed as to why Constantinople should be placed under the supervision of a foreign Government. It has not been suggested to place a guard or sentry over Germany, Austria or Bulgaria, but the idea of placing Turkey under Police supervision is impressing itself upon their hearts and heads. Has Turkey committed a more heinous offence than Germany and Austria? Or is it that the Kingdom of Turkey should be broken up piecemeal,

and Germany should not? We are astounded as to how the British Government can support such views. To deal a blow to the Khalifate of the Muhammadans amounts to inspiring in them the spirit of revolution. Europe has already experienced that revolution has done harm rather than good to the country. It is wrong to imagine that the union of the Turkish Empire and the Islamic Khalifate is impossible, and their separation is absolutely necessary. We consider that a course should be adopted which will safeguard the Islamic Khalifate and satisfy all the Muhammadans in the world.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 24th May 1919.

A lesson from France.

13. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 24th May, in a leader on the marginally-noted subject writes:—Reuter's message of the 16th May announced that France is determined to advance a loan of 15 million dollars to Austria with this object that the latter may have no relations with Germany in future.

It asks whether England cannot act similarly with reference to Turkey and goes on to say.

Who can deny that Britain has a special connexion with Indian Mussalmans, a fact, which has time and again been those of expressed in mutual love and loyalty. Not only the Mussalmans of India but the whole world are, in some way or other, her friends, and Britain has often prided herself on the existence of such relations. The present Afghan war also shows that Mussalmans have recognized that state as their enemy and hundreds of well-to-do Mussalmans have placed themselves and their resources at the disposal of the Government, just as, His Exalted Highness the Nizam has done.

It is very significant that the present Sultan of Turkey has recently appreciated British sympathy and friendship.

The writer adds that the world's progress depends on the mutual friendship of Britain and Turkey, the British Government is the representative of Christianity and the Ottoman Government that of Islam. At the present moment only these two religions are alive. If these two religions so desire they can deliver God's people from the difficulties of life. It is evident that there is no fear of a rupture between the cross and the crescent. Both can make progress together and can succeed.

It is regrettable that this problem has not yet been solved by the British Cabinet. Time was when the attention of Lords Beaconsfield and Palmerston gave hopes that there would be a feeling of sympathy and friendship between England and Turkey, but Mr. Gladstone's imaginations and suspicions destroyed that pure hope. At present there are many Burkes in England, but we are in search of a Pitt, such men are, however, few and far between those that are to be found have but a weak and feeble voice in the councils of their country.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 27th May 1919.

The Bolsheviks in Afghanistan.

14. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 27th May, on the authority of a correspondent of the *Pioneer* writes:—It appears that Bolshevism has spread to Afghanistan. The news requires as much consideration as it is rather heart-breaking; for, if Afghanistan has fallen a prey to Bolshevism God help it! The plot is little short of ludicrous, viz., that they have planned to seize Karachi and have actually made a move in that direction! It is exceedingly deplorable that the Bolshevists have by their misdeeds, brought Afghanistan into ill-repute.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 31st May 1919.

The Muslim world and Turkey.

15. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 31st May, in a leader on this subject writes:—It appears that Mr. Montagu, in discussing the subject of the Indian budget in the House of Commons, has thrown light on the question of Turkey and Islam, but from Reuter's usual slipshodness and carelessness it is not possible to ascertain what views he has expressed on this painful subject. The Reuter's agency which sometimes makes special arrangements for sending out silly news, is generally indifferent where information regarding Muslim affairs is concerned. For example, it summarises Mr. Montagu's speech regarding Turkey in the following few words. 'The Muslim world is perturbed at the discussion of Turkey's future.'

Surely, restlessness and perplexity have at present spread in the Islamic world and the question of the Islamic Khalifate is becoming more involved every

day. Muhammadans do not know what decision they have arrived at with reference to the continuity of the authority of the Khalifate. If Muhammadan hopes are disappointed and their aspirations damped by the decision of the Peace Conference, a deathlike gloom will be cast over the Islamic world and the result will not be good.

Muhammadans also form a part of the nations of the world, therefore they must be taken into account in arriving at a decision regarding the peace and tranquillity of the world. If Muhammadans cannot be free and independent in the realm of religion, it will not be their fault, but that of the persons responsible for the peace. The interesting speech which President Wilson is giving regarding the peace and freedom of the world, seemed to show that he has forgotten the existence of Muhammadans, and this is a grave blunder of his to ignore the question of the Islamic Khalifate. The question of the importance of Muhammadans has, for centuries, been a weighty one, which is now becoming increasingly involved. Should President Wilson unfortunately leave the Islamic world out of his reckoning and arrange his imaginary world accordingly, he will have to regret his mistake, and he will very soon see that peace cannot be established in his world without Muhammadans.

II.—Home Administration.

(*b*) *Courts.*

16. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 31st May, writes:—The subject of appointing twelve Judges permanently in the High Court is under the consideration of the Secretary of State for India. We wish that six of the Judges may be Indians, of whom two may be Brahmans, two non-Brahmans and two Muhammadans.

High Court Judges.

Andhraprakasika, Madras, 31st May 1919.

(*d*) *Education.*

17. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd May, publishes in Tamil a communication from a correspondent to the *Hi du* of the 22nd idem regarding the study of Rowlatt Law in schools and colleges in Lahore.

The Rowlatt Law in schools.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

18. The *Dravidan*, of the 27th May, reproduces the sentiments of the *Justice* of the 26th idem protesting against education being made one of the transferred subjects and observes:—A new spirit has now dawned. We trust the non-Brahmans will wake up. If, at this time, the general authority of the British Government gets slack, the condition of the public will become miserable. The educational system prescribed by Manu will now be pronounced by all to be an improper one. So, we assert that, at this critical juncture, the Educational department should continue to be under the control of the British Government.

Education.

Dravidan, Madras, 27th May 1919.

19. In dealing with the question of the improvement of medical education, the *Desabhimani*, of the 26th April, makes in its English columns the following observations among others:—The question of the improvement of medical education on a large scale, at any rate on a scale sufficient to supply the needs of the population of this Presidency, appears to have been engaging the attention of Government for some time past. . . Proposals were called for from the Surgeon General for the opening of a Medical College at Vizagapatam, as the civil hospital of that place was to be enlarged and equipped on an up-to-date scale. . . He recommends that large school buildings should be erected at Vizagapatam, Rayapuram, Tanjore and Coimbatore and equipped with a good staff of teachers. For the latter half of the course continuation Medical schools can be found in such places as Cocanada, Bezwada, Tinnevelly, Madura, Kumbakōnam, Negapatam, Palghat, Calicut and Mangalore. One Medical College for the Presidency for training Assistant Surgeons will be enough. The Government, however, do not agree entirely with the Surgeon-General as regards the location of continuation Medical schools. They consider that district headquarter hospitals which have been taken over by Government should form the centres of such schools. . . The

Medical education.

Desabhimani, Cuddalore, 26th April 1919.

Surgeon-General's proposals are no doubt most practicable for adoption in existing circumstances. But Government record the opinion that the policy forced upon them by the absence of hospitals of adequate size, does not represent the ideal to which education should be directed. Nor will a single Medical College meet the needs of the Presidency. A second college should be created in the Telugu country. Its location is a question of the future. A medical school should in due course be opened in the Ceded districts. We have to admit that the views expressed by Government are considerably broader than those enumerated by the Surgeon-General. But the opening of a college in the Telugu districts and a school for the Ceded districts cannot by any means be considered sufficient for bringing medical relief to the masses, although a comparatively large number of students may doubtless be trained in these institutions. If Government could only sympathetically see their way towards encouraging the indigenous Ayurvedic and Unani systems, they will be conferring an inestimable boon on the rural population to whom cheap medical aid will become available and who will be getting what they are most accustomed to, instead of spending lakhs of rupees on palatial buildings and on the teaching staff with the result that medical treatment, although given on the most up-to-date approved methods is sometimes prohibitively costly and when the medical, contrasted with the surgical, aspect is taken into account rarely efficacious when compared with the undoubtedly wholesome effect of indigenous treatment.

ANANDABODHINI, Madras, May 1919.

Vernaculars as the medium of instruction.

20. In an article contributed by a correspondent to the *Anandhabodhini*, for May, on this subject, he lays stress upon the necessity of education being given through the vernaculars and remarks:—There are two difficulties in education being given through English. Firstly, it is difficult to learn a foreign language like the English, and secondly, even if a foreign language is learnt with trouble it does not yield any adequate recompense. In spite of one getting the B.A. degree after undergoing many hardships, one can rarely expect to come up like the foreigners. This is due to two causes, viz., that, in learning modern processes through a new language, the subject is not understood clearly and that foreigners are considered by the Government to be superior to the Indians. Further, the subjection of the students from their very boyhood to a foreign system of education denationalises them in course of time and this destroys the ancient principles of the noble Hindu religion and makes our students lose their love for their mother tongue and mother country. Seeing that in every country in the world education is imparted only thr ugh the mother tongue, it is strange indeed that in India alone it is imparted through a foreign language. It is on account of this that our students are lacking in general knowledge, and are not able to think for themselves. The main aim of education should be to improve the capacity of thinking in the students and for this education should be given only in that language in which the students think and converse. Coming to the details connected with the adoption of the vernaculars as a medium of instruction, there is no need to teach a foreign language in the elementary schools. Up to the School-Final class all subjects except the language proper should be taught in the mother tongue. If this system is adopted, the general knowledge of the students will improve and scientific subjects can be taught very easily. Even in colleges, physics and chemistry should be taught only in vernaculars. Further, as there are many important languages in India, there should be one University for each language. It is only then each language will flourish.

DESABHIMANI, Cuddalore, 10th May 1919.

Admission of Panchama children in public schools.

21. In quoting the Government Order on this question, the *Desabhimani*, of the 10th May, observes as follows in English:—"We feel sure the Panchama community will feel thankful to the Government for these orders and show a good record of progress in education in subsequent years. At the same time, it must be pointed out that the measures as suggested are much too inadequate to reach any tangible achievement; for they are only negative in their character. The removal of the prejudice on the part of the caste people, will not by itself, secure the admission of a large number of Panchamas into public schools.

There is the economic factor which offers a more serious disability than any other. It is here that the Government should offer a real encouragement. Again how does the Government propose to change the attitude of the landlords on whom the Panchama community is mainly dependent to-day ?"

HINDU SUNDARI, Cocanada, May 1919.

The present system of education.

22. In contrasting the system of education in ancient India with that now prevailing, the *Hindu Sundari*, for May, remarks :— In ancient days the King was responsible for any difficulty felt by the people. If the ruler was unjust and disturbed the freedom and peace of the people the people grew indignant, dethroned him and appointed another in his stead. If the people should fail to discharge their duty, they were liable to be punished by the King. . . The present day education causes great strain on the minds of young boys so much so that their health suffers badly under it. If the system of education is not changed in accordance with the conditions of the country, the country will go to ruin in a short time. The facilities of the ancient system cannot be now had if the Indians are not vested with authority over the educational department. The school hours are quite unsuited to boys in a hot country like this and are sapping the physique of boys. They are also to be changed.

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 20th May 1919.

The Secondary School-Leaving Certificate examination and re-examination.

23. The *Gōdāvaripatrika*, of the 20th May, has the following in English under this heading :--Justice and fairness require that a separate average should be taken of the marks obtained by the candidates that sat also for the re-examination. Adoption of any other procedure as taking an average of the marks obtained by all the candidates that sat for the examination and re-examination would be an infliction of gratuitous cruetly on the students who were asked to appear for the re-examination with hardlty a week's notice.

PRARAMBHAVIDYA, Ellore, May 1919.

Education of the Panchama boys.

24. The *Prarambhavidya*, for May, contains an article under this heading, contributed by a correspondent, which deals with the Madras Government communiqué relating to the admission of Panchama boys into public schools. The article contains the following observations among others:—. . . Under such Government based on equality, it is not understood why, in railway carriages, special compartments should be reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians and room for any misgiving should be afforded thereby. . . This reminds us of the story of a philosopher who preached abstinence of onions to the public but scolded his own wife, when she did not use onions in some preparations out of deference to his advice. The philosopher said that his advice was meant for others and not for himself. In our country also, there are special schools for European boys. Others have no admission to them. Why should not they have it? Is it because there is difference between European boys and others in manners and customs? If not, what other reason is there? Why do we not find a single English boy in our schools? Is it because the system of education in our schools is not good? Then, why should it not be changed so as to suit all? . . . The present communiqué contains both good and bad points. . . Two questions arise: Is it the object of the Government to facilitate the admission of Panchama boys to schools or do they want to decide upon steps for the promotion of elementary education? We have to infer from the communiqué that the first alone is the object of the Government. The methods proposed by them for carrying out this object are very excellent, and will enable them with a little cost to earn the reputation of having easily introduced a new method of spreading elementary education. The Government deserve high praise for having issued such a good communiqué. . . The Government have not made any proposals to alter the present system of education so as to bring it within the easy reach of Panchama boys. We make the following suggestions that have struck us. Since the standard of Panchama boys in the class will be naturally low, orders should be issued that instruction should be given in a way which will suit them. In the course of inspection, the authorities must be guided by the progress of the Panchama boys and must determine the capacity of the teacher accordingly. At present, there are no books written in an easy style suitable for children.

The Government must publish such books and encourage those who write such books. The Panchama boys being very poor will attend the schools with but a rag to cover their nakedness. This will be hard for them as well as for other boys. The Government must, therefore, give them free clothing, or improve their condition by increasing the resources of their parents. Some of them do not have sufficient food to eat. It is the duty of the Government to provide them with food. If the Government fails to make these arrangements, there is no use of finding fault afterwards with teachers for not teaching them properly, as it is very difficult for starving people to receive education.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 30th May 1919.

Educational progress under Sir Sankaran Nayar.

25. Referring to Sir Sankaran Nayar's resignation, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 30th May, writes:—When Sir Sankaran Nayar was appointed Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of Education, it was hoped that the Education department would receive a very liberal encouragement. It is evident that popular hopes have not been realised from the fact that compulsory education has not yet been brought into force in British India although it has already been introduced into the Native States. No doubt expenditure on education, both Imperial and Provincial, has increased, but popular expectations of reform have not been fulfilled. Although it is not possible to say precisely whether Sir Sankaran Nayar alone was responsible for this disappointment or how far his progress was impeded by the reins held by the Imperial Government, it is easy to guess that the reins of Imperial Government held his liberal ideas in check, if we compare his dissenting minute with the Government of India despatch on the reform scheme.

(*k*) *General.*

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore. 17th April 1919.

The food situation.

26. Referring to the inordinate increase in the price of foodstuffs, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 17th April, writes:—It will not suffice if only the merchants are compelled to sell articles at certain fixed prices. By imposing too many restrictions on trade, there will be only an increase of stress in the matter, for this method does not seem to have proved successful in all countries. If we think of organizing a committee of merchants and securing convenience thereby, we find that licences are freely available only for the members of these committees and their friends. The present practice of the Director granting licences as he pleases should be put an end to. A condition should be laid down that licences should be given to importers of rice and all retail merchants without any distinction. The Government have not yet come forward to redress one main grievance, namely, the increase of shipping freight from ten or twelve annas to two rupees. Not only should the freight be reduced but also ships should be made freely available. Until then, no good will result. Another reason for the rise in the price of foodstuffs is the undue increase in paper currency. This should be prevented. If, for this purpose, the Government should appoint a committee consisting of men deemed to be respectable, the work cannot be done properly. The opinion of the public too should be taken into consideration. As it is found that the majority of the great men chosen by the Government for attending to public matters have not only been seeking their own interest but have also acted against public opinion, we need not say more than that the words of the experienced and leading merchants should be acted upon.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 17th April 1919.

Stray notes.

27. The *Vartakamitran*, of the 17th April, has the following stray notes:—The Government of India have notified that, according to the new Income-tax Act, companies owning ships and registered in countries other than England and the British Colonies, which trade in Indian seaport towns, should pay income-tax. Why this distinction? While all the companies formed in India are liable to the payment of income-tax, why should the companies that are registered in England and the British colonies alone be exempted from it. . . Messrs. Best & Co. have profited by the rice trade in Madras coming under the control of the Government. Our friends know that, while restrictions were imposed on the export of skins in the beginning of the war, export licences and Government contracts were mostly

given to European companies who were doing commission business. If this should be the view of the bureaucrats, how can there be convenience in rice trade?

The present condition of India gives room for much anxiety. The Government having refused to comply with the request of the people to cancel the Rowlatt legislation, the latter have finally resorted to Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance. Even here the attitude of the bureaucrats is not right. All their efforts to repress this movement only betray the defects in their statesmanship. If, without enacting these two laws, they had attempted to put down seditionists with the help of Mr. Gandhi, they would have well attained their purpose. There is room to say that the cause of the present situation is the lack of statesmanship on the part of the bureaucrats.

As a result of the appearance of democracy in Russia, Bolshevism with its unnatural and uncivilized views has sprung up in Russia. Such Russians have liberty! They have a seat in the League of Nations! But the Indians have not.

Stray notes.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 26th May, has the following stray notes:—Any amount of love or cruelty cannot get rid of the desire for liberty in the human mind. Whatever benefits may be conferred on people who have lost their liberty, their loss will not be compensated thereby. However much the desire for liberty may be crushed and levelled with the earth, those who have that desire will rise up again and continue to fight for liberty—Justice Henry Neill.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 26th May 1919.

At present many wrongly think that the very increase day by day of the police, jails, hospitals and courts is the token of the growth of civilization. But the characteristic feature of a country fit for *swaraj* is that these should be found in it to the smallest extent—Mr. Gandhi.

The *Swadeshi* vow.

28. Observing that Mr. Gandhi says that the *Swadeshi* vow must be taken as a phase of the *Satyagraha* movement, the *Vartaka-mitran*, of the 17th April, writes:—This is of utmost importance. The *Swadeshi* vow is not new to our country. It must certainly be said to be connected with religion. A practice exists among our people of excluding from religious matters new articles brought from foreign countries. Considering the restrictions that are to be imposed in matters of trade, our people should take this vow and devise means for manufacturing things required for India in India alone. For this, union and self-sacrifice are indispensable. This is what *Satyagraha* teaches.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 17th April 1919.

The *Hindu* and the Press Act.

29. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 24th May, reproduces in Tamil the article in the *Hindu* of the 23rd idem under this heading, publishing an extract from the memorandum said to have been submitted by the editor of the *Hindu* to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford at the time of their visit to Madras in December 1917 in connexion with the reform question.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The *Hindu* and the Press Act.

A correspondent to the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 28th May, writes:—Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, the editor of the *Hindu*, has a reputation not only in India but also in England. In working for the perpetuation of the British rule in India, he is not less zealous than either Lord Chelmsford or Lord Willingdon. Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Governor of Madras are by their want of far-sightedness doing a disservice to the British Empire as well as India. The *Hindu* has been writing articles calculated to increase the glory and prosperity of the British Empire and India, but the Madras Government have ordered the editor of even such a paper to pay a security of Rs. 2,000. This amounts to their punishing those that attempt to increase the stability of the British Empire. The pride of authority makes one lose one's head and when any one in authority who is obsessed by such a pride issues autocratic orders, the principles of British justice demand that they shall be disobeyed. The *Hindu* should, as far as it lies in its power, follow the British principles of justice, criticise fearlessly in supporting those principles which are beneficial to the interests of the British Empire, suffer the punishments inflicted by those who are blinded by power, and if necessary, sacrifice life itself in the cause.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 28th May 1919.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 27th May 1919.

England and India.

30. Referring to a memorandum said to have been issued by some of the famous leaders of the Labour Party in Britain, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th May, writes:—This memorandum clearly shows that among the British people there are some friends to the Indians, and that, to whatever extent the bureaucrats here may think of doing harm, there are in England some men and women ready to do justice to India. Our leaders should request that a Parliamentary Committee may inquire into the disturbances which have at present occurred in India causing affliction to the people. As the causes of the disturbances are not easily traceable, no good will result from a hasty inquiry. India should wait with patience and confidence until the truth is revealed. We hope that the present hardship of the Indians foreshadows the happiness in store for them. The relation between England and India is not of the ordinary type. The bureaucrats are as much estranged from the British people as they are from the Indians. They are representatives of the King only in name, but in fact they act as they please. Through them the British rule will only be belittled and not attain eminence. As the Indians are desirous of maintaining the British connexion, even so they are intent upon getting rid of the bureaucrats that spoil the benefits likely to result from the British rule. The views of the bureaucrats are not those of the British. The liberty of the subjects is the basis of the British rule. The bureaucrats in India are exercising absolute authority. It is indeed our misfortune that India should be one of the backward countries in the British Empire. However, there is no doubt that liberty will soon be granted to us. The English have only just now begun to realise the true condition of India. Though they have not correctly grasped the mischief caused by the bureaucrats in India, they have not failed to realise that, if the bureaucratic rule should continue for a long time, great harm will result. We have several times referred to the fact of the leaders of the Labour Party having come forward to work for India. The National Council for Civil Liberties which has of late been formed in England has discussed the several provisions of the Rowlatt Law and clearly shown how they can injure the fundamental rights of the Indians and the British justice. If the pamphlets issued by the bureaucrats about the harmless nature of the Rowlatt Law and the exposition of the unsound features of it by the abovementioned association are considered side by side, a serious doubt arises in us, as to whether the Britishers lose the character of the British citizens when they assume the position of the bureaucrats and set foot in India. If the facts relating to the miserable incidents that occurred in India after the passing of the Rowlatt Bill should come to the knowledge of the British public, they will form the opinion that the rule of men like Sir Michael O'Dwyer should be put an end to. As now many among the British people are coming forward to work with zeal in the interests of India, we may be hopeful of our future.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 27th May 1919.

Delhi and the Punjab.

31. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th May, observes:—During the regime of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab, people were flogged in public streets. In Delhi, Sankar Lal, a B.A. and B.L., has been fettered. Even under the sway of Colonel Frank Johnson in the Punjab where the Martial Law is in force, we have not heard of the accused being fettered. Though the British Government may grant India any number of reforms, the wounds likely to be caused in the hearts of the loyal Indians will not be healed, so long as thoughtless officials continue to do such acts.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 27th May 1919.

Sankar Lal.

32. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th May, observes that, though the charges brought against Sankar Lal, the President of the Delhi Home Rule League, are serious ones, it is regrettable that he has not been let on bail and that his having been made to walk through the public streets of Delhi with fetters on, on the day of his arrest and the disinclination on the part of the authorities still to remove these fetters do not indicate their good intentions, and remarks that it is not creditable to the civilized British rule that under it such a fate should have befallen him.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 27th May 1919.

Condition in the Punjab.

33. Referring to a reply telegram sent by the Viceroy to Mr. C. R. Das stating that the prevention of the lawyers from entering the Punjab solely rests with the military

authority and that the civil authorities cannot do anything in the matter the *Desabhaktan*, of the 27th May, remarks:—While the Viceroy wields larger powers than the other officers in India, we have to doubt whether he has made this statement without understanding the extent of his own powers. It is regrettable that one with such extensive powers should refrain from coming forward to cancel the order which destroys the elementary rights of man. The Viceroy has further stated that arrangements have been made for legal assistance being made available locally for those charged under the martial law in the Punjab. Ah! What kind of assistance this! Should an accused person who has to defend himself seek the assistance of a legal practitioner he likes, or should he select one from among the lawyers nominated by the Government? The lawyers esteemed by the Government in the Punjab may be well versed in law. But is it not depriving the accused of their liberty, if they are prevented from securing the assistance of the lawyers they would like to have from other provinces?

The condition in the Punjab.

Adverting with regret to the news that Mr. Kalinath Roy, the editor of the *Tribune*, has been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for two years and a fine of thousand rupees and in default to further imprisonment for six months, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th May, observes:—This news will surely shake the good opinion which every Indian man and woman have of the British. Under the British Government a respectable editor of a newspaper has been rendered unable to defend himself. If famous lawyers like Messrs. Norton, Roy and C. R. Das had been permitted to appear in his defence, he would have been acquitted. But the Military orders prevailed and the Viceroy refused to interfere in the matter! Mr. Kalinath Roy cannot appeal hereafter. The punishment inflicted on him is a harsh one. Would Sir Edward Maclagan, the new Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, or the Viceroy be merciful enough to release him from prison?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 29th May 1919.

Referring to the withdrawal of martial law in all places except certain urban areas in the Punjab, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 29th May, observes:—As the martial law is to continue still in force in certain places, a portion of the population, who were already suffering under it, have still to undergo the hardship. However, we express our gratitude of the majority of the people having been freed from the affliction caused by it. We very much appreciate the action of the Government of India in this matter. Still we cannot refrain from regretting for the hardships suffered by many of our people when this law was in force throughout the Province. Severe punishments were inflicted on many. Some were subjected to disgraceful flogging. News is received to-day of the conviction of Mr. Kalinath Roy. The law in western countries does not permit the sentencing of political offenders to rigorous imprisonment like ordinary thieves and robbers. As the Government communiqué says that Martial Law will continue in force in certain urban areas, we are at a loss to know whether Mr. Hari Krishna Lal and other gentlemen will be tried by martial law Commissions of Enquiry or ordinary courts of law. It will not hereafter be just to decide the cases against them through such Commissions. The proper course will be to send them before ordinary courts of law. This appears to have been the view of those who enacted the martial law a hundred years ago. Considering the opinions of Lord Wellesly expressed in 1805 about the procedure to be adopted in applying the Regulation X of 1804 and those of Mr. Spankie, the Advocate-General of Bengal, on the same subject, the recent trials and conviction of many by the Martial Law Commission are contrary to the spirit of the law. So we urge the necessity of the Government appointing a commission to inquire into what actually happened so as to remove all these doubts.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras. 29th May 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 28th May, reproduces the comments of the *Justice* of the 27th idem, tracing the disturbances in the country to the wanton mischief of the Home Rulers in prejudicing the people against the Government and appreciating the manner in which Sir Michael O'Dwyer conducted the administration in the Punjab, but for which, it thinks, the unrest would have spread throughout the country and led to serious consequences.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 28th May 1919.

The situation in the Punjab.

In a lengthy leading article complaining of the administration of Martial law in the Punjab, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 5th June, observes:—The situation is frightful,

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 5th June 1919.

arrangements are being made to appeal to the Privy Council and the Parliament. These appeals require ample funds and it is absolutely necessary that the Indians should be helped with as much money as possible in order to save them from the calamity that has overtaken them. Money contributed for this cause will be only money paid for self-defence. Some people consider that a fund, to be called the 'Self-Defence Fund', should be started and every one should be made to contribute a day's income every year. It is necessary that all patriots should consider over this matter and contribute their mite towards it. For a purpose like this it will not be much if the wealthy should pay even a month's income annually. . . Such a fund may be started by the Indian National Congress, having its head-quarters at Delhi and branches in every town and village. From the funds thus collected, political missionaries should be maintained with the object of making the people look upon the British Government with infeigned devotion and loyalty and of bringing to the notice of the British Parliament the faults of the authorities who behave autocratically. We trust that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and all other patriots will bestow consideration on this. Several among the Europeans and Eurasians in India violate the British principles of justice with the idea that they should be the sole autocratic rulers of India. This will doubtless go against them in the long run. If they attempt to extirpate the Indians and build their mansions on the tombs of the latter God will never be pleased with them nor will such acts be countenanced by British traditions of justice . . Unless we started a 'Self Defence Fund' our very existence will be a thing of the past. The British in England are just and if we point out to them how the British in India transgress the British traditions, they will never side with the autocrats. The wrongs that are done in India should be made known to the Parliament.

Dravidan, Madras, 27th May 1919.

German Missionaries.

34. Referring to the strong objection raised by the Germans to the condition of the Peace prohibiting the German Missionaries from residing in the allied countries, the *Dravidan*, of the 27th May, remarks that the Ecclesiastical authorities may say that, as the work of the missionaries is only spreading religion and not taking part in politics, there is no necessity for excluding them from the allied countries and observes:—Only those who view things superficially will say this, and not others. These missionaries are attending to political and military matters under the pretext of spreading the Christian doctrines and converting the people to Christianity. It is understood that, in Malabar and South Kanara, there is not even one small lane of which a photograph has not been taken by them. Further we understand that the German missionaries and their wives, while talking to the people used to disparage, very craftily, the British people and the British Government in India and extol the Germans and their system of administration. Though they cannot speak openly against the Government, they are doing secretly what all they can. So, we trust that the allies will take steps to prevent the German missionaries from entering their countries.

Vartakamitran, Tanjore, 24th April 1919.

The Cotton Committee.

35. Reporting the Cotton Committee, which was one of the several committees formed after the beginning of the war, to have recommended that steps should be taken to produce in India the superior kind of cotton required for the mill-owners in Lancashire, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 24th April, says:—Glad, though we are, that the cultivation of cotton in India is to be improved, we have to ask whether the cotton grown here has necessarily to be sent to a foreign country. If, according to the recommendations of the Committee, steps are taken to produce the cotton required for Lancashire and other places in this country alone, the extent of land under cotton cultivation at present will have to be increased. The Government and the farmers should consider whether then the cultivation of food-grains will be adequate for the needs of the country. If the price of foodstuffs rise high, it will lead to several difficulties here. Some may ask why foodstuffs cannot be bought at high prices, as cotton would fetch large profits. But it is only European mill-owners and European merchants that will make large profits by the cultivation of cotton. Suffering from famine will be the only benefit the Indian will derive. Further, the Committee seems to have recommended the licensing of ginning and pressing factories. If, in this trade, the restriction of licences is introduced, we

need not say that, just as, by the methods of granting licences, rice trade, which was till now in the hands of the Indians, is gradually passing into the hands of the Europeans, the major portion of this trade too will find its way into their hands.

Vartakamitran, Tanjore, 1st May 1919.

Indian labour.

36. Referring to the differences between the employees and labourers in England after the war and the demand by the latter of higher wages, shorter hours of work and a greater share in the Government of the country, in spite of the argument advanced by the leaders there that, as in India and other places, long hours and low wages prevail, the compliance with their demands would interfere with the sale of English goods in these countries and affect the economic condition of England, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 1st May, writes:—For the increase of a country's wealth, the combined effort of the labourers and the capitalists is necessary and they should have a love for one another. Quarrels between them are common in the world and in India too. But the nature of these quarrels here is different from that of the quarrels in America and other places. In the latter countries, the labourers and the capitalists belong to the same race and the former have influence even in the administration of the country. But in India the majority of the capitalists are foreigners who come here solely for earning money and have the arrogance of belonging to the ruling race. As a result of this, the labourers suffer indescribable hardships. While the Indian capitalists themselves have no influence in the Government, how can the labourers have it? If any one comes forward to work for increasing the wages of the labourers, he is said to be a political revolutionary and if there is a strike among the labourers, it is attributed to agitators. By dint of their influence with the officials, the European capitalists succeed in threatening the labourers to resume work. If this is the state of affairs, how can the condition of labourers improve and how can others work for their good? Many European Companies are trying to establish their factories in India with the object of making large profits by manufacturing goods here alone at a cheap cost. This may lead to the increase of our hardships which are already unbearable. The labour movement is just now being slowly organised in our country. But this alone will not suffice. Good may result only if the Indian capitalists also join with the labourers. If the distinction between the labourer and the capitalist is dropped and all work conjointly for raising the status of the Indian labourer, it is certain that foreigners can be made to forget the thought of carrying on industries in India for profit. Some may ask whether this is feasible but we can prove that it is. As far as the administration is concerned, both the Indian capitalist and the Indian labourer have no voice in it. The foreign merchant hates both. His idea is to get as much as possible from them. As the condition and ideal of both are the same, it is necessary that both should co-operate with each other.

Desabhimani, Cuddalore, 10th May 1919.

The Administration Report of the Government of India for 1916-17.

37. In an English leader under this heading, the *Desabhimani*, of the 10th May, makes the following remarks among others:—The Government of India issued their report on the administration of India for the official year 1916–17, a short time ago, it being the first one of its kind to be prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1915. . . It is gratifying to find it noted that the part played by the Government and the country in the war is one "which is perhaps greater and worthier than is generally ascribed to India" . . . From the point of view of the public the inauguration of the Indian Defence Force was the most important measure of the year. The report states that the response to it was 'somewhat disappointing', but the reasons for the disappointment are not given. The public may be aware of them and of the limitations by which in practice the development of the force was hedged in, and we need not recapitulate them here. With respect to officers, efforts were made to cope with the ever-increasing demand by the establishment of more training schools and of a reserve of officers drawn from the European officers of Government and the commercial community and the result in the words of the report was that "the junior ranks of the administration now probably reached the

last degree compatible with safety and efficiency". It was on account of this apparently and on account of the alleged German designs of an invasion of north-western India that the Viceroy subsequently took the momentous step of inviting the co-operation of the public in the matter in the Delhi Conference. . . Happily the bogey of invasion was speedily dispelled, and we trust that the Government will take steps to increase the Indian element hereafter. . . The Mesopotamia muddle with respect to the medical arrangements must still be fresh in the minds of our readers. However this extremely salutary lesson seems to have been lost upon the Government. No satisfactory provision appears since to have been made to meet the demand for trained medical men. On the contrary we have seen the undesirable spectacle of the Government putting a bar on the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine through which alone the masses can be reached and which want only a little encouragement and organization to do their work effectively. . . In the closely allied subject of irrigation many grand schemes are mentioned as being under construction or consideration on the various provinces, the estimated cost of them ranging from 127 to 990 lahks each. This budget has made liberal provision for railways, but the same treatment is not meted out to irrigation, possibly because the aforesaid projects are too costly to be taken up at once. We trust that next year at least they will pass from the stage of consideration to that of actual working. . . By far the most interesting portion of the report is that devoted to constitutional reform and political movements. . . The despatch, just published at Delhi, of the Government of Lord Chelmsford on the subject was sent to the Secretary of State towards the end of 1916 and it is claimed in the report that the consideration of this despatch by the Secretary of State led to the now famous announcement by him of the 20th August 1917 promising the grant of responsible government to India and to his subsequent visit to this country to judge for himself how that promise was to be carried out. However that may be and whoever may have taken the initiative in this matter, the Government of England is committed to that announcement, the people of India take their stand upon it as their second Magna Charta, and the world is watching how that promise, made at a time when India's sacrifices in the war were fresh and green in the memory, is going to be fulfilled both in spirit and in letter. The impression about the sympathy of the Government of Madras to certain political movements in the country and of their discouragement of certain others may be said to have recently found confirmation in their administration report in which Mrs. Besant and the Home Rule League were subjected to strong adverse criticism. The same thing is met in the present report issued under the directions of Lord Chelmsford. The aim of the Home Rule League is stated to be "the attainment of complete self-government for India in the immediate future." It need hardly be said that this is inaccurate, the league regarding this as only its ultimate aim and recommending certain intermediate steps as necessary channels for its realisation. . . The Congress is mentioned in a regretful tone as being dominated by the followers of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak though the moderate leaders still retained their strong position in the various Congress Committees. . . The final verdict of the Government of India is "as far as the great masses were concerned, the year was prosperous and uneventful, and there was no widespread political movement or agitation." The latter part of this sentence contradicts a previous statement that from Christmas 1916 when "the Congress agreed to countenance the propaganda of local Home Rule Leagues and Committees the influence of the League in various parts of India increased considerably." And as for prosperity, the masses have not known that elusive thing ever since the commencement of the war and consequent dislocation of trade and commerce. No doubt the hardships were bearable during the first two or three years, but the succeeding years were not so easy to get through, and the crux of the problem is felt most acutely now some months after the cessation of the war. The high prices of 1916 were nothing compared with those now prevailing and they were confined to certain commodities only. Profiteering in its worst form as practised to-day was not then prevalent, and there was no control by Government of the necessaries of life. However it is a thorny problem on which opinions vary as widely as the poles and for which no solution as yet appears to be in sight. Comparatively therefore we may endorse the above statement in the report as more or less correct.

. . There is a paragraph on social and moral progress, but it contains little beyond stating that these belong to the domain of Local Governments, the Central Government merely suggesting and controlling policy. There is an encouraging remark that "in the future an increased devolution of power will consign these branches of purely domestic administration still more fully to Local Governments." We trust this is a foretaste of what we may expect in the Reform Scheme. Otherwise it may be regarded as only an official platitude of no particular significance. Events move so quickly nowadays that the subjects referred to in the report seem to be mostly out of date. But the lapse of time furnishes a clearer perspective from which to view them, and it is easier to follow the present when we are sure of the springs of its origin in the past. And we can also better understand the deep gulf that imperceptibly forms itself between expectations and realisations. . .

38. Referring to a despatch said to have been sent by the Government of India on the 5th March 1919 to the Secretary of State on the question of Indian reforms, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 26th May, expresses its surprise at Lord Chelmsford not having written a minute of dissent to the new proposals made in this despatch which are different from those made by him in the scheme of reforms prepared by him along with Mr. Montagu and detailing the provisions in the above despatch about the status of the Minister and the Legislative Council, remarks:—According to this despatch, the Minister will not only have no power but will not also have an adequate status. Even the Legislative Council will be dissolved if it does not act according to the wishes of the Governor, and if, in the new Council, no one is willing to accept the post of Minister, the Department itself will be resumed by the Executive Council. Under these circumstances it is not clear what powers the Government of India intend to confer on the Legislative Council which represents the voters and the Minister who should be responsible to them. It is only a Minister who acts according to the words of the Governor that will receive a salary. This Governor may be one having no experience of the country or he may be led by his Executive Council. Then it may be prejudicial to the interests of the country to act on his words. Still, unless the Minister listens to the words of the Governor, he may lose his appointment. If these proposals are accepted, and political reforms introduced, the object of the announcement of the 20th August 1917 cannot be fulfilled. It will also become one of the several unfulfilled promises.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 26th May 1919.

The Government of India and the reforms.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 27th May, reverts to this subject and, quoting a portion of the dissenting minute of Sir Sankaran Nayar to this despatch, reiterates that, according to the proposals of the Government of India therein, the Minister and the Legislative Council can continue in office only as long as they act according to the words of the Governor and adds:—If this is to be the kind of administration conducted by the Minister and the Legislative Council, they can never get under their control other departments. So, the promise of making the Government responsible to the people step by step will never be fulfilled.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 27th May 1919.

Remarking that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme by itself caused much dissatisfaction to the Indians, as there was not even a speck of responsible government in it, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th May, also refers to the despatch of the Government of India dated the 5th March 1919 on the question of reforms and observes that a close scrutiny of this despatch makes it clear that the reforms have been curtailed to such an extent that the very word 'reform' has no meaning. It is also of opinion that, according to this despatch, the Governor will wield extensive powers and the Ministers will have to sit like statues and act according to his pleasure and, quoting a simile from the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* in this connexion, where a milk-man, who wishes to earn more money by the sale of his milk, adds a quantity of water to it before handing it over to his wife and the process of adulteration is carried on faithfully by the wife, the daughter and the servant in turn, so much so that, when it reaches the hands of the purchaser, it turns out to be water with a white tint, remarks that the Montford reforms too have shared the same fate.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 29th May 1919.

The Government of India and the reforms.

This paper refers to this subject elsewhere again and observes:—It is quite clear that one and all of the bureaucrats are bent upon making a useless block of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. After the Secretary of State for India made an announcement on the 20th August 1917, the Indians forgot all the bad qualities and the mischievous acts of the bureaucrats and were expecting that the Britishers would grant reforms liberally. All the hopes of the Indians have now become thwarted. Lord Chelmsford has expressed opinions in this despatch which are wholly contrary to his views embodied in the Montagu scheme. Under these circumstances, how can the Indians rely upon the assurances of the British?

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 29th May 1919.

The Government of India and the reforms.

In commenting on the despatch of the Government of India of the 5th March 1919 on reforms, the *Dravidan*, of the 29th May, reproduces in Tamil the remarks of the *Justice* of the 28th idem demurring to the definition of the term 'responsible government' in the said despatch which corresponds, in the eyes of the paper, only with the autocratic rule obtaining in the Native States and condemning the system of dual Government upheld by Lord Chelmsford on the ground that the country is not yet ripe for such a system.

SIRTIRUTTAM, Madura, 23rd April 1919.

Who is responsible?

39. In a leader under this heading the *Sirtiruttam*, of the 23rd April, makes the following observations among others:—The present fallen condition of India is known to the whole world. Who is responsible for this? In ancient days several kings ruled India and there was no harmony among them. At that juncture, it was our people that sought the assistance of the English who had come to India for trading purposes. Since then we have, bit by bit, entrusted the country to their protection. Who is responsible for this? Who is again responsible for Indians then giving up their learning, religion and industries, entering service under the English and bringing about the loss of status to the Indians in several directions? Has not Dr. Ray pointed out that it is the cruelty of the Brahmans and the Code of Manu that led to the ruin of the Indian industries? The English, having found it difficult to get men from their country for conducting their work, began to teach English to the Indians. Taking advantage of this, those whose duty it was to impart learning, began to learn English and altogether gave up their religious duties. In course of time the number of these *purohits* that learnt English exceeded the number required and, having no chance of getting appointments, they posed to work for public good and liberty and, demanding that responsible posts should be given to the Indians, got them. Having secured this, they saw that Government service was an easy means of living and insisted on a large number of schools and colleges being opened. When they succeeded in this object, they obstructed the spread of primary education for fear that others would compete with them. Impelled by greed, they wished to enjoy more comfort and began to agitate on that account. They sought the aid of the masses for this and, to win their favour, abused the Government. When they had obtained all that could be got by fair means, they resorted even to foul ones and, finding their position dangerous, they betrayed the masses and kept aloof. They then joined with the Government and co-operating with them, took seats in several committees, made inquiries and gave decisions against the Indians, as a result of which several cruel laws came into existence. Who is responsible for this? Have the Government enacted any law without the co-operation of the Indians? Is it not a practice among our people to condemn a thing at first, with the idea of pleasing the public, and then collude with the Government? Is it the Government or India that will sustain a loss on account of the unrest created by agitation? Why is this not taken into consideration? The duty of the Government is to protect the life and property of the people. Are not protective laws necessary for this? Did we not complain that the Regulation of 1818 and the Regulation of 1804 were antiquated laws and that the Government had no right to make use of them? So, the Government appointed the Rowlatt Committee. Did the Indians then say that the Committee was unnecessary or did they refuse to serve on it? Did the Committee again declare after its inquiry that there were no revolutionaries in India? Are there not in fact such revolutionaries in India? Again, when the Rowlatt Bill was passed in spite of the opposition of the non-official members and a Select Committee was appointed,

why did the Indians take part in it? Why did not all the representative members then resign their seats in the Legislative Council? Why did not all of them come out as a body when the Bill was being finally considered? Is it not patent that they made a show of opposing it but practically helped its passing into law? So, who is responsible for this Rowlatt Law having come into existence? Who were instrumental, after the Bill was passed, in misrepresenting it to the people and creating discontent in them and in bringing about the death of several? Then was started the novel *Satyagraha* movement. But did all great men come forward to practise it? Why did they not? Is it not because they saw danger in it? The leaders got off the danger but the people could not. Murder and plunder were the result. Are not the Indian leaders the cause of these? Why not the Rowlatt Law be applied to them? Finally, has not Mr. Gandhi himself stated that he had too much confidence in *Satyagraha* and in the discretion of the people? So is he not responsible for the mischievous deeds? Nothing can be achieved if the people die by thousands. Some of the leaders should venture to lose their life. Such patriots are not available in India. So, unless all the patriots join together, put down the unrest, work in constitutional ways, spread mass education and strive hard day and night, India will be certainly lost.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th May 1919.

The Southborough Committees' report.

40. Referring to the Government of India being against the recommendation of the Franchise Committee that, in addition to the present representatives of the Universities in the Provincial Legislative Councils, the new Universities to be started at Nagpur, Dacca and other places should also have a representative each in these Councils, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th May, says.—The argument that the Government of India advance for their opposition to the proposal of the Committee is curious! They say that there does not seem to be any difference between the Fellows of the University and the educated classes in general and that the separate representation of the Universities would only increase the professionals in the Council and introduce politics even in education. They add that they would have no objection to the representation, if the criterion for it is education or high culture. We cannot fully understand the logic of the Government of India. Taking the representatives of Universities in the different Provinces now, it will be unwise to say that they have no interest in education or are wanting in culture. Perhaps the Government of India would accept a cultured man as the representative of a University, if he stays at home without taking up any profession! In expressing their opinion on the report of the Functions Committee, the Government of India complain that it would lead to teachers being guided by politicians. Why should they then deny representation to the Universities? There would be discussions from time to time in the new Legislative Councils about those holding responsible positions in the educational line and it is very necessary that the latter should send their own representatives to the Councils, so that they may not be misunderstood. If the Government doubt that the representatives of the Universities may be lacking interest in education or culture, they may rule that the Honorary Fellows should not vote. Even such a rule is not necessary now; for the Universities are very careful in choosing Ordinary and Honorary Fellows. The Government of India are afraid that the representation of the University would introduce politics in the educational field. Is politics such a dangerous thing that good and cultured people should not interfere in it? Which class of intelligent people will keep away from politics? They think again that this representation would increase the professionals in the Councils. True it is that, in spite of medical men, teachers and other professionals having striven hard for the benefit of India, only lawyers occupy the major number of seats in the Legislative Councils. Even in the new Legislative Councils, they will command much influence. Those in Government service are precluded from getting into the Council as representatives. So the Government should not decline to accept the assistance which might be rendered to students by men like Mr. Paranjpe, Dr. Ward and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar. The representation of the Universities has been widened recently in England. Though education is the primary cause of the progress of the country, the Government have been bringing it into disrepute in several respects. If the

representation of the Universities is denied, we need not say what progress education will attain.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 24th May 1919.

The Southborough Committee.

Referring to the reports of the Reforms Committees, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 24th May, writes in its leader to the following effect:—. . . All the changes till now effected in the system of administration in India have had for their object the representation of popular wishes as only a matter of advice and not at all with a view to making the Government responsible. . . However good the British Government which has been governing India till now may be, there is absolutely no room from a scientific point of view to call it a responsible government, since the Government officials are not the representatives of the people and cannot be removed from their offices by such representatives. In the Scheme of Reforms proposed by Mr. Montagu, it has been clearly indicated that responsibility will be introduced into the administration of India. . . There is what is known as the Government of India which governs India arbitrarily on behalf of His Majesty the King of England. . . According to the Montagu Scheme, some changes will be made in the Government of India, but there will be absolutely no responsible authority in it. It has been a principle, universally accepted by all political reformers, that no amount of reform in the various organs of the body politic can be of the least use without an improvement in the head of it. But when Sir James Meston himself who is known to have ample sympathy towards popular aspirations, has said that no reforms should be made in the Government of India, there is absolutely no hope that our wishes in this respect will be fulfilled. The Government of India will, for a long time to come, continue to have full absolute power. All the changes which it is now proposed to introduce in it only have for their object the enlargement of the elected element in the Imperial Legislative Council, and the treatment of the non-official opinion therein with greater consideration than at present. . . As regards the Provincial Governments, Mr. Montagu is of firm opinion that as the people generally are not intelligent enough to exercise their right of voting properly, no province can be given full responsible government. When there is, thus, no responsibility both in the Central and the Provincial Governments, is the announcement of Mr. Montagu promising responsible government to prove fruitless? To avoid such a contingency, Mr. Montagu proposes to make the Provincial Governments partly absolute and partly responsible by introducing the system of what is known as diarchy. There will be an Executive Council not responsible to the Legislative Council and a Cabinet answerable to the Legislative Council. These two will govern the province, and it is the duty of the Governor to reconcile them both and see that they work without any hitch. To mix autocracy and freedom together in one and the same place is looked upon as dangerous by the friends as well as the opponents of reform. Since this is a very difficult subject, the Southborough Committee has been deputed to inquire and report what subjects may be transferred to the people and what subjects may be reserved by the Government, and also to determine the qualifications of voters. . .

Next turning to the recommendations of the Committees, the paper observes that the system of diarchy is wrong in itself, that it would have been well if subjects such as Land Revenue, Civil Justice, and Legislative Council elections had been included in the transferred list, that the objections of the Government of India to the transfer of Industries and Education, which was recommended by the Franchise Committee are based on considerations of partiality for Manchester merchants and of political selfishness respectively, that their hollowness has been well exposed by Sir C. Sankaran Nayar in his minute of dissent, and that it is ridiculous to say that Indians with their world wide renown for learning should only teach the alphabet as they are not fit to control higher education.

As regards the division of funds between the Executive Council and the Cabinet, the paper thinks that there is no use of transferring any number of subjects without giving the people the control over the exchequer, that the plan of the Government of India places the Ministers entirely at the mercy of the Executive Council, striking at the very root of responsible government, and that the method of striking the average of the expenses incurred in the previous three

or four years by the several branches of administration and of distributing the funds according to such averages, which has been proposed by Sir C. Sankaran Nayar, is the best in the circumstances. In conclusion, it says that the Indian deputations in England should endeavour to press this view on the British public.

41. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 28th May, writes:—The Indian merchants are sustaining much loss on account of the existing difficulties in the matter of exchange. The value of a rupee has risen from 16 pence to 18 pence on account of the war. By this, the Indian merchants who are engaged in exporting business have to incur a loss. A Committee has therefore been appointed by the Secretary of State to inquire about this matter and make a report. Though committees of inquiry are formed with good intention, still as far as the Indians are concerned, they do not prove to be in any way beneficial. So, there is no room to think that much good will result from the Currency Committee too.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 28th May 1919.

The Indian Currency Committee.

42. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 28th May, writes:—The Chief Presidency Magistrate has to-day passed final orders that the Swadesamitran Press should furnish a security of Rs. 2,000. Several newspapers rendering service to the country have been ordered to deposit security and the securities already deposited by many have been forfeited and orders issued demanding fresh securities from them. So the Government thought perhaps that it would not do for the Press of the *Swadesamitran*, which has been, agreeably to its name, serving the country as much as possible for the last 39 years, to remain without furnishing security. Our only consolation at this juncture should be the words of a famous vernacular paper in Northern India that this order of the Government is a certificate of merit for us. It was in response to a prayer of our vakils, that a number of points connected with the action taken by the Governments in India under the Press Act were awaiting decision at the hands of the Privy Council in the *New India* appeal and that the case should therefore be adjourned till that appeal was decided, that the Magistrate agreed to do so. It is not yet known how the Privy Council has disposed of these points and the Magistrate has not stated again what necessity or urgency there has arisen to pass final orders in our case at this juncture. It has not been pointed out by the authorities that we have published any matter since the 16th April 1919 contrary to the undertaking given by us on that day. A Police officer, who was present at the Court to-day, seems to have attempted to explain the haste with which final orders were passed in our case, by the statement that, if our Press is left without any security on the mere declaration that it would not publish any offensive matter, it may lead to other Presses committing mistakes. We do not understand this argument. Has any other Press published any offensive matter and, if so, are we responsible for it? Even in our own publications, there is nothing objectionable and though we were prepared to prove this, the Magistrate would not hear us and insisted on our depositing security. This vain objection can never shake our adoption of the *Satyagraha* principle in obedience to Mr. Gandhi. The Press Act empowers a Magistrate to demand security and he is bound to obey the orders of Government in his executive capacity. We do not know whether it is in obedience to the Government in this capacity or in the exercise of his discretion under the impression that the Act gives him certain powers which are not subject to the scrutiny of any superior authority such as the High Court or the Government, that the Magistrate has now imposed a security on us. We are bound, however, to assert definitely that we need not pay security as an atonement for any offence we have committed. Presses and newspapers are continuing to render service to the country subject to all these hardships. If the authorities like, they can forfeit their liberty. Such a forfeiture affects the public even more than the papers, as the latter are working only for preserving the privileges of the public and acquiring them new ones. The political knowledge now possessed by the people of the Tamil land is sufficient testimony to the fact that, ever since this paper was started, the late Mr. G. Subrahmana Ayyar was working only for public good and even those now conducting the paper are following only his example. They have decided to continue their work, standing by truth and without relaxing their enthusiasm, whatever may happen. In the case of the

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 28th May 1919.

The liberty of the Press.

Hindu Nesan the Magistrate said on the first day that security was demanded from it on account of the appearance of one objectionable article in it. The editor expressed his regret for it in writing and when on that, the Magistrate warned him and adjourned the case, the matter was deemed to have been finally disposed of. Nevertheless the Magistrate has ordered to-day that even that paper should deposit a security. If the authorities proceed like this, which paper can expect to do any public work?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 29th May 1919.

Observing that it is only people of a brutish nature that will be ready to destroy the liberty of one and expressing its surprise at the existence in the world of some who are for restricting the liberty of beings, even after lakhs of men have given up their life for the sake of that liberty, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 29th May, remarks that a country's liberty depends upon the newspapers circulated therein and says:—Need we detail the number of newspapers that have fallen a prey to the Press Act ever since Lord Chelmsford assumed the seat of the Viceroy? Almost every day, a newspaper is losing its liberty. The liberty of India, that is ruled by the British, who, loving liberty, have fought for it and are almost embodiments of it, may be judged by the extent of liberty enjoyed by the newspapers conducted by true Indians. It is ten years since the Press Act was enacted. When it came into existence, it was playing like a child. Then it indulged in the frolics of a boy. Now it has attained its youth and, carrying arms, is waging a great war on liberty. It is not known when it will get old and become extinct. Our readers are aware of the free application of the Press Act in Madras for the last two weeks. When even the *Hindu*, which eminently possesses all the qualities of a newspaper, has paid a security of Rs. 2,000, need the sway of the Press Act be pescribed in detail? The goddess of the Press Act has visited even the *Swadesamitran* press, which is mild in tone and has the glory of having rendered service to the Tamil country for the last thirty-nine years. It is no exaggeration to say that the editors of these papers are fit to occupy the position of a Provincial Governor or even that of the Viceroy. Both of them are legal experts and are capable of weighing their ideas and words before putting them down in writing. Even the presses connected with these papers have provoked the ire of the bureaucratic deity! Alas!! It is very difficult to conduct papers subject to the Press Act. This Act is dancing in consonance with the attitude of the bureaucrats. The will of the bureaucrats is itself probably the Press Act! Many papers are being conducted contrary to the provisions of the Press Act. As they offer oblations to the bureaucratic deity, it does not grow angry with them. The *Hindu* and the *Swadesamitran* do not know the *mantras* wherewith to worship that deity. We trust they will not learn them hereafter too. The regimé of Lord Willingdon's Government that has made the two papers, which have for a long time been fostering the Tamil world, pay security is a grand one indeed! Lord Willingdon! We adopted the *Hindu* as a model paper. You have subjected that too to the Press Act. Which paper shall we hereafter take as model? We request you to conduct a model paper for our guidance. We are very anxious to give our opinion on your paper. O patriots! heroes, that wage the war of liberty!! Have you witnessed or heard of the condition of the papers that wage such a war? The destruction of the liberty of the Press is the destruction of your own liberty. Be ready to undergo hardship for the sake of liberty.

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd & 3rd June 1919.

The liberty of the Press.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd and 3rd June, publishes the proceedings of public meetings held in Madura, Trichinopoly, Salem, Negapatam, Tanjore and Conjeeveram to condemn the action of the Government in the case of the *Hindu*, *Swadesamitran* and other papers, while the *Desabhaktan*, of the same dates, reproduce the above proceedings in the case of the meetings in the first four places.

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 30th May 1919.

The liberty of the Press.

The *Desabhaktan*, and the *Swadesamitran* of the 30th May, reproduce in Tamil a letter written by Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar to the Press on the precarious condition in which the Indian Press is placed, in which he exhorts the people to take steps to safeguard its liberty by securing the repeal of the Press Act.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th May 1919.

Referring to this letter the *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th May, observes:—The bureaucrats have now begun to crush the Indian newspapers, especially the

vernacular ones, by means of repressive measures. The authorities will do whatever they please with the strength of their power. But the question has arisen whether the Indian newspapers, chiefly the vernacular ones, should live or not. It is only newspapers that will protect the rights of the people, inform the authorities of defects and create union and amity between the rulers and the ruled. Hence, it need not be said that the safety of the vernacular papers is the safety of the people. It is only those nations that save the papers of their countries from danger that will be applauded by the world.

The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 31st May, also reproduces in Tamil the letter of Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar referred to above.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 31st May 1919.

43. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 23rd May, publishes a lecture said to have been delivered on the 20th idem at Kumbakōnam by sister Balambal on this subject in the course of which she is reported to have stated that the deterioration of India in commerce, agriculture and industries is due to the East India Company and the several laws enacted by the Government from time to time favourable to the westerns and prejudicial to the interests of India and that the *Swadeshi* vow started by Mr. Gandhi should be observed by all as the only way of improving the indigenous industries, the members of the Legislative Council adopting it in the Council even by transgressing the rules, so as to help indigenous industries and curb the influence of foreign industries.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

Indian industries.

44. In the course of a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th May, observes that the recommendations of the Government of India regarding the proposed reforms are derogatory to their own name and fame and, remarking that the privileges now demanded by the Indians are not new to them, adds:—The fact that the Indians who are now occupying a few high positions are discharging their duties properly is itself sufficient testimony to the administrative capacity of the Indians in the past. India has nothing to learn anew; she has only to bring back to her mind what she knew in ancient days. The Government of India have decided to curtail even the Montford reforms and that is why even those who stood by the side of the Government and supported the reforms are now dissatisfied with these reforms. The most important of the recommendations of the Government of India in connexion with the reforms is that concerning finance. The power of considering the budget, which was conferred on the Legislative Councils by the Indian Councils Act of 1892, was taken away by the Minto-Morley reforms and the present scheme too does not restore this power, in spite of the Indian National Congress having prayed for it all these years. The scheme very cleverly provides for the budget being placed before the Legislative Council for approval and for its suggestions being acted upon, though the power of sanctioning any amount of expenditure is left to the Governor. What is the use of presenting the budget to the Legislative Council? When the Governor is given unrestricted powers in the matter of finance, what right can the people have in it? The money intended for expenditure on the transferred subjects will be available only from the balance left after meeting the expenditure incurred on the reserved ones. Considering that the transferred subjects will be under the control of the Indian representatives, while the reserved ones will be under that of the Government officials, much need not be said as to what attention the authorities will bestow on the transferred subjects. According to the Southborough report and the proposals of the Government of India, the Indian people will have no power whatever in determining the amounts spent for them. Even in the matter of levying taxes, neither the ministers nor the Legislative Councils have any real power. It is completely in the hands of the Governor and his Executive Council. If these recommendations are given effect to, India would remain where she was forty years back. No reforms will benefit the people without fiscal responsibility. In fine, reforms without such responsibility will resemble a body without life.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th May 1919.

A body without life.

45. Referring to the reasons adduced by the Hon'ble Mr. R. B. Wood in the Legislative Council against the prohibition of the export of oil-seeds from this Presidency as suggested by the Hon'ble Mr. T. Ranga Achariyar, the

VARTAMANITRAN, Tanjore, 17th April 1919.

The export of oil-seeds from this Presidency.

Vartakamitran, of the 17th April, says:—His first argument was that people preferred to use kerosene oil for their lamps. But this is because indigenous oils have gone up very much in price on account of the export of oil-seeds and also the foreign competition therefor and kerosene oil is comparatively cheap. If the oil-seeds remain in the country and an industry started for extracting oil from the seeds, it will afford a means of livelihood to lakhs of people, and the price of the indigenous oils will also go down. There will again be no scarcity of fodder for the cattle. Secondly he said that, if the export of the oil-seeds was to be prevented, the Government of India should do it in consultation with the allied countries. The reason for this is not clear. Why should the allied countries be consulted, as regards the improvement of Indian industries and the mercantile processes, when they do not consult the Government of India in matters relating to their trade? Even the Colonies like Australia and Canada, which form part of the Empire, do not change their methods of trade in accordance with the convenience or otherwise of India. While all these are keen upon their own interests, is it just to expect India alone to care for the happiness or misery of others? This is the type of the responsibility which the bureaucrats evince in regard to India. Mr. Wood stated that it was wrong to prevent the export of oil-seeds, when the necessary adjuncts for carrying on the oil-extracting industry here could not be had, such as machinery and experienced workmen. But who is the cause for these defects? England, Germany, America and Japan offer sufficient testimony to the fact that in no country have industries been established and trade improved without the help and enthusiasm of the Government. Even as England relies upon the raw products of India, why should not India utilize the machinery of England? Why cannot the major portion of 230 lakhs of rupees, which the Imperial Government have at present set apart for the improvement of railways, be utilized in purchasing machinery for starting industries? It is said that, for the improvement of trade, railways should be increased. How can trade be improved if there are no industrial factories in the country? Instead of taking trouble to give a circumlocutory reply, it would have been better if the bureaucrats had plainly stated that India should attend only to the production of raw materials and export them.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 30th May 1919.

Mr. Montagu on Indian questions.

46. Adverting to the observations made by Mr. Montagu in introducing the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 30th May, feels grateful to him for having referred to the way in which the Indians were badly treated in the Colonies in spite of India occupying an equal position with those Colonies in the Peace Conference and says:—It cannot, however, be expected that the Colonies will mind such polite words and treat Indians with respect and as British subjects. Unless steps are taken to inculcate to the white races in the Colonies a true feeling of brotherhood, it is impossible for them to treat others equally. The statement of Mr. Montagu about the Rowlatt Law shows that he does not seem to have understood the opposition of the Indians. No Indian objects to revolutionary agitators being rooted out completely. The Indians take exception only to the provision in the said law that one can be presumed to be an offender, before his offence is proved in the usual course, and, being deprived of all the facilities and privileges of an accused in an ordinary trial, be tried in a novel manner. The basis for the Government to presume one to be connected with a movement to subvert Government and to subject him to a trial under this law is only the report of the secret Police. Hence if these secret Police make a report against a person, the Rowlatt Law will at once be applied to him. From Reuter's telegrams it is not clear that Mr. Montagu has offered any explanation for this danger in the Rowlatt Law. Mr. Montagu's statement again that the law will be applied only to those who work for the subversion of the Government cannot be relied upon by us, seeing that the Defence of India Act was applied to Mahatma Gandhi who is neither a German nor a bomb-throwing wretch. The action against Mr. Gandhi naturally raises the fear that some officials may apply the Rowlatt Law also to political agitators. It is regrettable that, without answering any of these objections, Mr. Montagu should have supported the obstinate enactment of a law opposed by the whole of

India. His concluding words about the reforms too will cause a great disappointment to the Indians. He announced that a Bill based on his reform proposals would be introduced in the Parliament in June next and that a Parliamentary Committee of both the Houses would be formed to consider the Bill, take evidence in connexion with the proposals therein and suggest any modifications or fresh proposals, if necessary. This Committee will consist of an equal number of members from both the Houses. In selecting the members from the House of Lords, naturally preference would be given to those who have had experience in India and there are good many members of the House who were Viceroys, Commanders-in-Chief and Provincial Governors in India, many of whom will therefore get into the Committee. We need not say how much sympathy these will have in delegating power to the Indians. When members are selected from the House of Commons, members to represent the several parties therein will have to be chosen equally and eventually the Committee will contain only very few that have a real interest in India. Coming to those who will give evidence before the Committee, there are hundreds of persons in England who have retired from service in India or who have returned home after making a mint of money by trade in India. All of them will offer to give evidence claiming thirty and forty years' experience of India. The Indians too are going over to England with great trouble. Before all of them reach England, the Committee may be formed and the witnesses also marked out. Even if all these should be taken as witnesses, they cannot claim any administrative experience. The result of the institution of the Parliamentary Committee will, therefore, be that many who have no sympathy with the aspirations of the Indians will join together and inquiring many, whose attitude agrees with theirs, decide the administrative reforms in India. There are not sufficient grounds to believe that, in that case, the task undertaken by Mr. Montagu will be completed in the manner proposed by him. There may be inordinate delay and the whole thing will become stale. If Mr. Montagu wishes to have his proposals carried out, he should not adopt this method. Our friends know that we do not applaud his scheme. But we wish to refer here only to the doubt whether there is no chance, according to the present plan, of even that scheme being passed. If the British Cabinet desire to do justice to India, the right course will only be to consult some of the leading men among the Indians now in England as to how the administration can be reformed in pursuance of the announcement of the 20th August and the principle of self-determination and come to a conclusion.

Sir C. Sankaran Nayar's resignation.

47. In the course of a long contribution by a correspondent to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th May, the following observations find place among others:—It is because the bureaucrats were and are in a majority, our people do not succeed either in the Legislative or the Executive Council. The Black Bills and the Martial Law in the Punjab wounded the feelings of our Indian brethren on these councils and five of them who had not the heart to proceed on lines contrary to truth resigned their seats. Of these really great men, Sir Sankaran Nayar is one. He is a great patriot and a friend of the Congress. He has worked much for the advancement of the country. Though the country does not really expect his resignation, it is certain that his minute of dissent is welcomed by it. His resignation at present will certainly be a great loss to the country, as one who can explain to the Government of India the true condition of the country and mend their actions a little is coming out. But it is again highly profitable in another direction. It is certain that his resignation as well as that of the members of the Legislative Council will reach the ears of the friends of the Empire in England and of the authorities there. When they learn this, they will easily know the merits of the administration of the Government of India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th May 1919.

Sir C. Sankaran Nayar's resignation.

The *Kistnapatrika*, of the 24th May, has the following note on the reported resignation of Sir C. Sankaran Nayar:—. . . . If this rumour is true, the name of Sir C. Sankaran Nayar will be praised by young and old alike. In connexion with the Rowlatt Act, every one was asking why he

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 24th May 1919.

did not resign and why he was silent with regard to the Punjab disturbances. Which patriot can afford to be silent about the severe measures adopted in the Punjab in the name of martial law? Sir Sankaran Nayar has discharged his duty at the present juncture.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 25th May 1919.

Sir C. Sankaran Nayar.

The *Hitakarini*, of the 25th May, says:—Sir C. Sankaran Nayar has in some matters affecting the welfare of the people taken the side of the Government by virtue of his office. But the present event shows how this great man's soul was smarting then. We see the true spirit of Sir C. Sankaran Nayar when we read his remarks on the report of Southborough's Committee and when he has resigned his office on account of disagreement with the Government in the matter of martial law introduced in the Punjab. There is more meaning in one official member resigning his office than in many non-official members resigning theirs. We are most glad to hear that he is going to England. When a man like Sir C. Sankaran Nayar, who is fully acquainted with both the people and the Government, works for the salvation of India, we need have no doubt about the result. The whole of India is praising Sir C. Sankaran Nayar for his liberal spirit. It is to be surmised that he kept silent when the Rowlatt Bill was passed in order to criticise the political reforms, publish his own opinion, and serve the motherland and the Government.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 31st May 1919.

Sir Sankaran Nayar's resignation.

In an article applauding Sir Sankaran Nayar for his note of dissent on the Reform scheme and his rumoured resignation, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 31st May, writes:—When men in authority swerve from the path of rectitude it is the prime duty of the public to bring them back to the right path. Do not several suffer for the sins of one man? If the Government of India should commit acts opposed to British principles of justice and if all the members of the Council should acquiesce in them those proposals would be enforced in the country. There will then be no scope for amendments and the people will suffer. Not only the Viceroy but all the Members of this Council will be responsible for this. In case the Parliament should impeach His Excellency, Lord Chelmsford, just as it had done Warren Hastings, he might plead that the Executive Council Members and the Legislative Council Members were all responsible for it along with him. If he should be punished, all the rest also would have to be punished. Sir Sankaran Nayar realised this responsibility and resigned his membership.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 28th May 1919.

Sir C. Sankaran Nayar.

Adverting to Sir Sankaran Nayar's resignation of his membership in the Imperial Executive Council, the *Malayali*, of the 28th May, writes:—How could a just patriot like Sir Sankaran Nayar bear the sight of his countrymen being illegally subjected to the kicks of the mad elephant of the Martial Law? . . . It was when the Government of India had to express an opinion on the reforms that the secret of the Englishmen came out. If a great man like Sir Sankaran Nayar had not boldly recorded his opinion, the views of the Viceroy would have been accepted as gospel truth by the Parliament. His resignation after openly expressing his own opinion is very commendable. It marks the dawn of our good fortune that Mother Bharata can have the consolation of having at least one heroic son, who has the courage of his convictions and would stand for them, at this juncture when patronage is most powerful. May Sir C. Sankaran Nayar become the leader of his brethren as before, and be able to get them redress for their grievances.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 28th May 1919.

Sir C. Sankaran Nayar's resignation.

The *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 28th May, receives the report of Sir C. Sankaran Nayar's resignation with mixed feelings—gratification in that the able, wise Malayali leader has not in the least surrendered his natural independence and self-respect, and regret that such a one as he has had to sever his connexion with the exalted post in which he was advising the Government of India. His dissenting minute evinced his dissatisfaction with the present system of administration, his love for the mother land, his independence of view and his desire to see India knit ever closer and closer to the British throne by the beneficence of British administration in India The paper refers to the suggestion that the resignation was due to Sir Sankaran Nayar's disapproval of the introduction of martial law in the Punjab and observes that the unfortunate

resignations (including those of the Legislative Council) have served to show both here and in England that all is not well with the Government of India in respect of their relationship with Indian members and in respect of some matters of policy which cause such straining of relationship. . . The article rejoices in conclusion that by his resignation Sir Sankaran Nayar will have secured greater freedom to achieve great things for his motherland.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 25th May 1919.

Sir Sankaran Nayar's resignation.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 25th May, in commenting on the method of communicating official and semi-official information writes:—Sometimes the communication of the official and semi-official news, far from being interesting assumes a disagreeable aspect, and it is amazing that such an irritating method of dissiminating news should exist in a civilized country. The rumour has been afloat for the last fifteen days that Sir Sankaran Nayar has resigned, but official or semi-official information has not been forthcoming to contradict or confirm it.

The Associated Press of the day before yesterday writes 'There is a persistent rumour that Sir Sankaran Nayar has resigned.' Another communication received, announces 'It appears Sir Sankaran Nayar has resigned' We do not understand the necessity for the concealment of an obvious fact. Although both pieces of information have come from Simla heights, there is doubt about the truth of the report. The Government does not wish to reveal the secret, nor does the Associated Press desire to give publicity to it. The words, however, carry conviction.

In this connexion certain contemporaries, instead of ascertaining the facts as to why Sir Sankaran Nayar has resigned his office, or whether he or the Government is responsible for this upheaval, and what is the remedy for the calamity, viz., that people are appointed members of the Government of India Council, and then they resign office and the Government are not concerned about it. These papers are prepared to mention the name of Sir Sankaran Nayar's successor. The *Hindu Sabah* [sic] in its issue of the 15th idem had, in connexion with this rumour, suggested the name of Mr. Rajagapala Achari, a Member of the Council of the Madras Government as being fit for the post. The *Hindu* also concurs in the view and writes that Mr. Rajagopala Achari is the most suitable person for reaction. In that connexion some people are hoping that if Mr. Rajagopala Achari should be sent from Madras to succeed Sir Sankaran Nayar, his place may be filled by Mr. Aziz-ud-din so as to ensure continuity of connexion.

If the Government wishes to fulfil these hopes it may do so with pleasure, but public opinion will always be against it and on account of weakness the responsibility of the Government will be greatly increased. The choice for the new appointments is not limited either with Mr. Rajagopala Achari or Mr. Aziz-ud-din, and the gentlemen who are counting their last days of service, can go undoing their work enthusiastically during the period of reform. No doubt they are loyal, but the country hardly requires such loyalists who regard their connexion with the service as a means to the attainment of their own ends. Their opinions have come to light during the time of the discussion on reforms, but it is doubted whether they would frankly participate in the carrying out of the reforms that may be opposed to their views. We have no objection, however, either to Mr. Rajagopala Achari or Mr. Aziz-ud-din's appointment for, when we have to put up with certain European members, it is not difficult to put up with these also.

But the question is how long will the Government hesitate to make appointments which would be popular.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 30th May 1919.

Is this British justice?

48. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th May, writes:—The information we had in schools, about a special justice known as the British justice in India is still fresh in memory. But from the mischievous acts of the bureaucrats and the high-handed way in which they administer justice in practice, we have to doubt whether that British justice would fly away from India and be supplanted by some other justice. Officials who have no idea of justice are increasing in number under the British Government. These try to please their superiors by exercising authority and administering justice beyond all bounds. An eminent Englishman condemns the action of the authorities in Calcutta in punishing six persons as the ringleaders in

the recent strike there. He characterises this action as bringing discredit on British justice. He need not at all be surprised at this. The poor are clamouring for food. There is none to care for them, console them or show them a means of livelihood. Is it British justice then to punish workmen if they strike work on account of the insufficiency of their pay? The Presidency Postmaster of Calcutta draws more than Rs. 1,000 a month. He does not see that the postmen too are men like himself. What difficulty is there for those who draw salaries by hundreds out of the taxes paid by the Indians? What if rice sells even at the rate of one-fourth measure per rupee? It is only the poor who suffer great hardship. It is certain that the mischievous acts of those who do not understand the hardship of the poor will only do harm and no good to the British Empire. The bureaucrats frequently proclaim that they are governing India only to protect the poor. The result of their government is plainly that the Indians are gradually becoming poor and denationalized. As Sir Sankaran Nayar has stated in his minute of dissent, it is certain that India will not advance under the bureaucrats. If the British Government should continue in India for a long time, we request the bureaucrats to understand the poverty of the Indians and exercise their judicial and executive authority in a sympathetic spirit. If the authorities realize that poverty is the birthplace of anarchism and attempt to get rid of the poverty of the people, British rule will continue with glory and its justice will be extolled by all.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 30th May 1919.

Scarcity of cloth.

49. Adverting to the warning given by Sir D. E. Wacha that there would soon be a greater scarcity of cloth than what was felt last year, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 30th May, observes:—The indifference of the Government to this matter till now is reprehensible. Our friends are aware that lamentable events occurred in several places last year on account of the scarcity of cloth. Those, who were under the impression that, as the war has ended, such a difficulty would not occur again, will be depressed by this news.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 31st May 1919.

The present situation.

50 Referring to a contribution by Mr. Norton to the *Looker-on* on the present situation, and remarking that it will be mutually beneficial to the Government and the people if attention is paid to his words based on his long experience of Indian affairs, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 31st May, quotes his observations about the Rowlatt Law and says:—What explanation has Mr. Montagu who spoke in favour of this law in Parliament, to offer for the remarks of Mr. Norton that it is a wrong impression that the people will become loyal if the protection given to offenders is removed. Mr. Norton has a great experience in law, in the procedure of the courts and in the hard position of the accused. Would the Government issue a pamphlet answering his objections and distribute them house to house? Mr. Norton again questions the propriety of efficient defence having been denied to the several persons accused under Martial law in the Punjab and suggests that an appeal should be made to the Parliament in the case of the editor of the *Tribune*. Subsequent to Mr. Norton's writing this, this editor has been convicted and sentenced to a severe punishment by the Martial Law Commission. It cannot be said that he was afforded the necessary facilities for proving his innocence. If, in consideration of this, the sentence of the Martial Law Commission against him is cancelled, and he is again brought for trial before an ordinary court of law and afforded the conveniences necessary for his defence, it will prevent the confidence of the people in the British administration of justice from waning.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 31st May 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 31st May, writes:—Many think that the severity of repression is now at its highest in India. It is usual for the bureaucrats to resort to repression when granting reforms. This is but an old lesson. But the intensity of repression depends upon the times and upon the wisdom, character and conduct of those that apply it. However cruel may be the laws that are passed, if those who apply them realize what civilization is, there will be no harm to the public on account of such laws. Repressive measures were resorted to in the time of Lord Minto and are resorted to even now during the regimé of Lord Chelmsford. In the time of Lord Minto, Sir Michael O'Dwyer was not the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Lord Willingdon was not the Governor of

Madras and Lord Ronaldshay was not the Governor of Bengal. These great men have the fortune of conducting administration in India now. Lord Chelmsford is indeed more fortunate than Lord Minto. Who can describe the fortune of Lord Chelmsford, who had as his first disciple Sir Michael O'Dwyer that boldly introduced Martial law? Christ has said that he was born in the world for the sake of sinners. Would he throw Sir Michel O'Dwyer. the sinner of sinners, into the eternal hell? Sir Michael should certainly answer before God for the consequences of the Martial law he introduced. Even Lord Chelmsford, who kept quiet without condemning his action, will not escape the trial. Though Lord Willingdon who has the fortune of governing this Presidency at present, has not introduced Martial law like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, he will probably resort very freely to other repressive methods. Though it is hardly three months since Lord Willingdon landed in Madras, he has evinced his antipathy for three papers within this period. It is not known what more he will do. If he should mix with the popular leaders and conduct the administration with love he will be highly esteemed by all. We entreat him to act justly so as not to disturb the peaceful condition of this Presidency. If he should on the other hand favour the adoption of repressive measures, and act cruelly, his administration will certainly prove to be a useless one. Let Lord Willingdon note that repressive measures will make the hearts of the people shoot forth into flames like the sacrificial fire, which none can extinguish. Let him know that Bengal and the Punjab which were quite peaceful have been converted into an abode of agitation by the foolish acts of Lord Curzon and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Let him understand the condition of the country and act upon the suggestions we make from time to time. Let him realize that our ideal is self-government under the British rule. O people of the Tamil country! advance like valiant heroes. Where is your wisdom, valour, truth and undaunted nature? Does the Rowlatt Law terrify you? Are you afraid of the actions of Sir Michael? Are you watching the attitude of the new Governor? The departure of the old Governor and the arrival of the new Governor will not affect our position in any way. The administrative machinery is whirling round always in the same manner. Bestow attention, not on the movements of Governors, but on the changes in the system of administration. Continue agitating till you get a form of government responsible to the people. Put down the repressive measures of the bureaucrats by means of passive resistance. Try to revive again and again the newspapers that become victims to the Press Act. Give up the old habits of lecturing from platforms. Agitate within constitutional limits. Observe the *swadeshi* vow. Come and array yourselves in the battle front of home rule. Let us resume our lawful struggle. Do not care for the reforms to be obtained as a result of the previous struggle. Agitate hereafter to obtain complete responsible government. Do not be anxious about what is to come immediately, but strive with zeal to regulate your future. Wake up! Wake up!!

The present situation.

In a leader dwelling on the present situation, the *Lokopakari*, of the 26th May, makes the following observations among others:—Whatever may be the causes of the recent disturbances in the Punjab and the Afghan war, symptoms of unrest are perceivable in the country and the Government are adopting very severe repressive measures to put it down. However, the action of the Government in treating newspapers and popular leaders as they like will create a feeling of disgust in the people. If the authorities would begin to act in accordance with the words of the people and their leaders, all signs of unrest will completely disappear. It is necessary that the authorities in the Punjab should note the unanimous opinion of the popular leaders that the introduction of martial law there is wrong and give satisfaction to the people by acting on that opinion. The report of the Southborough Committees does not answer the popular expectations and affects the rights of the people. The recommendation of the committee that education and industries should be under the control of the Indian Ministers, though approved by Sir Sankaran Nayar, is opposed by the Government of India. The aim of the authorities should be to improve the condition of India. But when any good is intended to be done to India, the authorities begin to act prejudicially to her interest forgetting that India should be governed for the Indians. If the British Parliament examines the Indian Reform Bill with the object of uplifting

Lokopakari, Madras, 26th May 1919.

India, she will be benefited. We expect that the British Parliament will act in consonance with the new thirst for liberty which has appeared in the world.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

The King-Emperor's birthday.

51. In appealing to the people to celebrate the King-Emperor's birthday well, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd June, says:—Among all the kingdoms now in existence, the British Empire is the best and our Emperor is one who has a great sympathy for the Indians, which is sincerely reciprocated by every Indian. It is true that, for some days past, the cruelty of the bureaucrats has been on the increase in India. Of the officials who promise in the presence of our Emperor, who is an embodiment of justice itself, that they will administer India without transgressing British Justice, some keep their promise, while others do not. We should not hate the British rule and our Emperor on account of the high-handed acts of the officials. Our mind is bewildered when we ponder over the Rowlatt Act. Our hearts melt when we think of the actions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Our heart flutters on seeing the forfeiture of the securities deposited by newspapers. All these are the acts of some officials. They are only birds of passage and we should not attach any importance to their actions. We should not forget that the British rule is almost the embodiment of justice. It is sheer ignorance to plan injury to the British kingdom, because of the cruel deeds of the bureaucrats. We should, by means of our loyalty and patriotism, get rid of the cruelties of the bureaucrats bit by bit and foster British justice gradually. The bureaucrats are doing harm even to the *Desabhaktan*. They forfeited the first security of the *Desabhaktan*, finding fault with articles that inculcated loyalty. Our friends know that the *Desabhaktan* does not hate British rule on account of the actions of the bureaucrats. But we apprise them of the fact that he has put it down as his duty to strongly condemn the actions of the bureaucrats in a constitutional manner until the bureaucratic system of government is changed. It is our firm belief that the forfeiture of the security of newspapers and imprisonment of popular leaders are the indications of the ruin of the bureaucratic system of administration and the thriving of the just British system. If the unjust acts of the bureaucrats should see the light of day, if they should come to the knowledge of the British public, if they should reach the ears of His Majesty, innumerable papers and popular leaders should suffer hardships. The cruel acts of the bureaucrats will only do good to India. It is unnecessary for us to urge that we should not swerve from our loyalty on account of the petty acts of the bureaucrats.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

The Second Rowlatt Bill.

52. Adverting to the Government of India having called for the opinion of all important bodies in the country to express their opinions on the Rowlatt Bill No. 2, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd June, says:—There is no doubt that all would have expressed only adverse opinions about it. But the *Adi Dravida Sabha* which has recently been organised in Madras have opined that the Bill is necessary. We do not know how far the opinion of this *sabha* can command respect. However, we do not think our Government who have marked the events that occurred in the country as a result of the first Rowlatt law, will be so wanting in wisdom as to pass the second Bill into law.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

Political offenders in India.

53. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd June, writes:—The way in which political offenders are treated in this country is entirely different from that in which they are treated in some civilised countries. These are considered offenders only on account of the difference of opinion between their views, which are the outcome of high qualities such as patriotism and benevolence, and those of the Government. So, though the Government deem them to be offenders, they do not treat them like those convicted for murder, robbery and other offences. They are not kept with other prisoners and are used to be treated more leniently than those undergoing simple imprisonment. Lala Lajaput Rai and Tilak were treated only in this manner. Nevertheless our authorities treat patriots, who are punished for sedition, as their personal enemies. Sometimes they are also treated more cruelly than ordinary criminals. It is not just on the part of the British Government, who are said to be highly civilised, to inflict on patriots, who are to go to jail on account of political offences, rigorous imprisonment like thieves, murderers and liars.

54. Remarking that the *Englishman*, *Statesman* and other Anglo-Indian papers have begun to revile Sir Sankaran Nayar for his having written a dissenting minute, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd June, observes:—It is in the nature of these papers to decry patriotic Indians, who condemn the administrative policy of the bureaucrats. But what fault has Sir Sankaran Nayar committed? He differed from his colleagues about the future administrative policy in India and plainly expressed it. What else could he have done? Do these papers expect that he should hide his own view and join his colleagues? No true Englishman will ask any honourable man to behave thus. Sir Sankaran Nayar does not vacate his seat in the Executive Council of the Viceroy in his own interests. Further, it is clear that such an excellent man will not have differed from the Government of India without proper reason. When the Rowlatt Bill was passed into law, Sir Sankaran Nayar was the only Indian who supported it. Though the people of this country were dissatisfied with his not condemning the Rowlatt Law, they did not fail to esteem his mental fortitude. Should there not be an important reason for Sir Sankaran Nayar, who supported the Rowlatt Bill, differing from the Government of India now? The enforcing of the martial law in the Punjab and the attempt of the Government of India to curtail the reforms have drained his patience. Is there not a limit, even for patience? The step now taken by Sir Sankaran Nayar actuated by patriotism is a rare one. Those who venture to make such sacrifice are very few. An Indian has, besides giving up the highest appointment he could get in his country, lost his future advancement too. If he had followed the example of title-hunters, he would have got the title of a Lord too like Mr. Sinha. But Sir Sankaran Nayar is not one who will neglect his service to the country, caring for titles and positions. It is only the names of such noble men that always remain permanently in history.

Sir Sankaran Nayar's dissenting minute and the Anglo-Indian Press.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

55. A correspondent to the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd June, refers to a Sub-Magistrate having, at the instance of Mr. Macqueen, the District Magistrate of Coimbatore, sentenced a boy of 9 years and his father to a fine of Rs. 2 and Rs. 5, respectively, for plucking some leaves from a road-side tree for medicinal purposes, without even giving time to the accused to engage a pleader, and adds:—What justice! What procedure! The two Magistrates evidently racked their brains to locate the offence in the Penal Code and perched upon section 431—Mischief. It is not known how the action of the boy amounted to mischief. The Collector issued instructions and the Magistrate punished the boy in obedience to those instructions. This is why even the layman in the street is against the Executive authorities being given the power of administering justice. If ever powers under the Rowlatt Law are entrusted to these great men, it is certain that a good rule will turn out a tyranny.

The injustice of a Collector.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

56. The *Lokopakari*, of the 2nd June, writes:—The Indian popular leaders think that the political reforms will not satisfy their expectations. However, the speech of the Secretary of State for India in connexion with the Indian Budget makes it clear that she will, in the future, attain such a position as will command the respect of all the people in the world. We have to take this opinion of the Secretary of State as that of the British Cabinet. The British Parliament will not refrain from attempting to raise India to an eminent position in consideration of the new spirit of liberty that has arisen as an outcome of the war. In the future, it is only India that will be a support to the British Empire and gain for her great glory. Though she has not yet been fortunate enough to attain a high position on account of the devices of some evil ministers both in India and England, it is clear from the speech of the Secretary of State for India that she will not be ignored in the future.

India's future.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

57. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd and 3rd June, respectively, reproduce in Tamil the letter of Sir Rabindranath Tagore to the Viceroy condemning the present policy of the Government and relinquishing his titles and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 2nd idem, comments on this letter

Sir Rabindranath Tagore and the policy of the Government.

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 2nd & 3rd June 1919.

in the following strain :—The valiant act of Sir Rabindranath is far stronger than all the protest meetings hitherto convened and articles of condemnation hitherto written regarding the policy of the Government in the Punjab. We have oftentimes warned the authorities that their indiscriminate adoption of repressive measures may cause unrest and discontent in the country. If, at this time, truly loyal people can condemn the perverted policy of the bureaucrats and reform them, they should necessarily do so. If even a renowned poet, who does not take part in politics, relinquishes his knighthood in token of his disgust at the actions of the Government, our brethren may themselves realise what the tendency of the Government is. What is the duty of the title-holders hereafter? Formerly, Doctor Mani Ayyar surrenders his knighthood. Then alone it was expected that many would follow him. Now another opportunity has occurred for them and we trust they will not fail to follow the example of Sir Rabindranath.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 2nd June, also refers to this letter and, remarking that in as few words as possible the great poet has expressed the opinion of all manly Indians on the present situation, describes how certain disturbances occurred unexpectedly almost at the same time as the starting of the *satyagraha* movement by the people is sheer despair at the Government not having paid any heed to the strong agitation carried on throughout the country against the Rowlatt Law, which was opposed even by an Indian, who always used to stand by the Government and how, in spite of the popular leaders having stopped all agitation for some time so as not to embarass the Government after the occurrence of the disturbances, the authorities, without appreciating the attitude of the people, resorted to stringent measures in the Punjab and other provinces and adds:—When the political leaders had suspended all agitation, the Government started almost a counter-movement to that of the people and issued some pamphlets supporting the Rowlatt Law But they have not up to date replied, either directly or by another publication, the doubts and objections that were raised by Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar about their pamphlet. If they do not do this, the expenditure incurred by them on the issue of pamphlets will go in vain. Of course they have the power to declare that none should criticise their pamphlets. But the proper course for them would be to answer the objections raised. They have practically characterised the agitators about the Rowlatt Law as a mischievous lot. When even an Anglo-Indian paper like the *Ceylon Times* declares that those who took part in the agitation against the Rowlatt Law sincerely felt that it was unjust, it is an untruth to say that the agitation against this law was a groundless one. It is the action taken by the authorities to suppress the agitation that cropped up on account of this law that resulted in the introduction of martial law in the Punjab and repressive measures in other provinces. Though the martial law has been withdrawn in the Punjab, the Press Act is being rigorously applied in other provinces. If the Executive Government in England acts like this, the people can exercise their influence through the Parliament. It is only to secure such a status for the people in India too that we demand that the Executive Government should be subordinate to the Legislative Council representing the people. Sir Sankaran Nayar has made this point quite clear in his dissenting minute. When he, as the Indian Member of the Government, has himself condemned the Rowlatt Law and the Government have given publicity to his views, how are the Provincial Governments justified in preventing ordinary people, by means of the Press Act, from objecting to it? As pointed out by Sir Sankaran Nayar again, no other feeling than that of affinity can be created between the rulers and the ruled, if the former conduct the administration understanding the attitude of the latter. If the Indians had an influence with the Government, such severe punishments would not have been inflicted even under martial law, as have been done in the Punjab, nor would there have been any necessity for it.

Kistnapatrika, Masulipatam, 24th May 1919.

The Gudivada taluk co-operative conference.

58. Referring to the Gudivada taluk co-operative conference held at Angalur on the 20th May, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 24th May, observes:—. . . One of the resolutions passed at the conference relates to the establishment of a central co-operative commercial association for each district to facilitate the sale of the articles belonging to and the purchase of those needed by the Branch

Associations in villages. . . For instance, a ryot who wants to dispose of two candies of paddy is put to a lot of trouble in taking it to the town, in paying tolls, bribes to the police and other private expenses, and incurs loss by false weighment and measurement. . . If the central association of the district is to work well, a competent district officer should be appointed to help and guide the association. It is necessary to start such new concerns on good foundations. We hear that Mr. Hemmingway, the present Registrar, is very keen on the subject of joint sales and purchases, and hope that he will try to give effect to the said resolution of the conference.

59. Under this heading, a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 24th May, writes to the following effect:—. . . It is admitted by all that special laws should be enacted to preserve public fees and that the ordinary course of open trial and procedure should be suspended temporarily in times of revolution. But the question is: has such a need arisen? In answering this question, the Government should be guided by the public opinion as voiced by the elected representatives of the people, as is done in every modern system of administration. When the Government happens to be a foreign, it should entirely depend on these representative bodies. Whatever number of spies it may employ, they will, out of self-interest, try to put it on the wrong track and will only accentuate the existing unrest. The rulers in our country not only do not condescend to move and speak familiarly with our educated men or with the people in general, but cannot converse freely and intelligently enough for a quarter of an hour in our vernaculars, however long they may stay in our country. How long do they propose to have in force such a system of administration? . . . We are already complaining of many repressive laws which the Government has passed without caring for popular opinion and which curtail our freedom of speech and writing. Why should the Government, then, add to this armoury a new weapon, the Rowlatt Act which affords means for restricting freedom of person. It must be said that it is a great slur on the statesmanship of our rulers to presume that they know the interests of the people better than popular leaders and that they are concerned with the peace of the country more than the leaders. We are constrained to believe there is no such statesman as Doctor Wilson among them. They should know well that the people are beginning to think that they (the rulers) have absolutely no trust in them, that they want to perpetuate their absolute rule over them, and that otherwise, there is no reason why they should place these repressive weapons in the hands of the executive without the consent of the public. . . Discontent is bound to grow among the people, this very Government will ultimately sustain loss and the people will have to suffer a series of hardships, so long as these laws detrimental to the rights of the people, remain in force. If our rulers not only disregard these counsels of ours but go on punishing us, treating them as sedition, there is no doubt that along with *Satyagraha* now started, there will also grow *Duragraha* (wicked or foolish obstinacy).

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 24th May 1919.

The rule of justice.

The following Acts should, therefore, be repealed forthwith or some radical modifications should be made in some of them at least:—(1) Regulation 3 of 1818; (2) the Seditious Meetings Act; (3) the Press Act; (4) the Defence of India Act, which is being employed against the leaders of the people for political discussions in peaceful times contrary to the promises made by the Government when passing it; (5) the Rowlatt Act which affords scope to the Government to constitute new courts for some of the offences mentioned in the Indian Penal Code, and to sentence the accused to imprisonment and deportation without holding an open trial, in the absence of pleaders, and without providing facilities to the people to know the depositions of witnesses and other sources of evidence taken in such cases, and to arrest anybody on the vague reports submitted by their subordinate officials if they believe them. Though the Government say that the Act will not be put in force except in revolutionary times and in localities which in their opinion require its operation, the people will give up, out of fear, even constitutional political agitation. (6) The Arms Act and (7) Sections 124-A and 153-A of the Penal Code, where the definition of sedition is too wide. A law like the Sedition Law of England, declaring that it is not merely words and writings but acts that constitute sedition, should be put in force in India.

Now a word to our representatives. When the Government arbitrarily pass such unjust laws by force of official authority, disregarding their unanimous counsels and appeals, what is their duty? Why should not our representatives in the Supreme Legislative and Executive Councils resign their seats all in a body like the Hon'ble Messrs. Jinnah, Malavya and Haque. When their words do not count even in such important matters, what is the use of their presence in those councils and what good can they do to the people? Have they not got even a little self-respect? Is the sky vault going to break and fall upon us, if they are not there? The pride we took in the resignation of the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma was felt only for a day and the next day we had to bend our heads in shame. . . Let our rulers govern us as they please without our representatives. Our condition will not grow worse and even if it does, our representatives cannot better it.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 24th May 1919.

In memory of Mother India.

60. In the course of a poem under this heading, a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 24th May, expresses the following ideas among others:— . . . The celestial fire of the Telugu swords has not yet extinguished. To-day it exists like live coals covered over by ashes. . . Why do you cry so often that you are an Andhra. Though an Andhra, you do not know pure Telugu, and cannot understand your divine powers. Stop your cries, go ahead, become a hero of action and be resolute. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 28th May 1919.

The Montford Scheme and the Government of India despatch.

61. Refefring to the views of the Provincial Governments and the Government of India on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 28th May, writes in its leader under this heading:—. . . A perusal of the views of the Provincial Governments shows that they are in favour of continuing the present system of Government. They object to the system of diarchy only to avoid giving any sort of power to the people. In the joint memorandum prepared by the Governments of the Punjab, the United Provinces, Burma, Assam and the Central Provinces, it has been admitted that they do not want to entrust administrative responsibility to the people. They think that it is enough, if the people have the power of giving their advice. . . The Madras Government has altogether condemned the Montford Scheme and diarchy. It doubts the possibility of creating an electorate in its Presidency which will be fit to exercise proper control over its representatives. How will it be possible to love the Montford Scheme for those having such doubts?. . Sir Michael O'Dwyer was against increasing the number of elected members in Legislative Councils, and against giving Legislative Councils control over the budget and administrative power. No wonder therefore that one holding such views enforced the recent repressive policy in the Punjab. . . It will suffice to point out that there is not much difference in opinion between Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Reginald Craddock. . . The Bombay Government has also given an opinion unfavourable to responsible government, and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla has earned the gratitude of the people by writing a minute of dissent. . . The system of vesting the Government in one body alone is just, logical and scientific, and for that reason, the Delhi Congress has asked for full provincial autonomy. To refuse this request will not show trust in the capacity of the people for self-government. Should the grant of full provincial autonomy be not possible for any reason, diarchy will be acceptable only when a large number of departments now under the management of the Government are transferred to the people. There is no good of having diarchy and then divesting it of popular control. Though the Government of India state that their object is not to whittle down the Montagu Scheme, it is regrettable that that has been the result. Under the system of diarchy recommended by them a state of discord instead of concord will be created between the two governing bodies. The financial distribution between the reserved and the transferred subjects, as recommended by the Government of India deprives the people of control over the Exchequer. . . Under the Montagu Scheme, the Ministers and the Legislative Council are allowed some power in determining the budget. That concession is now sought to be taken away. . . The proposals of the Government of India are capable of doing more harm than good. Intoxicating substances seem to be the only source

of revenue to transferred subjects. None of the Indians wish for the increase of Revenue accruing from this source. Such sources of large income as the Land Revenue will all belong to the reserved departments. It is absurd to say in these circumstances that each department can improve its sources of revenue independently. . . It has become clear that the Indian Civil Service officials are hostile to reforms. Without any control over them it will not be possible for the Ministers to maintain their status. . . When the Legislative Council resolves twice against his opinion, it behoves the Governor to change his view. It is not understood what justice it is to afford room under such circumstances for the resumption of transferred subjects by the Government. There is then nothing else for Legislative Councils and the ministers to do than pay homage to the Governor. The Government of India approves of the formation of the Grand Committee which will only serve to defeat the aspirations of the people. It would have been well to some extent, if the scope of the Committee had been limited to the enactment of laws relating to the reserved subjects. It is regrettable that the laws relating to the transferred subjects also should be brought under its control. It is said that public peace does not come under the transferred or the reserved heads! For this reason, the Governor can refer any bill of the transferred departments to the grand committee by issuing a certificate that it is detrimental to public peace or that it clashes with the reserved subjects. If this takes place, the existence of the Legislative Council is bound to become nominal. The control of the Legislative Council over transferred subjects is unreal. . . The objections of Government of India to the proposal of Sir Michael O'Dwyer regarding the encouragement of the use of vernaculars in Provincial Legislative Councils are peculiar. . . The British Parliament should understand that India cannot at all be satisfied with a show of self-government There cannot be a better opportunity for England than the present one to satisfy the people Whatever be the opinions expressed by the bureaucracy, it is the duty of the Parliament to respect the wishes of the people in accordance with the principle of self-determination. Unless India is granted satisfactory reforms, it is but natural that the unrest in the country will grow. May the freedom-loving British people discharge their duty properly so that the strong faith of the people of India in Britain may not be shaken!

62. Referring to the opinions of the heads of provinces on the Montagu scheme, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 29th May, observes in its leader under this heading:— . . .

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 29th May 1919.

Political Reforms and the opposition of Provincial heads.

That Mr. Beadon, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, is not only against the grant of self-government to the people but that he should be even opposed to the appointment of Indians to higher offices is in keeping with his original theory. . . The Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar is for improving local self-government and appointing Indians to Executive Councils and other high offices in the State, but does not want to make the Executive Council responsible to the Legislative Council. Even those who generally show some liberality become nervous when the subject of self-government comes up. . . When the need for the education of masses is urged, the authorities plead want of funds. When they are told that the people should have self-government to be able to control their education, they say that it will not be possible to grant self-government unless education spreads in the country. In the end, the people are the losers either way. Though the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar has some sympathy with the moderates, he is angry with the Home-Rulers, as his remarks about the Home Rule agitation show. . . Every one knows the love of Sir Reginald Craddock, the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma for educated Indians. . . We have already pointed out the favourite hymns of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. . . All these Provincial heads have only one common argument. They hold that the educated classes will work against the interests of the masses, that they alone guard them and that for this reason the power of administration should not pass into their hands. . . Those officials who object to the grant of self-government to the Indians are doing harm to the cause of the Empire. The British people at least will do well to understand the truth and to grant self-government to the Indians in the interests of the Empire itself, if not for the

welfare of India. The people of India may be overtaken by despair, when they see the strong obstructions to the fulfilment of their wishes. But a movement based on justice is bound to triumph in the long run.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 29th May 1919.

The punishment of Mr. Kalinath Roy.

63. Referring to the conviction of Mr. Kalinath Roy, the editor of the *Tribune*, for sedition in the Punjab, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 29th May, observes:— . . . This news will cause regret to all Indians. . . It is proper to try sedition in ordinary courts of law. It is not understood what necessitated its trial in a Martial Law Court. Counsels from other provinces were refused permission to appear on behalf of the accused. Even the *Madras Mail* is criticising this action. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 29th May 1919.

Imperial preference.

64. Referring to the inclusion of Imperial Preference in the English Budget, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 29th May, observes that the application of this principle will be a loss to India which is lagging behind in the matter of industries and that what she wants and should strive for is commercial freedom, on which all her future prosperity depends.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th May 1919.

The Indian situation and Mr. Montagu's opinion.

65. Adverting to the speech of Mr. Montagu delivered in the House of Commons when the Indian Budget was introduced, in the course of which he defended the Rowlatt Act, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th May, observes in its leader:— . . . By the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills, the whole of India has been thrown into agitation. Whether the people possessed other rights or not they were satisfied on account of freedom of person and the British administration of justice, which are the crest jewels of the British Government of India. Both the rights were gradually being violated through repressive laws but the people endured. When, however, the Rowlatt Bill was introduced, their faith began to disappear and unrest prevailed throughout India. . . They laid their hopes in Mr. Montagu and sent memorials to him to advise His Majesty not to give his assent to the Bill. When Mr. Fisher said that Mr. Montagu will not undertake to do so, their hopes were crushed. They could not however rest satisfied until Mr. Montagu would personally announce his views. . . From the cables received to-day, it would be seen that Mr. Montagu has strongly supported the Rowlatt Act, pointing out the need for such a measure to deal with anarchy and promising that its application would be restricted to those connected with anarchical and revolutionary crime. . . But under the Act the innocent together with the guilty will be punished. As it has not defined revolutionary crime, there is scope for the Judges to bring political offences under revolutionary crime. The trials and convictions of persons for sedition, now going on under the Martial Law, justify this assumption. When the jurisdiction and the procedure of the ordinary courts of law are set aside, when a nominal trial is held, when the right of appeal is taken away and the reports of the Criminal Investigation Department officers become the sole guides, many innocent people are also bound to suffer. It is the opinion of British jurists that justice suffers, if one innocent person is punished, although many culprits escape. When drastic measures become necessary, the Viceroy can put them in force by proclamation, and it is not proper to pass an Act now in the Legislative Council, on the ground that a need will arise for it at some uncertain time in the future. It has become clear that no redress can be had even at the hands of the Secretary of State in respect of the policy of repression. . . The people of India still believe that the Indo-British Association is the primary cause of the unrest in India, and that there would have been no occasion for repressive measures like the Rowlatt Bills, if the Montagu party had fully condemned it at the very outset. . . After his defence of the Rowlatt Act, the announcement of Mr. Montagu that the Reform Bill will be introduced in the beginning of June is not likely to rouse much enthusiasm. . . It remains to be seen how far Mr. Wacha's statement that the British Cabinet will accept Sir Sankaran Nayar's proposals instead of those of the Indian Government, will become true. . . Mr. Montagu has put in a vigorous plea for the grant of the colonial status to India. His liberal ideas can be absolutely of no use to India, so long as they remain theoretical and are not translated into action.

66. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th May, publishes in English and Telugu the following telegram relating to the Postal strike at Calcutta, and the conviction of six ringleaders :— ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th May 1919.

The Calcutta Postal Strike.

"CALCUTTA POSTAL STRIKE.

"*Conviction of Ringleaders.*

"*Calcutta, May* 29.

"Referring to the recent postal strike and sentence of imprisonment passed on six ringleaders at the instance of Mr. Race, Presidency Postmaster, a well known resident, signing "A Disgusted Briton," writes to the Press :—All of these men were striking as a method of protest against that 'grade salary of Rs. 15 rising to Rs. 25,' which they hold to be insufficient to maintain themselves and their families and which is below the rates paid to the men in similar position in Bombay. If the law obtaining in India permits the infliction of sentences of imprisonment for such so-called offences as these, surely it is about time that the law was altered. It is easy for persons on Rs. 1,000 a month or over to blame these poor men for causing us inconvenience. It is shameful to imprison them. The rise in the cost of living in Calcutta is known to all, and when these men follow the countless precedents of the United Kingdom to endeavour to better their condition, we give them an answer that outrages British justice, whatever the law may be.

"Supporting the above, the *Englishman* writes :—Such a travesty of justice is not calculated to make the British Raj any more respected in India, and if firmness is necessary we look for it not only against 'dakwallas' on a small salary, but against the people of all classes and position. The Government cannot at a time like this allow justice to appear now careless where men of position are concerned, now determined where poor men are charged, and again winking at a serious offence. Let us have consistency and also let the convicted postmen receive the benefit of clemency in a remission of at least a part of their sentences or fines."

Referring to the above telegram, the paper observes :— . . . Unfortunately, in India the same remedy is applied in all cases, when there is strong unrest, it is proper to ascertain the root causes of it and remove them and there is no good of being satisfied with mere repression. Even those drawing high salaries are feeling great inconvenience in these days when the prices of foodstuffs have risen abnormally high, and it is but just that some relief should be given to low-paid officials. Repression alone cannot set right their condition.

67. Referring to the introduction of the Indian Reform Bill in the House of Commons, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st May, says that it does not understand why the Bill has not been simultaneously published in India also, that the support given to it by Mr. Chamberlain rouses a suspicion that the reforms are narrow, since a rumour has been current that as the Secretary of State for India he could not see his way to approve of even some meagre reforms which were submitted to him by the Government of India and that it was only then that the memorandum of the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council was prepared and that Mrs. Besant and others were interned and the whole country was thrown into unrest, and that the Indian National Congress should take immediate steps to send a good number of leaders to England to give evidence before the Joint Committee of both the Houses. It exhorts the Andhras also to bestir themselves and send their representatives to England to urge the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis in addition to the other national demands. ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st May 1919.

The publication of the Reform Bill.

68. Publishing an extract of a letter written by 'Quai Hai' to the *Madras Times*, recommending the grant of peerage to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the *Andhrapatrika*, observes :— The Anglo-Indian papers have begun to extol Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the skies for the unrest he has recently created in the Punjab. 'Quai Hai' in the *Madras Times* urges his claims for peerage. This will enable Sir Michael O'Dwyer to join the Sydenham clique soon. . . May his wish be realized ! ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras.

In praise of Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

Political Reforms.

69. Referring to the views of the Indo-British Association on the recommendations of the Southborough Committees, the Indian Budget discussion in the House of Commons, and the introduction of the Reform Bill, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd June, observes:—The cables received by the *Madras Times* show that only a few Parliament Members were present during the Budget discussion. It is regrettable that the British people should continue to be indifferent to Indian questions as before. Even at a time when the people of India are most anxious, it is not creditable that the Parliament does not do justice to them. The referring of the Reform Bill to a Joint Committee of the Houses of Parliament has, it is understood, caused disappointment to patriotic Indians in England. The same feeling prevails in India also. . . It is not known for what reason the budget discussion or the Reform Bill has not been communicated to India. Neither the British authorities nor Reuter seem to realize how anxious Indians will be, if they do not receive such important information promptly.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

The patriotism of Ravindra.

70. Referring to the Associated Press message announcing the renunciation of the title of Knighthood by Sir Ravindranath Tagore, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd June, writes under this heading:—. . . This message reflects the self-respect of Ravindra. The drastic measures adopted by the Punjab Government have caused disgust to many prominent men in the country. There is a rumour that they are the cause of Sir Sankaran Nayar's resignation. . . Great souls like Ravindra have nothing to lose in the absence of these titles, as their fame has already become world wide. But it behoves the British Government to ponder at length over those matters which have agitated even the minds of such saintly men. There is no good of brushing aside public opinion lightly. A proper inquiry in the matter should be held immediately, and the truth should be ascertained. Mr. Montagu will do well to understand now at least that a favourable atmosphere for reforms will be created only by abolishing the policy of repression and by conciliating the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

India and the Colonies.

71. Adverting to the speech of the Maharaja of Bikanir urging the need of maintaining harmonious relations between the Colonies and India, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd June, observes:—. . . We cannot believe that the position of Indians will be set right, until India gets proper self-government. It is only when they command respect in their own country that they can win due respect in foreign countries. If the Parliament grant the wishes of Indians without minding the disturbances in India, it may be hoped that the friendship between Indians and the people of the Colonies will be strengthened and that the power of the Empire also will become greater.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

The use of aeroplanes.

72. Referring to the statement of Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons that aeroplanes had to be used for military purposes and that he has not forbidden their use in future, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 2nd June, remarks:—. . . Indians have never expected such a reply from Mr. Montagu. This will dispel the hope that he will interfere with the actions of his subordinate officials. Who will, then, heed the cries of the people?

HINDU SUNDARI, Cocanada, May 1919.

Ancient Indian statesmanship and the present situation.

73. After describing the eminent state of the country and its people under Hindu kings such as Sri Rama, the *Hindu Sundari* for May says:—Indians who rose to eminence under such renowned *Maharajas* have to-day been made unfit for freedom. Ancient Indian histories which bear testimony to the capacity of the Indians to administer the country have been disregarded. What the Indian does for the freedom of his country is deemed to be seditious. The unanimous representations of the people are rejected. Drastic laws which are a hardship to the people are enacted without considering whether they are necessary or not. Indians who always try to become free from bonds are again caught in bonds. What is the cause of all this? The chief cause is the arbitrary rule of the Indians by people who are unacquainted with the genius of the Indians. The second reason is the want of sympathy for the aspirations of the Indians.

The first cause will not so much affect the Indians if the desires of the people be fulfilled. To the Indians the rulers are gods whoever they may be. Disgrace is worse than death to the Indians. Such disgrace has of late overtaken the Indians. It is the Rowlatt law. The Indians requested the rulers to repeal this disgraceful law. The rulers refused to do so, rejected the wishes of the people and put the Indians to greater shame. The Indians were disappointed, and riots prevailed. Disturbances came into being only after the law was enacted, and so the law appears to be the cause of the riots. The introduction of this law at a time when the country was peaceful and the people were filled with devotion to the country and disregard of public opinion have brought hardship to the country. We do not see the necessity of scratching the head with a firebrand (voluntarily causing trouble to oneself) when the country was peaceful. We do not see the necessity of introducing such horrible and cruel law at a time when the Indians manifested their loyalty by giving the rulers help in the war and in spite of the fact that the people requested the rulers not to enact the law. If this law opposed by the people had not been passed, there would have been no room for disturbances. The country will regain people if the rulers repeal the law in view of the loyalty of the people. There is no necessity for the martial law, for the death of people and for the extension of prisons. If there be one or two seditionists anywhere, the laws already existing will do. So it will be well for the rulers and the ruled to repeal the repressive laws. The many promises made to the Indians during the war have become a dead letter having been made just for the occasion. This is a great stain on the English statesmen who have vowed to establish the freedom of the world.

74. Under this heading the *Dharmasadhini*, of the 16th May, publishes an article from a correspondent which purports to be a confession by an English educated dancing girl. It describes how she was approached by her caste people to uphold their caste when social reformers began a campaign against it. The article contains the following:—"Our educated people submitted memorials to Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Governor requesting them not to attend the dancing performances of members of our caste. . . I first went to Calcutta, consulted some persons there and immediately proceeded to Simla. I had an interview with the Private Secretary to His Excellency for half an hour. . . When the Prince of Wales paid a visit to the town he not only examined the jewels of one of our caste-girls with pleasure but even purified her by touching her personally with his hand. . .

(KAMALAMBA.)"

Pankajakshi.

DHARMASADHINI, Cocanada, 16th May 1919.

75. In the course of its leader under this heading, the *Sudarsini*, of the 15th May, observes that the after-war problems for India are threefold—political, industrial and educational—and that the people must work hard for the satisfactory solution of these problems. With regard to industries, it says that Indians should learn to manufacture articles out of the raw produce of their country instead of sending it to foreign countries and depending upon others for finished articles, and should be able to lead happy and independent lives. With regard to education, it observes:—The education now given in English schools, is good for nothing, and saps the blood and flesh of students. Even graduates find it hard to make a living. Englishmen have found out the futility of their education and have reformed it; but the system of education in India has not been reformed. Useful education is given in German schools. There, they give technical and industrial education along with general education. . . It is such worthless system of English education that is turning out Indian youths into corpses.

The After-War Problems.

SUDARSINI, Narsapur, 15th May 1919.

76. Referring to the Afghan war, the *Sudarsini*, of the 15th May, observes that in view of all the modern instruments of war which the British Government possesses such as machine guns, motor cars, wireless messages and the aeroplanes which hurled bombs on the people in the Punjab, it will be impossible for the Amir to wage war against India and enter it, and that he will lose his subsidy as a result of his foolishness.

The Afghan mischief.

SUDARSINI, Narsapur, 15th May 1919.

Sudarsini, Narsapur, 15th May 1919.

77. A correspondent to the *Sudarsini*, of the 15th May, says:—Our Government have passed the Rowlatt Bill without caring for the opinion of the people, and examining the condition of the country with a keen eye. Hence the unrest of the country. It is true that some excited people have committed cruel acts in the North India. But it is not fair to attribute them to the vow of *Satyagraha*. To do so betrays want of farsightedness, for *Satyagraha* requires that no harm should be done to the life, honour and property of others. The order issued to Mr. Gandhi not to enter the Punjab has undoubtedly caused great regret to the people all over India and aggravated the unrest that already prevailed. The excited mob resorted to doing mischief. The Government officials began to prevent the cruelties of the people by opening fire on them and throwing bombs on them needlessly and improperly. It would have been better if, instead of drastic measures, the Government had adopted peaceful means. But they did not choose to do so. . . If it were known that four persons were conversing together at a place the military were ready to appear on the scene with murderous weapons. It was ordered that more than two persons should not walk together. No sticks should be had in hand. The restrictions are innumerable. There were arrests under the Defence of India Act and trials under the martial law. Executions, transportations, imprisonment for life, rigorous imprisonments were the sentences. . . The order of the Government of the Punjab that no newspaper should publish any information before it is examined by the Government is undoubtedly very severe. . . The Bombay Government ordered Mr. Horniman of the *Bombay Chronicle* to leave India for England. Though he was ill, the doctors certified in writing that he was well. . . The unrest in the Punjab was due to such temporary reasons as the arrest of leaders and not to *Satyagraha*. Some people are inspiring into the rulers the fear that there are Bolsheviks in India. India is loyal and there is no room for Bolshevism in it. The Government should not lend their ears to persuasive statements. May God grant that the rulers repeal the Rowlatt Act which is the root of the unrest of the country, hear public opinion, introduce liberal reforms into the system of government and give to the Indians self-government within the Empire.

Punjab disturbances.

Hitakarini, Ellore, 25th May 1919.

78. Referring to the report of the Reform Committees. the *Hitakarini*, of the 25th May, says:—It is the opinion of the Franchise Committee that those who are merely educated are unfit to vote unless they possess property qualification also. . . According to the estimate of the Government the average annual income of an Indian is Rs. 30. Under such circumstances those who pay a tax of Rs. 20 will be very small in number. If the amount is fixed at Rs. 10, the number of voters will increase and the poor will be represented. From the proposals of the Committee, it will appear that only the rich have the power of discretion. A man paying a tax of Rs. 20 is fit to vote though he may be uneducated, while a learned man not paying the tax is unfit. Learning also should be made a qualification to vote. The portion relating to the qualifications of voters in the report is very unsatisfactory. . . The object of the State Council is to introduce into it laws like the Rowlatt law, which are not supported by the people, and get them passed. . . The distribution of seats in the Provincial Legislative Councils is very satisfactory. But they also require some slight changes. It is to be regretted that not even one district in the Telugu country has been given the privilege of representation for towns. It will be well to give each set of three towns containing more than 40 thousand inhabitants each in the Telugu districts the privilege of returning one representative. . . We are at a loss to know why the landholders require separate representation. The objection made by the Government of India in this matter is quite reasonable. There is no meaning in allowing a separate representative for the University, as the number of voters will not be more than two hundred, and ordinarily a pleader will be returned. So it is untrue that University will be represented by an educational expert. If the educational bodies should be represented, teachers, we think, should be given the right to return two or three members to represent them separately. . . It is unnecessary that the non-Brahmans should demand separate representation. . . The people are under the impression that a foreign bureaucratic Government not

The Reform Committees.

responsible to the people is not wholly conducive to the well-being of the country. Under such circumstances, a leader will gain popularity, to whatever caste he may belong, if, instead of playing second fiddle to the Government, he supports the cause of the people fearlessly and without selfishness. We can emphatically assert that if all non-Brahman leaders undertake to do so, success will be theirs though there may be any number of patriotic Brahmans. We cannot acquiesce in the suggestion made by the Government of India to satisfy the non-Brahmans. Their suggestion involves the policy of taking back with the left hand what has been given by the right. It is not right to give the right to vote and say at the same time that the members returned should belong to a particular class. This is not characteristic of democracy. We opine that the report of the Southborough Committee in this respect is good. . . The Government will nominate two members to represent the depressed classes. This is not the right way of advancing their interests. They should be enabled to elect their own representatives by reducing in their case the qualification of voters. When qualified members cannot be had among the depressed classes, the election of one belonging to another class, who would work for them, should not be objected to. The Government of India wrote that they should have six representatives. Whether the number is six or three, we submit that the representatives of the depressed classes should be elected as the representatives of the other classes.

79. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 4th June, writes:—Mr. Kalainath Roy, the editor of the *Tribune*, has been tried under the Martial Law Ordinance and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000. He is renowned for his sincerity. Refusal of admission into the Punjab to those lawyers whom he wanted to defend him has caused a great blot on British justice. We hope that the Government will reconsider his case at least on this ground and reduce the punishment inflicted on him.

The editor of the *Tribune*.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 4th June 1919.

80. Commenting on the remarks of Sir Sankaran Nayar, regarding the poverty of India, in his speech at the Conference of Medical and Sanitary officers held at Simla on the 23rd May, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 30th May, writes:—There is not a shadow of exaggeration in those words. We can know what a vivid picture of Indian poverty must have been in his mind when he made these bold remarks. Several eminent authorities on political economy have stated that there are ever so many people in our country who cannot find even one meal a day. Even Lord Curzon has admitted that the average annual income of an Indian is about Rs. 30. Numerous people are in extreme misery owing to untimely rains and the ravages of disease such as malaria. The cause of all this is their perpetual poverty.

The poverty of India.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 30th May 1919.

81. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 4th June, writes:—Ruling powers, like families, have a limit to their existence. Just as some families remain in a prosperous condition under some masters and sink into a degraded condition during the time of their children or grand-children, a country may be prosperous under some rulers and then sink into insignificance. The German Empire reached the zenith of its prosperity during the reign of Wilhelm II and from there its downfall has commenced. Similarly the British and the French Kingdoms have reached the zenith and in the absence of far-seeing statesmen to guide them, these countries will have their fall.

The decline of empires.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 4th June 1919.

82. The *Kantheerava*, of the 3rd June, writes:—Unfortunately for us, the Madras Government seems to have been unwilling to concede all these reforms to Indians. Even the request of Lord Southborough to have a list of persons who paid assessment of rupees ten, seems to have been acceded to only after some delay, because the members of the civil service were secretly busy with the preparation of their memorandum. The Madras Government themselves have now informed us that this list was prepared as a result of pressure from the Government of India. The non-Brahmans, who were needlessly agitating, found that it would not be easy to

The Reform scheme.

KANTHEERAVA, Mangalore, 3rd June 1919.

give satisfactory replies to the difficult questions put to them and escaped the task of acquainting the committee with their views and aspirations. Hence we have to blame our evil fate if our Government have not helped the committee with their suggestions when they were holding inquiries in this Presidency.

MALABAR ISLAM, Cochin. 23rd May 1919.

Unrest in India.

83. A correspondent of the *Malabar Islam*, of the 23rd May, observes:—This Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who is now known as the strong Governor of India, is demonstrating a very strong policy in the Punjab. Indians and especially the Punjabis can never forget what it is that compelled this brave Governor to depart from the (time honoured) British policy that it is better to try tactful reconciliation and reformation than destroy the wicked, and to introduce the most heartless martial law and other terrible laws thereby throwing the natives into a state of amazement and despair. What is it? Nothing but the introduction of the Rowlatt Act known as the Black Bill. It has already put the black coat on several people. The most surprising thing is that some people are trying to introduce it in the school syllabus. We are of opinion that it will be one degree better if along with the teaching of the Bill, pupils will also be taught the adverse occurrences that attended the introduction of the new law. But we are not prepared to adopt *Satyagraha* or anything else like it to achieve this desire of ours.

MALABAR ISLAM, Cochin, 23rd May 1919.

The Afghan War.

84. Turning to the Afghan topic, the same correspondent to the *Malabar Islam*, of the 23rd May, says:—These Afghans, who have not even a path to walk along, want to try odds against mighty men like Rakshasas, who, flushed with victory, fly about in the air!

DHARMA DOOTAN, Quilon, March—April 1919. (Meenam 1094 M.E.)

The *Satyagraha* movement.

85. In the course of an article on "*Satyagraha* movement," the *Dharma Dootan** of Meenam 1094 M.E. (March-April), says:—It cannot but be said that the decision of the Government of India to pass the exceedingly harsh law (Rowlatt Bill) on the ground that certain reasons existed in the past, was altogether inopportune at a time when the Europeans, thoroughly satisfied with the loyalty of the Indians during the war, were beginning to admit to some extent the claim for self-government. Mr. Blackie says, "It is those administrators that misuse their power, that create dissensions in the country." It is those administrators that misused their authority, that created anarchists in British India. It is those administrators that misused their authority that encouraged the noble-hearted Mahatma Gandhi to oppose the very powerful British administration. But the *Satyagraha* movement took a peculiar turn and produced some sad consequences, which Mahatma Gandhi could not in his wildest dreams have foreseen. It is certain that ordinary men are not able to predict where and how all this will end.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 28th May 1919.

The *Hindu* security.

86. Adverting to the taking of security from "the *Hindu*", a note in the *Malayali*, of the 28th May, remarks:—The Government following the policy of nipping in the bud the young sprout of freedom, are persecuting several Indian papers. . . The policy followed by the British Government to crush newspapers in this way will seem disgraceful even to the Germans. Why look for justice or righteousness in a land where one cannot without fear speak or write the truth?

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 26th May 1919.

Writing in English on the same subject, the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 26th May, says:—In our opinion, no independent, loyal and law-abiding citizen of the free British Empire will consider that the statements in those articles exceed the limits of bare facts and of legitimate and well informed criticism. . . The Madras Government perched on the Blue hills of Ootacamund were not in a better position to form an opinion on Punjab affairs and had no higher interests to subserve than journalists who are imbued with a true love of their own country toiling on the plains and deriving information from various sources. We are sorry being strongly of opinion that this hasty and unwise action of the Madras Government at this critical time is such a violent stretch of the arbitrary powers conferred by the Act, as to extinguish even honest, dignified and independent journalism—Indian, we mean—in this country. . . We shall only hope that this will be the last of His Excellency's unpopular measures in Madras.

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* Received on 2nd June 1919.

87. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 24th May, writes:—Martial Law Order No. 53 has just been issued by Colonel Frank Johnson announcing that Mussalmans will have free access to the mosque from the 20th May from which date it will be in their possession as before.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 24th May 1919.

The handing over of the Budshahi mosque.

This really is very good news. What is the remedy for the apprehension, that the mosque is now under Martial law and the Colonel Sahib may open it when he pleases and close it again when he chooses? Military control of this kind over mosques is absolutely disagreeable and it is the duty of the Government of India to maintain the sanctity and freedom of mosques.

88. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 27th May, in a leader on the subject writes:—Sometimes permanent and acting appointments of the Government appear to be so devoid of ordinary logic that it is difficult to observe silence at their expediency. Recently Mr. Armitage, the Commissioner of Police, Madras, has taken a month's leave and from the Government Order published at Ootacamund on the 26th May 1919, it appears that Diwan Bahadur Parankusam Nayudu, Deputy Commissioner of Police, has been made the Acting Commissioner. Mr. Armitage is a very capable and sympathetic officer, and he is so popular in the city that every one trusts him, and no voice has ever been raised against him. Mr. Armitage is not only a Police Officer, but also a lover of freedom and a politician, and it is owing to his political knowledge alone that no crisis or difficult situation, affecting the public peace has occurred. On the last occasion of looting, if Mr. Armitage had not acted in a sympathetic and conciliatory manner, a very critical situation might have been created. Again during the strike, his popularity alone saved the Government much anxiety. It is uncertain whether this excellent management will be maintained during his short leave of absence. Mr. Armitage's courtesy, lofty character, foresight and sympathy are things not easily forgotten. The extent to which Mr. Armitage has made the British character popular among the public, we are sure, no other officer could have succeeded in doing.

Qaumi Report, Madras. 27th May 1919.

Some Government appointments.

An Indian has, however, been appointed in his place, but we are surprised as to why a Muhammadan officer has been overlooked in this arrangement. Prior to this, when the Assistant Commissioner's post fell vacant and a Deputy Commissioner's post has been vacated, non-Muslims filled them, and even now, when the Commissioner's seat has fallen vacant, a Muhammadan has not been appointed to occupy it. There is no dearth of Mussalmans in the Police Department. There are men like Khan Sahib Muhammad Abdul Karim Sahib, Farukhi, and others, who are efficient and experienced officers, especially, Mr. Farukhi has great influence with Mussalmans. We know that the peace and tranquility maintained from the beginning of the war among the Muhammadans of Southern India, was due to his benevolent disposition and foresight. It is true that we do not see eye to eye with him in certain matters.

A similar thing has happened in the Corporation also. Recently when Mr. Molony went on leave, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Bazlullah Sahib, Revenue Officer, was appointed to act in his place, but immediately it turned out that Mr. Berkett had been sent for and the Khan Bahadur acting appointment ceased. We do not know what expediency underlies all this, or why Muhammadan officers are being deprived of their rights. When Hindus and Muhammadans are Government employees, they are both entitled to equal privileges, and when both communities are regarded equal in the eyes of the Government, it is not understood why members of one community alone are given preference over those of the other and why the principle of equal distribution is ignored. This mistake has been continually made since the time of Sir Arthur Lawley. In the Government Council three Hindus have successively been appointed, although Mr. Aziz-ud-din was an elegible candidate. He was not shown the consideration due, and after a long period he has been made a Member of the Board of Revenue. By now he should have become a Member of the Executive Council of the Government.

The Government is probably unaware of the effect that such little things produce on the public minds. Possibly the Government may feel it and deserving persons may be indifferent about it, but we are better acquainted with the public

sentiments in the matter. We boldly repesent that it is necessary to appreciate the worth of Mussalman officers.

III.—Legislation.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 26th May 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

89. The *Desabhaktan* of the 26th May, reproduces in Tamil a circular letter issued by the National Council for Civil Liberties in London on the 16th April 1919 to the British public, stating that the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and the members of Parliament should be addressed to request the Crown to exercise its right of veto in regard to the Rowlatt Legislation.

Hitakarini, Ellore, 25th May 1919.

The Rowlatt Law.

The *Hitakarini*, of the 25th May, also publishes in Telugu the gist of the letter of Mr. Edgar Wallace to the *Daily Herald*, the letter of Doctor Rutherford to the *Daily News* and that of Bernard Houghton to the *Daily News* in which they express themselves against the Rowlatt law.

Hitakarini, Ellore, 25th May 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Bill.

90. *Hitakarini*, of the 25th May, publishes in Telugu the small leaderette in *New India*, of the 23rd May, under the heading *Satyagraha* against Mr. Patel's Bill.

Hitakarini, Ellore, 25th May 1919.

Repressive Laws.

91. The *Hitakarini*, of the 25th May, gives a Telugu version of the appeal of the Labour Party to the people of England to help it in its endeavour to see to the repeal of repressive laws in India and to the grant of self-government to the Indians. It contains:—It does not appear that our countrymen have realized that such arbitrary methods in India will end in danger to the lives of thousands of Englishmen, women and children.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 26th May 1919.

The election of Muhammadans in future.

92. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 26th May, commenting on the Indian estimate note on the Southborough Committee's report on the Reform Scheme, observes:—The South Indian note published in the Reform Committee report merits attention. The Madras council will consist of nine non-Muslims and two Mussalmans of the city and fifty-two non-Mussalmans and eleven Mussalmans from the districts. This estimate shows that two Mussalmans have been allowed for the city to the Madras council but from the description it appears that these two have been separated, one of whom will be elected from the City of Madras, and the other from Madura, Trichinopoly and Srirangam.

As regards votes it has been pointed out in the report that there will be two thousand votes to elect two Muhammadans and altogether twenty-three thousand Mussalmans can vote for the election of eleven Mussalmans from the districts.

From this decision it appears that the number of members has been fixed with regard to population. For example, Madras and Tanjore, each will elect a member and they will have equal right of representations. But against Tanjore alone Madura and Trichinopoly will conjointly have to elect one member. As regards the division of Muhammadans the part taken by Malabar and South Kanara which are given the right to elect three members, is commendable.

Although the distribution is very satisfactory from geographical point of view but who will say that geographical divisions are suitable with reference to education and training.

In our opinion this division is very unsatisfactory, but we ourselves are responsible for it. We shall have to elect to the council chiefly those persons who will say yes, observe silence or frequently absent themselves, or imperiously command the community.

IV.—Native States.

Samadarsi, Trivandrum, 31st May 1919.

Travancore Diwanship and administration.

93. The *Samadarsi*, of 31st May, as well as other Travancore papers is glad that the rumour of Diwan Bahadur Mr. Krishnan Nayar's impending retirement from the Diwanship of Travancore is now known to be quite unfounded. It is glad that what looked like the mountain has vanished like mist. It calls the attention of the Diwan, however, to three crying evils in the administration

namely, (1) the unorganized condition of the public service in Travancore, (2) the inordinate freedom and excesses of officialdom, and (3) the inordinate wastage of public funds.

94. Referring to the announcement made by Mr. Vijayaraghava Achariyar, Diwan of Cochin, in his presidential address to the Pulaya Congress recently held at Tripunittura, that in future they should consider themselves free from the trammels of *Theendal* (distance pollution) and should use all thoroughfares as freely as any others, the same paper considers the action of the Diwan to be illadvised and improper. It is risky to interfere in questions of caste and social customs, and such action, in so far as it frees some people from the bonds of custom while others are still bound by them, is fraught with mischief to the people at large and to the welfare of the State.

Theendal in the Cochin State.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 31st May 1919.

V.—PROSPECTS OF THE CROPS AND THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

95. The *Vartakamitran*, of the 1st May, writes:—The price of foodstuffs has been rising high for the last ten years in our country and considering the present condition, there is no room to think that it will go down; for the produce is not proportionate to the increase in the population. Unless measures are adopted to increase the quantity of foodstuffs produced, famine will come to stay in the country. A committee appointed to inquire into the economic condition of India recommended three irrigation projects at a cost of about 36 crores of rupees, which would have proved profitable to the Government and also warded off famine. These projects are (1) the Tungabhadra project, (2) the Kistna project and (3) the Cauveri project. If the Government had spent the required money on these projects, there will be no room for famine in Southern India. But the Tungabhadra project was given up as an Engineer said that it entailed only earthwork and the Cauveri project was pronounced to be a useless one as the Kannambadi anicut was being built. The reason for the Kistna project having been dropped is not known. It should also be due only to an economic ground. As the Mysore Government had entered into an agreement with the Madras Government for building the Kannambadi anicut, even before the survey operations connected with the Cauveri project which cost three lakhs of rupees were commenced, the Government should have known about it previously. It cannot be said that the Government have no funds. About thirty-six crores of rupees have been set apart this year for railways. If this money is spent on irrigation works, it will be profitable both to the Government and the people; for every pie that is spent on these projects will go to the Indian coolies. Employing 75,000 coolies daily, it will take 20 to 25 years for them to be completed. As so many people will secure a living, will there be famine in the country? And when the works are completed, fresh lands will come under cultivation in several places as a result of water convenience. But the improvement of railways is in many ways a loss to the Indians. As every article connected with the railways has to be got from England, the major portion of the money spent therefor goes out to England. Even then, as the owners of these railway companies are Europeans, the profits too find their way to the pockets of foreigners. The profit which the Government and the people get from this is therefore very trivial. Moreover it is beyond doubt that, by improving the railways, foreign goods will circulate freely in the country and ruin the few industries that are at present in existence. When the economic condition of India is considered, it has to be stated that poverty has come to stay in the country only by the improvement of railways beyond its need. It is only the expenditure incurred by the Government on improving the irrigational facilities that we will deem to be incurred in the interests of the Indians. In the budget of this year, it looks as if all profitable items appear to have been neglected, while all items which will impoverish the country have been given prominence and we have to say that this kind of financial administration does not indicate farsightedness and a proper knowledge of economics by those at the head.

Famine relief.

VARTAMANIVRAN, Tanjore, 1st May 1919.

Errata.

Report No. 19.

Page 716, line 45 *for* "to Sir" *read* "to help Sir".

Report No. 21.

Pages 781, 782, paragraphs 5, 6 and 8 *for* "India Desantri" occurring in the margin *read* "Indian Emigrant".

Pages 781, 782, *for* "India Desantri" occurring in the body of paragraphs 5 and 8 and "the India Desantri" occurring in the body of paragraph 6 *read* "the Indian Emigrant".

Page 784, paragraph 16, line 7, *for* 'The subject' *read* 'On the subject'.
„ 785 „ 20 „ 17, *for* 'increase' *read* 'an increase'.
„ 786 „ 20 „ 7, *for* 'periceve' *read* 'perceive'.

[Issued, the 11th June 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 24 of 1919.

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 14th June 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

1. *New India*, of the 13th June, states:—"One of the paradoxes of modern civilisation is the role of superiority assumed by the Western Nations whenever they are brought into touch with the East. . . It is supposed that modern civilisation as represented by these nations is on a higher level than that of the East, and that eastern barbarians have to be educated and nurtured into a civilised state out of their ordinary barbaric condition. This attitude has especially marked the dealings of the Western Nations with China. . . We publish elsewhere the demands which may be made by China at the Peace Conference, drafted according to counsels of moderation, which will prove acceptable to most of the Chinese, although they will not be the full expression of China's demands as a free Nation. The only thing which China would appear to claim is the removal of the very great injustices from which it is suffering at the hands of foreign 'civilised' Nations. Modern civilisation has expressed itself in China as a policy of exploitation and grab, without any leavening of higher and nobler principles. If real civilisation is to succeed we ought to get rid of these phenomena which brand humanity as by no means so civilised as it sees itself to be."

Eastern nations and the Peace Conference.

New India, Madras, 13th June 1918.

II.—Home Administration.

(b) *Courts.*

2. In an article under the heading "Astounding 'Justice'", the *Nationalist*, for the week ending 8th June, says:—"On the eve of Reforms that are being hatched in the House of Commons to give us the power to rule ourselves, we are having in India a series of the most astounding enunciations of principles of jurisprudence. We shall not in this article concern ourselves with the exceptional cases of loot and murder and arson under Martial Law in Punjab . . We are more concerned with the way in which 'justice' is being shamed in ordinary cases. In the case of Mr. Kalinath Roy, the Editor of the *Tribune*, we saw how Counsel of his choice was denied and 'justice' tainted at the very fount. The grounds on which he has been awarded two years of rigorous imprisonment are more amazing still. . . In the 'New call' case in which Messrs. Durgadas B. Adwani and H. D. Mariwalla were both sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment the judgment delivered by a Civil Judge is still more astounding. . . India must thank Mr. Pope and the commission that tried Mr. Kalinath Roy for the severe condemnation of the Rowlatt Act they have thus unconsciously afforded. We hope higher tribunals will save British justice from the creatures of the interested officialdom of the country.

Trials for sedition.

Nationalist, Madras, 8th June 1918.

(k) *General.*

3. The *Wednesday Review*, of the 4th June, writes:—"Let us take the diarchy proposal. From the very beginning the authors of the joint-report have taken altogether a wrong view of the conditions which are necessary to make the diarchy form of Government possible in this country. They have not been content with formulating their view of it, but have taken every conceivable opportunity to press it on others and have gone the length of challenging all and sundry to produce an alternative. When that is the position taken by the Viceroy, it is impossible to expect that the Local Governments whose opinions were invited on the proposals contained in the joint-report, and whose opinion, as we see from the despatch, has been treated

The Reform Proposals.

Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly, 4th June 1918.

with scant consideration, could make a successful stand against the personal views of the Viceroy in the matter, supported as he is, by his colleagues. Still it is creditable to the Local Governments that they have not refrained from expressing their dissent, and, as they happen to know more of Indian conditions than the Viceroy or the Secretary of State can claim to, we trust that the Select Committee of Parliament will see their way to treating their views with more consideration. . . Having set at nought the considered opinion of the responsible Local Governments, they are at some pains to find out if there is any support to their proposals from Indian leaders. In this matter. the Government of India have perforce to draw largely on their imagination. There is no good ground for their belief that the Moderates accept the principle of dualism in Government. We wonder who these Moderates can be, and surely they cannot be of those who have a correct appreciation of the realities of the situation. The Government of India confess 'we feel that we are moving with a spirit which is stronger than our calculations, and we accept whatever lies ahead'. There is no doubt that their calculations are woefully faulty and on such faulty calculations they seek to raise a new political superstructure. It is not consoling to the people of India to be told by Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues that they will accept whatever lies ahead. It is not these who will suffer by the trouble that lies ahead, by imperfectly conceived and hastily carried out administrative changes but the great masses of the population of India who know nothing of the scheme of reform and whose weal or woe has not, so far as we can see, been a determining factor in its formulation."

NATIONALIST, Madras, 8th June 1919.

Doctor Rabindranath Tagore.

4. The *Nationalist*, for the week ending 8th June, publishes Sir Rabindranath Tagore's letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, under the heading, "Rabindro resigns knighthood to save glaring shame" and comments as follows:—"We cordially welcome Rabindranath back to the community of untitled folks. He has left the company of King-made knights and joined that of nature's knights. the enemies of oppression and champions of the weak and downtrodden. How could he wear the tardy decorations of a Government whose conduct has been, to say the least, unknightly? Plain Rabindranath is dearer to the country than Sir Rabindranath. His letter to the Viceroy is aglow with passionate resentment of injustice and intense sympathy for the suffering people. The people of India are striken dumb with terror and their voice is mute with anguish. But who can silence the mighty voice of the poet? The prisoner's cell has no terrors for him and the cob-webs of a man-made laws cannot chain his dauntless soul. Rabindra's words awake a responsive echo in the heart of every Indian."

NATIONALIST, Madras, 8th June 1919.

Imperial Preference.

5. The *Nationalist*, for the week ending 8th June, observes:—"Is our fiscal independence to be the absolute independence of the bureaucratic Government of India to arrange India's 'economics' as it chooses. If that is the meaning of fiscal independence for India we would rather not have it, we would rather be under fiscal slavery to the British democracy than be free under the thumb of Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, especially at a time when Imperial Preference would make these greater kith and kin of the British and Colonial Capitalists. Though we are thankful to Mr. Montagu for championing our cause in the colonies by repeatedly demanding better treatment in the colonies for Indians and appealing to the dominions on our behalf we yet feel that undeveloped and unorganised as our labour conditions are, we shall be much worse under Imperial preference until we have real power in spite of all pious hopes of Mr. Montagu. Therefore till we get Home Rule our cry shall always be 'save us from Imperial preference.' When that is achieved we shall ever support Imperial preference as the colonies now do."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 10th June 1919.

India and the Peace Conference.

6. *New India*, of 10th June, states:—"India must carefully examine the Peace terms, remembering that they affect not only the West, but the whole world, and try to discover whether or not they involve the crippling of Germany. Safeguards there must be, and justice demands that Germany must pay for as much of the colossal damage as she reasonably can, but not at the cost of preventible misery to thousands of her inhabitants for years and years to come, not at the cost of the attempted destruction of what cannot be destroyed—the Spirit, the Soul of a Nation."

7. Referring to His Excellency the Governor's reply to the Madras Corporation address, the *Hindu*, of the 11th June, remarks:—"In his first public utterance our Governor has once again manifested his strong passion for co-operation. It is well known that his views on reforms are of the broadest and that he holds equally definite views on the proper segregation of the sheep from the goats. As we have before pointed out there is a danger in the kind of co-operation that Lord Willingdon appeals for. If co-operation means an inevitation to share his views and peculiar courses of actions we doubt that the bargain would be too one-sided. There is no hint of this, to be fair, in his speech to the Corporation which was a little suggestive of too frequent recourse to copy-book maxims. . . We are charmed with the picture conjured up by His Excellency of the lion and the lamb co-operating to improve the lot of humanity. We should be more charmed if the co-operation were more spontaneous or if behind it the apprehension did not lurk that differences of opinion may lead to loss of caste with the more powerful co-worker. Lord Willingdon's earliest executive acts in this Presidency and the lecture that he appears to have read the Nationalist editors—our Anglo-Indian contemporaries are like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion—makes one seriously to question if his brand of co-operation makes sufficient allowances for honest differences of opinion on questions of policy or criticism based on information, perhaps often imperfect but honest and justified on the available facts."

Co-operation and criticism.

Hindu, Madras, 11th June 1919.

8. *United India and Indian States*, of 11th June, observes:—"It was of course not worldly wisdom to expect much from a Government which so soon after a war of liberation thought nothing of placing a sort of Indian Defence Act, our Indian D.O.R.A., permanently on the Statute Book. The events which have followed steadily on that event mark the onward march of the policy of distrust of the people, the policy of repression, as an answer to acute political discontent. Is it worth while to recapitulate the events of the last few weeks in India? They bring to the cheeks of all Indians the burning blush of humiliation: our indignation is impotent, but the last few weeks have witnessed a change in the Indian political situation which must be our consolation in the coming trials of strength between reactionary and progressive forces. There are now no parties in India on the question of the situation in the Punjab. All of us—Congressmen, Moderates and Extremists—all feel that the trouble in the Punjab was due more to Sir Michael O'Dwyer than to Mr. Gandhi or any other Indian politician. All of us, of whatever party, are now quite agreed that the official outburst of repression in the Punjab was as mad as the non official outburst of vandalism which proceeded it. All of us urge an inquiry into the recent happenings: we challengingly state that the result of that inquiry will be as humiliating to the Government as to the people."

The Indian Reforms Bill.

United India and Indian States, Madras, 11th June 1919.

9. Referring to the Privy Council judgment on the appeal of Mrs. Besant *New India*, of the 12th June, writes:—"It now appears that the liberty of a British subject of His Majesty and that of an Indian subject of His Majesty are two totally different things, an amazing declaration by the Empire's highest, and final, Court of Appeal. The different circumstances obtaining in India from those existing in Great Britain apparently involve a definite modification of the position of the subject living in this country. And the practical result is that 'the want of any direct relation or responsibility on the part of the Governors to the governed' gives an unrestrained licence to our rulers to pass any Act they please, no matter how much it infringes upon those traditional liberties which we have thought, at least in theory, bound up inseparably in the term 'citizen of the British Empire'.

But the judgment of the Privy Council finally disposes of this illusion even in theory—in fact, of course, it has long ceased to be an illusion. And, as our correspondent says: 'the position in India is that a Legislative body created by the King in Parliament to legislate for India has *uncontrolled* power to make Statutes for the Indian which would not be tolerated in Great Britain'."

The Privy Council and liberty of Indian subjects.

New India, Madras, 12th June 1919.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

Indian Emigrant, Madras, 29th May 1919.

The Indians in South Africa.

10. The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 29th May, writes:—The hardships of the Indians in South Africa have not yet disappeared. Though the law there precluded the Indians from acquiring separate sites and doing business and from living there permanently, another law permitted two or more persons forming limited companies and acquiring sites and doing business. According to the latter law, the Indians joined together and began to do business; thus they have invested money by lakhs in trade there. But now the Europeans are, with the aid of a hitherto neglected section of an old enactment, contemplating the complete destruction of the trade of the Indians. This question is now under discussion in the South African Parliament. This is a very good reward indeed for the blood freely shed by our plain Indian brethren in the recent war!

Swadesamitran, Madras, 6th June 1919.

The condition of Egypt.

11. Referring to the observation made by the Right Hon'ble Mr. J. M. Robertson in the *Contemporary Review* to the effect that the insulting attitude of the British troops in Egypt towards the natives of the place is the immediate cause of rioting there, and that the treatment accorded by the ruling race to the ruled under the impression that the former are superior to the latter, afflicts the people greatly and creates discontent in them, and remarking that this difficulty prevails both in Egypt and India, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 6th June, writes:--If the people demand a share in the administration, they are told that they are not fit for it. If for making them fit, great men come forward with certain suggestions, the executive authorities do not carry them out properly. Hence it is easy for them to say for any length of time that the people are not fit. Mr. Robertson observes that, as in England the people have political freedom, they can express their discontent towards the Government when they elect members for the Parliament, whereas the people in Egypt have not this right and unrest crops up there in consequence. We trust the British statesmen will settle the question of Egypt in a liberal spirit, taking into consideration the trend of the times and views such as self-determination that are spread far and wide.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 9th June 1919.

War.

12. In view of the possibility of a resumption of war in case the Germans do not accept the peace terms, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 9th June, reviews the military situation of the Allies and the enemy and says:—The Allies are still the strongest both on the land and the sea. The military force of America has not yet been largely spent. The British are still adding to their armies. The Germans, on the other hand, have lost their social as well as their military force, and their country is a hot-bed of internal dissentions. When once it is ascertained that there can be no peace, the Allies will march their armies against Germany and blockade the seas once again. It remains to be seen whether the blockade will this time be successful. It is said that Sweden and Denmark have refused to co-operate in the matter. . . Neutral countries cannot afford to treat with disregard Britain which owns an unrivalled navy, and big States of America, France, Italy, Japan, etc. The decline of Bolshevism is also a favourable sign. The union of the Germans with Bolsheviks cannot be an obstacle to the victory of the Allies. The Afghan trouble may now be considered to have ended. The Allies should now settle their differences and help to restore peace on the earth. If the proposals of the League of Nations regarding the problem of strikes are not soon put into practice, Bolshevism being encouraged may bring trouble to the allied powers. When there are indications of war breaking out again, it is the duty of the Government to try to satisfy workmen. There are certain internal problems requiring solution in

the allied States. If the principles for the establishment of which the Allies are fighting against the enemy are established by them permanently in their own countries, the world can roll in happiness.

13. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th June, reports that the Maharajas of Mysore, Sikkim and Travancore have given assurance of safety by offering their help to the British in connexion with the Afghan war.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th June 1919.

The Afghan war.

Referring to the Afghan war, the *Ravi*, of the 22nd May, says:—We are of opinion that the practice of paying a subsidy to the Amir is not good. The Amir and his subjects may form the mistaken impression that the British are courting the friendship of Afghanistan at any price, and are fearing the probable results of the Afghan war. Without giving the Amir any money, the British should make him understand that alliance between India and Afghanistan is conducive to the welfare of Afghanistan itself. . . We trust that the Government of India will not make peace with the *Amir* except on the condition that he will never more unsheathe his sword against India.

RAVI, Cocanada, 22nd May 1919.

The Afghan war.

14. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 2nd June, in a leader on the subject writes:—The hope, that the League will do away with the avarice and greed of nations and that its mere existence will make people virtuous and unselfish, is really a species of madness. The advance and progress made in science loudly proclaim that in the future peace and tranquility will be easily destroyed.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

The truth about the League of Nations.

15. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 2nd June, in an article on the marginally-noted subject observes:—A gentleman inquires as to whether or no the Peace Conference will grant independence to the Arabs and whose possessions will the Holy Places Mecca and Medina be. The Editor in reply says he does not understand the first part of this question. If what is required thereby is information as to whether a separate Arab Kingdom will be established, we answer that the matter is shrouded in mystery. Nobody knows whether the rule of the King of the Hedjaz will be maintained. The question as to their independence does not yet call solution. If the Arabs are to be granted independence as a nation, the Arabs of Basra, Mesopotamia Damascus, Syria, Tunis, Tripoli and Morocco will have to be given their independence to and made separate States; because all these are Arab territories which will not recognise the Sharif of Mecca as King of Arabia. As to the late Sharif we very much doubt whether the independent States of Yemen and Najd will recognise him as their head. Possibly the rule of the late Sharif over the Arabs of the Hedjaz may be recognized, but the question is: will the Arab nation consequently become independent? So far as Basra and Mesopotamia are concerned, no ruler has been appointed. Likewise the question of Arab rule has not been raised in Syria and Damascus. While this is the case, it is madness to dream of the independence of the Arabs. So far as Mecca and Medina are concerned, we cannot say more than this that these places together with the other Holy Places will be in the possession of the King who will be the Khalifa. These Holy Places cannot be separated from the Khalifate nor can any Mussalman agree that any person whether an Arab or a Turk should rule in Mecca and Medina. The late Sharif assumed the title of the King of the Hedjaz. This is not permitted in the Sacred Law nor did the followers of the Prophet allow this at any time. Even the Turkish Sultan in spite of the fact he was called the Khalifa of the Muslims was regarded only as the servant of the Holy Houses and no Sultan ever entertained the idea of ruling in Mecca and Medina. "When infidelity arises from the Kāba itself, whither shall we seek for Islam."

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 2nd June 1919.

Independence of the Arabs.

16. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 6th June, refers to Mr. Montagu's speech as regards the Khalifate and the Holy Places, and says:—We have great confidence in the Secretary of State's words and deeds. Now we can rest assured of continuing in a very satisfactory condition. The pledge, given with reference to the safeguard of the Holy Places and maintenance of the Islamic Khalifate, has prevented Muslim aspirations from blooming forth before their time.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 6th June 1919.

Muhammadans and peace.

Raw, inexperienced and subservient men, who had raised vain clamours like young importunate beggars, will have to hold their place as the mendicants are obliged to do at the doors of the niggardly. We have often emphasised the fact that Great Britain will never agree to any proposal calculated to wound the feelings of Muhammadans. She has the fullest knowledge of the Muhammadan loyalty. The Government of India are also aware that genuine Muhammadans will never allow their brows to be marked with the black line of *Satyagraha* servitude. If, in spite of all this, Muhammadans entertain such doubtful notions in their minds, it will be a sign of their shortsightedness.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 7th June 1919.

Turkey and the Peace terms.

17. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 7th June, referring to a Simla telegram dated the 5th June published by the Government of India stating that the peace terms have not yet been sent to Turkey, observes:—The news is to a certain extent satisfactory. From this it appears that the Turkish peace terms are being discussed by the Allies Council, and apparently the latter has not yet arrived at a definite decision on the subject.

Although it may not be premature to conjecture as to what those terms will be, and whether the aspirations of the Muslim world be taken into account, but it is extremely difficult to imagine what shape they will take. We have already given our opinion on that portion of Mr. Montagu's speech which relates to this question. Although he does not state explicitly what the peace terms are but there is a hint that Muhammadan aspirations will not be sacrificed. No more pleasing announcement could be made to the Islamic World than this and we shall anxiously await the conditions. We hope the fruit of our anxieties will not prove bitter or disagreeable. Possibly some European politicians may not understand the real aspirations of Muhammadans but their ignorance does not detract from the importance of the question. Inasmuch as they have taken up this question they will be responsible for the result.

II.—Home Administration.

(*d*) *Education.*

Desabhaktan, Madras, 3rd June 1919.

Elementary school-teachers.

18. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd June, writes:—Generally, the lot of elementary school-teachers in India is a hard one. We have oftentimes apprised the Government of the fact that the pay of those teachers is inadequate. According to a recent order of the Local Government these teachers would, from the 1st April 1919, receive Rs. 12 and Rs. 15 per mensem respectively, according as they are employed in boys' or girls' schools. But the question is whether these teachers can live even with this pay?

Desabhaktan, Madras, 4th June 1919.

Tamil and the Madras University.

19. Quoting the opinion of a professor in England that the Indians distinguish themselves only in the western languages and sciences, while they rarely take any University degrees in the vernaculars and also extracts from resolutions passed at many conferences to the effect that subjects should be specialised only in the college classes and not in the lower ones, that the progress of a student should be judged not by his passing in every subject in an examination but from his having had sufficient training in schools and that the students should choose that subject for the University course in which they have attained the highest degree of efficiency, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th June, observes:—Each of the above suggestions is fit to be followed in India, but not one of them is. Though education is the only thing indispensable for the progress of a country and primary attention should therefore be paid to it, the Government of India deem it to be the least important subject. The methods adopted by the Universities in the matter of education only impede its progress. This truth will be patent to those who compare the methods of the Indian Universities with those of the western ones. The system obtaining in the Indian Universities is harder than that obtaining in any university in the world. Coming to the Madras University, which has won the name of being the most efficient of all the Indian Universities, its efficiency consists only in ruining the students as much as possible. The University authorities are under the impression that the larger the number of failures in the examinations, the greater will be their efficiency, and the

vernacular examiners specially are strongly impressed with this belief. Though the Madras University made a show, in the beginning, of supporting the vernaculars, they neglected them for some time in the middle. It is only owing to the herculean efforts of some that the vernaculars have again been introduced as separate subjects in the college classes. Among the South Indian vernaculars, Tamil is the most unfortunate as far as the University is concerned. Only few among the pandits in the colleges are well versed in Tamil literature, while others have only an imperfect knowledge of it and hold their positions only on account of their having learnt English. This is one of the reasons why students in college classes do not read Tamil with zeal and attain proficiency in it. Another most important reason for this is that the Tamil examiners are mostly graduates who have a meagre knowledge of Tamil. They set very hard questions and, as they presume that students cannot have attained proficiency in Tamil, they do not value the answers properly. Some examiners are also jealous of the students and wantonly pluck them. The result of all this will only be that, in course of time, students may not be inclined to read Tamil. Though a study of Tamil is compulsory in the lower classes, it is not so in the college classes and only those who have a special interest in it take it up as an optional subject.

The paper then makes an appeal to the Tamil examiners not to be very hard upon students, merely for the purpose of pleasing those to whom they owe their job, and to take a leaf from the examiners in other languages who are very liberal in valuing answer papers.

20. Observing that a proposal has been made in China to reduce the characters in the Chinese alphabet from 45,000 to 39 and that one Mr. J. Knowles has written to the *Times of India* to the effect that, if the Indian alphabets too are thus improved, the people in India can learn to read easily, and that, in view to the educational progress of the Indians, a committee should be appointed for this purpose, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th June, says:—From a close observation of the quinquennial report of the Government, it will be clearly seen that 89 per cent of the pupils in the lower classes are unable to read satisfactorily. Mr. Knowles is not an ordinary person. He has been for a very long time making investigation about the system to be adopted for the advancement of education in India. Would the Government of India, who spend money in useless ways and appoint committees of inquiry, pay heed to this suggestion?

The simplification of the Indian alphabets.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 6th June 1919.

21. Adverting to the work of the Board of Education in England and to the formation of a committee there to concert measures for freely spreading English education in all schools and Universities and also to effect improvement in education in view to public service and other avocations, the *Dravidan*, of the 10th June, observes:—While this is the state of education in England, nothing seems to have been done in India for spreading education freely. Though there are Educational Boards here as in England, they do not appear to have made any efforts in the way of freely spreading general education and the vernaculars. They are only helpful in prescribing a number of text-books year after year. Those that have a look at the text-books prescribed in schools can find out for themselves whether these books have been properly prescribed.

Board of Education in England.

Dravidan, Madras, 10th June 1919.

22. Commenting on the report of the Government of India on the subject of Training of Schoolmasters, the *Margadarsi*, of the 6th June, writes:—What has to be done for improving the system of education in this country is a matter requiring careful attention. The Government seem to be of opinion that education will improve, if the number of Inspectors be increased. In accordance with this view, it has been decided to raise the number of Inspectors in the Madras Presidency from 9 to 25. We are very doubtful whether this change will produce any benefit to any one except the Inspectors. The salary of ordinary Inspectors is from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. With the pay of one Inspector, 40 primary schools can be well conducted. In this way, with the pay of 16 Inspectors, 640 primary schools can be managed. If each school should have but 50 pupils, 32,000 pupils can be given primary education with this increased expenditure. It is not known what

Educational Reform.

Margadarsi, Calicut, 6th June 1919.

benefit will arise to the people from these 16 Inspectors and their clerks We do not say that Inspectors are absolutely unnecessary, but that their number should not be unnecessarily increased. If the system of education should be improved, the first thing that has to be done is to increase the pay of teachers and attract able men to that work. . . The stipend of the teachers undergoing training must be increased and provision must be made for the improvement of their pay and prospects. . . It is a well known fact that, under the present conditions, it is far better to be a peon than to be a teacher in a primary school. . . We are very sorry that we have to say that this department can now only be considered as an asylum of a certain type of passed candidates, who are unfit for every other kind of work.

(f) Land Revenue and Settlement.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 6th June 1919.

Land sist.

23. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th June, in its leader under this heading writes :— . . . It is regrettable that it has taken one year to publish the annual report of Land Revenue Administration in the Madras Presidency for the year 1917–18. Such things do not indicate the efficiency of the Civil Service Officers. . . The ryots have been complaining for a long time that the periodical settlement of land sist is a hardship but they have not been relieved of it. It is commendable that the Subjects Committee have included land revenue under Provincial subjects. So long as this subject is under the control of the India Government, there is no hope that the revenues of a province will be spent for the benefit of that province only. Much loss is sustained when the revenues are distributed by the India Government among provinces irrespective of the amounts received from them. If the proposals of the Subjects Committee come into force, the revenues of a province will be spent for that province only. But if the control of this branch of administration is given to the Government, nothing will be gained. It is necessary that this should be included under transferred subjects. The land revenue must either be permanently settled or it must be determined by the representatives of the people. As the Committee has included this under subjects controlled by Government, the system of revenue settlement will continue as ever and the distressed condition of the people will not in the least be improved. . . If the proposals of Sir Sankaran Nayar come into force, the owners of lands will be induced to spend money in improving their lands and there would be a possibility for the country to become more prosperous. . . The remarks of the Government on the settlement report do not cover more than seven or eight lines. It is not proper that the Government should fail to adequately review the report. . .

(k) General.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 29th May 1919.

Famine.

24. The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 29th May, observes :—It is agreed by all that, in this land of Aryans which was once sumptuously feeding the people of even foreign countries, famine is at present increasing day by day and lakhs of people are suffering for want of sustenance. What is the reason for famine not having abated, in spite of the Government having appointed a high officer for controlling the foodstuffs? The statement of the *Bengalee*, that the object of the Government, in providing each province with an adequate supply of foodstuffs and of keeping the prices within certain limits, will not be achieved unless exports of foodstuffs are strictly controlled, deserves attention. This paper points out that the export of rice has increased from five crores of maunds in 1916–17 to nearly six and half crores of maunds in 1918–19. If paddy and rice are thus exported, what else would be the result here but the perpetuation of famine and poverty. How do the Government, who think of preventing famine by prohibiting the transport of articles from one province and district to another, countenance this export?

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 29th May 1919.

Stray notes.

25. The following observations find place in the notes of *Narada* appearing in the *Indian Emigrant* of the 29th May :—After all, Sir Sankaran Nayar has resigned his appointment! Which true and manly Indian can hold a high position, and that too a

very responsible one, in the Government of India, after seeing the highhanded actions of the military authority in the Punjab and the Government of India also quietly allowing them? If India is to acquire *swaraj*, it is only heroes having independence like Sir Sankaran Nayar that should grow in number and there is no use of an increase in the number of timid creatures who will stoop to do the meanest work.

In response to a representation made by a Barrister of Bengal that his client would not obtain justice on account of the military authority having prevented the Barrister from entering the Punjab, the Viceroy has replied that the civil authorities cannot interfere with the actions of the military authority. Has the Viceroy now any power in the Punjab or not? Under whose orders has the Punjab been placed under a military authority? If the Viceroy has no control over the military authority, how is the Punjab to be redeemed hereafter from his hands? Perhaps this will be possible only if the military authority hands over the Punjab of his own accord to the civil authorities!

Lord Willingdon is not right in having begun to aim his arrows on the newspapers in the Madras Presidency. Does he wish to create discontent in a place where it does not exist?

The condition in the Punjab.

26. Referring to the Viceroy having described the disturbances in the Punjab in his communiqué as an 'open rebellion' of the people, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 29th May, writes:—This communiqué, having been circulated throughout the country, could have reached the Amir of Afghanistan and the Amir might have thereon madly designed an invasion of India, taking this to be the most favourable opportunity for him. What an amount of difficulty has been caused to the Government and the public in India by the use of these two words inconsiderately by the Viceroy? It is true that, in the Punjab and other places, some Europeans were killed, some buildings were destroyed and an enormous loss of property occurred; but the question is whether this can be called 'open rebellion.' It was only a sudden flaming forth of the discontent of the people in the Punjab that was for a long time smouldering under the Government of O'Dwyer. It is regrettable indeed that this great disturbance occurred in the land of the Sikhs, who demonstrated their love for their sovereign by shedding their blood profusely in the recent war. But it does not betoken wisdom to attribute this disturbance to causes that are discernible superficially, without ascertaining the root cause of it. The use of the words 'open rebellion' by the Viceroy, besides leading to the invasion of the Amir, has also affected the brains of many Englishmen and the *Times of India* has suggested that the British public should not, without knowing the character and the antecedents of the Indians now in England, hear what they say and that the term of office of Sir Michael O'Dwyer should be extended, as his successor is incapable of dealing with 'open rebellion' with the same skill. Of the Indians now in England, Mr. Tilak is the head of the enemies to the Government and Mr. Surendranath is one who sowed the seed of political activity in Bengal, and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri may all on a sudden join the nationalist party! Even the words of Doctor Nayar, the representative of the non-Brahmans, cannot be relied upon! All the disturbances in northern India were caused only by the non-Brahmans, and what is the certainty that the non-Brahmans of Southern India will not also do the same, if an opportunity occurs? Even Mrs. Annie Besant cannot be believed. If all the Indians join together and praise her, she would do anything for them. Therefore, the words of no Indian should be heard! Fortunately, our Government have not acted upon the second suggestion noted above and have sent away O'Dwyer. Though Sir Maclagan may not have the same skill in putting down 'open rebellion,' can he not restore peace with love and sympathy? We are glad indeed that good times have dawned upon the Punjab.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 29th May 1919.

This paper reproduces elsewhere the following observations of the *Mahratta* among others on the action of the military authority in the Punjab in having prevented some lawyers from defending the accused under martial law:—No more tangible proof can be forthcoming for the horrible nature of the present administration in the Punjab. The British Government in India should feel

ashamed of the brutish and foolish acts of this authority. If a rule of the rod is to be introduced there, it does not require the British Government. Any despot can do it. We expect from our rulers' actions, which are in consonance with an orderly administration and a lawful Government. If this is not to be, what is the difference between British rule and any other rule?

Indian Emigrant, Madras, 29th May 1919.

The liberty of the Press.

27. The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 29th May, writes:—There is no doubt that India has been passing through a disturbed period for the last two months. The Rowlatt Bill became law ignoring the opinion of 32 crores of Indians. Then was started the *Satyagraha* movement of Mr. Gandhi bringing to light the union and the determination of the public. The Government officials resorted to repression. The fire of discontent which was smouldering in some places now shot forth into flames, aided by the wind of the acts of the officials. Unable to bear the intensity of the heat, the poor Indians began to raise a cry through the papers. The Government then unsheathed the sword of the Press Act and levelled it at the papers. The result is that many papers have ceased to be, some have been seriously wounded and some are stunned. Among these come the *Hindu* and the *Swadesamitran* of our province, started originally by the same individual and worked even now on the same principle though under different proprietors. The demand of security from these two papers which, though boldly voicing forth the grievances of the people and condemning the actions of the Government, did not fail to applaud the good acts of the authorities, will doubtless be received by the public with surprise and regret. We would go to the extent of remarking that it is a foolish act on the part of the Government to have taken this action against these longstanding newspapers. What is the reason for the *Hindu*, the editor of which was once deemed by the Government to be fit to visit the battle front in Europe for apprising the Indians of the situation there and to confer with His Majesty in person, having become such a bad paper now as to exist only with a security? It should be stated only by Lord Willingdon. We very much regret that he should have begun his administration with the Press Act in hand. When this Act was introduced for the first time, it was stated to have been modelled on a law in force in Austria. Now Austria and Germany have become ruined irretrievably only on account of their having used such laws. Therefore, as we have faith in the English Government, we give this warning in the interests of that government, the Empire on the whole and the welfare of the innumerable poor Indians. The Indian people are not surely like the Austrian people, and we take it that the Indian Government are not like the Austrian Government. Therefore the Press Act should not be on the Indian Statute Book.

This paper refers elsewhere to a security of Rs. 1,000 having been demanded even from the *Hindu Nesan*, in spite of its proprietor having declared that he was neither a Home Ruler nor a *satyagrahi* and having tendered an apology for the offending article that is said to have appeared in his paper and says:—If the Government decide to do a thing, who can alter their decision? The Presses and Newspapers in Madras have always to be holding their life in their hands.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 3rd June 1919.

The present situation.

28. Remarking that those, who, for a while, ponder over the present situation in India, will not desire to enjoy any kind of happiness, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd June, observes:—The administration of Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy is such as to instil fear in the minds of the Indians. The only feeling experienced by the public in India is fear. The Indians are now as perturbed as the people in England were when the cruel Germans mercilessly threw bombs on them. No reason is apparent for India, subject to the British rule which is known for justice and mercy, being bound by such a cord of misery. Can the poor Indians who, having lost their wisdom, valour and liberty and become slaves, are now suffering for want of food, be governed by Martial Law? Can bombs be thrown upon the poor sons of Bharata who are unarmed? Can vakils and editors of papers who are known for their culture be subjected to indignities under the British rule? Is there now any regard in India for the literate and benevolent people? The Indian nation has now lost its self-respect and any titles conferred upon persons comprising such a nation cannot be deemed to be titles. No Indian who has

realised the true condition of India will agree to hold any titles. Formerly, Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar relinquished his Knighthood and Sir Rabindranath Tagore has done the same now. It is our belief that the wounding of the feelings of great sages will not go in vain. Mr. Montagu too appears to support the action of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. It is indeed surprising that we have a Viceroy who quite suits the Governors and a Secretary of State who quite suits the Viceroy. That one should support the action of another indicates the brotherly feeling they have among them. We are now convinced that Mr. Montagu has the quality of supporting the actions of the bureaucrats and neglecting the cry of the public, and so, he has to be classed with the party of Lord Curzon. Though we are disgusted with these officials, we have still a love for the just British rule.

The present situation.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 6th June 1919.

Reproducing the letter of Mr. S. E. Stokes published in the *Leader* and alluded to in paragraph 29 of Report No. 22 of 1919, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th June, comments on it as follows:—It is only on account of excellent British citizens like Messrs. Stokes, Andrews and Horniman that the Indians have not lost faith in British righteousness and justice. If the bureaucrats read this letter several times and accept the suggestions made therein, the discontent of the Indians and their dislike for them will completely disappear.

Mr. Montagu and the Punjab.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 3rd June 1919.

29. Adverting to Mr. Montagu's supporting the Rowlatt Law, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd June, writes:—We are surprised to see that he favours the injustice of throwing bombs from aeroplanes on unarmed people! Mr. Montagu has perhaps become used to the cruelty of aeroplanes, as he lives in London which was frequently attacked by the German aeroplanes! In response to a question in Parliament whether orders have been issued prohibiting the throwing of bombs on the public of India hereafter, he answered in the negative. So the authorities can still use aeroplanes as they like and afflict people! There is no doubt that Mr. Montagu's impression, that engines of destruction like the machine gun are not sufficient for dispersing a crowd of unarmed people, will be a great disappointment to those that expected to have justice from him.

The dissenting minute of Sir Sankaran Nayar.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 3rd June 1919.

30. Referring to the remark of a European correspondent to the *Capital* that this minute will be recorded in history and that politicians should read it carefully, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd June, observes:—His opinion is a correct one, and all true Indians will accept it? But would the bureaucrats and the Anglo-Indian papers do so? The Government of India have stated that they have not ignored his minute of dissent as a discussion of the views expressed therein would entail unnecessary loss of time. It is surprising indeed that the Government of India should have wholly neglected it even without considering whether his statements are reasonable or not.

The Birth-day Honours.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 3rd June 1919.

31. Referring to the birth-day honours' list, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd June, remarks:—It is no better than the previous lists. It is regrettable that our Government have not the fortune of enjoying the honour of granting titles to the truly honourable and deserving men and patriots. None of those who obtained titles this year appear to have worked for the country and many of them are Government officials. The number of those who got titles in this Presidency can be counted on the fingers. But we should appreciate this action of the Government now, when the value of titles has gone down and a relinquishment of these titles is considered more honourable.

The Birth-day Honours.

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 11th June 1919.

Referring to the title of Knighthood conferred on the Hon'ble Justice Abdur Rahim and Mr. Alfred Chatterton, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 11th June, writes:—Mr. Rahim was a member of the Public Services Commission and his note of dissent advocating the interests of the Indian public brought him great esteem. The fact that the title of Knighthood has been conferred on him without grudge in spite of his having pointed out the short-comings of the administration will greatly redound to the credit of the British Government.

We are very glad that Sir Alfred Chatterton also got a Knighthood. Both in Madras and Mysore he has rendered service of immense economic benefit such as the introduction of lift irrigation and of fly-shuttle hand-looms, the establishment of factories for manufacturing sandalwood oil, etc. The title conferred on him may be taken as an honour done to Mysore.

Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, 5th June 1919.

Birth-day Honours.

The *Malayala Manorama*, of the 5th June, points out that there is not a single person belonging to the Cochin State among the recipients of the Birthday Honours and considers the omission undesirable.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 3rd June 1919.

Titles to newspapers.

32. Referring to the grant of titles to newspapers such as the *Daily News*, and the *Daily Mirror* in England, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 3rd June, observes:—In India too there are some papers which deserve such an honour. But they are not Indian papers conducted by the Indians! It is only the Anglo-Indian papers that are hostile to the progress of the Indians and follow the trend of the officials that are qualified to have titles in the hands of the Government. Demand and forfeiture of securities are the only titles to the Indian papers. We expect that high titles will soon be given to the Anglo-Indian papers which rejoiced at the introduction of the martial law and gloated over the pitiable condition of the Indians!

Desabhaktan, Madras, 4th June 1919.

Righteousness should begin at home.

33. Observing that he who neglects righteousness at home and desires to foster it elsewhere is only a man in name, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th June, says that this maxim will apply as well to the street, the village, the city and the country, and detailing the life of a ryot in a small village, who appears to have been giving the worst treatment to his parents, wife and children at home, in spite of his riches and culture, all the same taking sufficient precautions to prevent his excesses at home being known to the outside world, adds:—Our friends themselves realise what kind of hardship his people would have suffered. Though they lived in a house, it would have been only a prison to them. This ryot, who was thus oppressing his people at home, used to pose as a righteous man before outsiders. He would often preside at the local panchayat. He would preach that righteousness should be fostered and that the people should walk in a righteous path. He would say that it is wrong for one to keep another under subjection. He would voluntarily proceed to places where injustice is committed and talk of justice He would pretend his guiding principle to be that it is a sin on the part of the strong to afflict the weak. All the outsiders would praise him as an embodiment of justice. Thus, he who was an embodiment of justice to the outside world but an embodiment of injustice in his house, did not live long, and when he died, his soul went to the hell and not to the heaven. So it is only righteousness that is begun to be practised at home that deserves that name. This should be noted especially by kings. It will be mean on the part of a king to proceed to check the unrighteous deeds of other kings without ruling his country on righteous lines. If a king should foster justice in his own country, the several petty chiefs under him would also do it. If the king is a rogue, the whole country will consist of rogues.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 4th June 1919.

Successor to Sir Sankaran Nayar.

34. Referring to the suggestion of a correspondent to *New India* that Sir M. Visveswarayya, the late Diwan of Mysore, may succeed Sir Sankaran Nayar, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th June, observes:—It will be agreed on all hands that Sir M. Visveswarayya is a very capable statesman. It is no exaggeration to say that the present excellent condition of Mysore is due to him. His appointment would, of course, be beneficial to India. But it is doubtful whether he will yield to the ways of the bureaucrats and play second fiddle to them. There is a strong rumour that the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Achariyar may be the successor of Sir Sankaran Nayar. This may not be untrue. He is liked by the bureaucrats and through him they will get many things done favourable to them. That Mr. Achariyar too will not hesitate to act prejudicially to the progress of India is certain. How can Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar, who has, ever since he began his service, been breathing the air of the bureaucrats, act contrary to them?

35. Referring to the news of Mr. Malaviya having acceded to the request of the members of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces to permit his being re-elected as their representative in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 4th June, observes:—The news will not give much pleasure to all. What are Messrs. Shukul and Jinnah going to do now? Let us see whether they too will stand as candidates for their seats again.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's re-election.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 4th June 1919.

36. The *Dravidan*, of the 4th June, reproduces in Tamil the leader, under this heading, of the *Justice* of the 2nd idem, charging Mr. Montagu and the British Cabinet with having no settled views about the reforms and taking exception to the presence in the Reforms Bill, now introduced in the Parliament, of a system of diarchy, opposed by many provincial Governments, and the absence therein of any provision for communal representation.

The Reforms.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 4th June 1919.

37. The *Swadesamitran*, the *Desabhaktan* and the *Dravidan*, of the 5th June, and the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 6th June, publish in Tamil, in extenso and in abstract, the proceedings of a public meeting held at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on the 4th idem to protest against the order of the Government demanding security from the *Swadesamitran*, the *Hindu Nesan* and the *Hindu*.

The liberty of the Press.

SWADESAMITRAN, DESABHAKTAN & DRAVIDAN, Madras, 5th June 1919 & HINDU NESAN, Madras, 6th June 1919.

Remarking that the presence, at this meeting, of many mufassal leaders indicates what their feelings are about this action of the Government, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 5th June, observes:—None can deny that newspapers are as much necessary to acquaint the Government with the opinion of the people and regulate the conduct of the administration as they are to place the grievances of the people before the Government. Liberty of speaking and writing are indispensable for the progress of any country. Nevertheless, it is evident from the recent application, by the Government, of the Press Act to several printing presses that they have been actively trying of late to suppress all Indian newspapers. Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Achariyar states in his message of sympathy that the present action of the Government is more prejudicial to their own interests than to those of the people. Seeing that the executive officials have thus begun to use as they please without any reason whatever the absolute authority they possess under the Press Act, even Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar suggests that a strong agitation should be made to get rid of this Act altogether. There is no other means of doing this than by pointing out to the British public the untoward consequences of the Press Act. We have confidence that the British public, who enjoy freedom of speech and liberty of the Press will never favour the repressive measures adopted in the case of the papers in India.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 5th June 1919.

Referring to Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar's letter referred to in the previous paragraph, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th June, observes:—Though the Government do not honour the words of ordinary people, can they not act according to the words of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, who was for a long time a vakil, then the Advocate-General, and lastly a member of the Executive Council. If the bureaucrats, who proclaim that they are come to India to train the Indians in administration and to give them responsible government step by step, make use of the Press Act and gag the people, how can political life thrive? Can people who have not the liberty of writing and speaking attain efficiency in administration? The Indians can secure their primary right only by unceasing agitation. The humourous words of Mr. G. S. Arundale at this meeting deserve notice. As stated by him, the editors of papers in India are worse than the depressed classes. The Government are greatly oppressing and repressing them alone. Considering the havoc committed by the Press Act, it is only those who are prepared to face danger that will come forward as editors of Indian newspapers. It is the newpaper that is the voice of the country and such papers as do not express the attitude of the people and work for their good are not discharging their duty. So, all the nationalist papers are bound to give a correct description of the hardships of the people and point out the defects of the authorities. As the authorities do not like this, they subject these papers to the Press Act, so that Indian papers and editors have to suffer boundless misery. It is but natural that

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 5th June 1919.

such hardships should occur in the administration of irresponsible bureaucrats. It was pointed out at this meeting that the bureaucrats do not apply the Press Act to the Anglo-Indian papers. We have often stated the same. The Anglo-Indian papers attempt to create class-hatred by publishing untrue statements. However much they may transgress all bounds, this Act does not approach them. For, it is they that support the authorities and if they are punished, how are the authorities to conduct the administration? It is a well known fact that the *yukka* Angly-Indian papers such as the *Pioneer*, the *Englishman*, the *Statesman* and the *Madras Mail* are favoured by the authorities. If an Anglo-Indian paper commits a serious offence and the editor thereof expresses a word of regret about it, the authorities think that they have taken the necessary action and keep quiet. But as regards the Indian papers, they are subjected to forfeiture even in the case of offences for which a warning is enough.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 5th June 1919.

Political reforms.

38. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th June, observes:—As far as the Government of India are concerned, the agitation started by the Indian Civil Service officers has ended favourably to them. All the items in the Reform Scheme to which they took exception have been modified advantageously to them by the Government of India. It is stated in the Montford scheme that it is enough if there is one European member in the Provincial Executive Councils, whereas the recommendations of the Government of India provide for two. It is a known fact that an increase in the number of members of the Executive Council means an increase of expenditure. We cannot conceive what special benefit the people are going to derive by the number of members being increased by one or two. Perhaps the Government are not inclined to utilise the public funds in a way beneficial to the people. The condition of the Indians, who will have the misfortune of being appointed Ministers to Governors when the Montford scheme comes into force, will be a very pitiable one. The Government of India have recommended that the power of appointing and removing Ministers should vest in the Governor. As nothing is stated in the Montford scheme about the salary of the Ministers, the honour of fixing it too is given to the Governor. In short the Ministers have to hold a status lower than that of the Indian Civil Services officers. Even after knowing these facts, some persons who hanker after position and titles deem the position of Ministers to Governors to be equivalent to that of Ministers of ancient times and are awaiting it with eager expectation. If the Indian Reforms Bill is passed by the Parliament in accordance with the suggestions of the Government of India, no Indian with a sense of self-respect would be willing to accept the post of Ministers.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 7th June 1919.

Political reforms.

The *Swadesamitran*, of the 7th June, reproduces in Tamil an extract from an article on India appearing in the *Westminister Gazette* of London in which the following observations find place among others:—Just as the affairs in Ireland became very disorderly, because the British Government delayed the fulfilment of the aspirations of Ireland, the condition of India too may grow worse on account of delay. It is certain that in consequence of this delay we will have to concede far more than we will do at present. Now, the prominent Indian leaders demand only moderate reforms. If we grant these reforms, they will for ever be a help to us. Otherwise these leaders will be discarded by the Indian people, even as the old Irish leaders were discarded by the Sein Feiners. It is but necessary that proper steps should be taken to put down the unrest that has cropped up in India at present. But this should not be pleaded as an excuse for postponing the adoption of measures for redressing the grievances of the people.

The same paper reproduces in Tamil an abstract of Ditcher's contribution to the *Capital* about the memorandum of the Government of India, dated the 5th March 1919, in respect of political reforms.

Dravidan, Madras, 7th June 1919.

Political reforms.

The *Dravidan*, of the 7th June, reproduces some of the sentiments of an article in the *Justice*, of the 5th idem, under the heading "India in Parliament" commenting on the policy of Mr. Montagu as disclosed in his recent speech on the Indian Budget and observing that the question of communal representation for non-Brahmans

should be well considered by the Parliamentary Committee to be appointed for the consideration of the reform proposals.

The *Dravidan*, of the 9th June, reproduces the sentiments of the leader of the *Justice*, of the 7th idem commenting on the constitution of the present House of Commons and urging the claim of the non-Brahmans for communal representation on the plea that the denial of this right will not only perpetuate but accentuate and embitter divisions among the people. — DRAVIDAN, Madras, 9th June 1919.

Referring to the second reading of the Indian Reforms Bill in the House of Commons. the *Swadesamitran*, of the 9th June, makes the following observations among others :—Though the Bill is one that is likely to affect the rights and aspirations of the several crores of people in India, we are not in a position to find out what is contained in it. The Government of India have already given an unsatisfactory explanation that the delay in the publication of this Bill has been caused by the difficulty created in the transmission of telegraphic messages from London. Why could not the Secretary of State have sent a copy of the Bill to the Viceroy in advance with instructions to publish it here on the day on which it would be introduced in the Parliament? Was not the announcement of the 20th August published simultaneously both in India and in England? If the Bill were drafted wholly on the lines of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, it will be easy for the Indians to express their opinions at once as they are already conversant with them. But from Mr. Montagu's speech in the Parliament on the 22nd May 1919, it is understood that some of the proposals of the Government of India have been embodied in the Bill and they are highly retrograde in character. It is not known which of them have found place in the Bill. But before the public can consider the Bill and express their opinion when it is published here a few days hence, the work of the Joint Committee may have progressed a good deal. . . Even the moderates do not support the proposals of the Government of India. They feared that, if they condemned the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, the Sydenham party would prevent any reforms being granted. But when Mr. Montagu himself has ventured to modify his original scheme, they need not take the proposals contained in this scheme as gospel. Though the Sydenham party are unceasingly working, it is understood that they have not much influence in England. So the moderates have no necessity to hide their own views and support the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. They should urge all the demands of India while giving evidence before the Parliamentary Committee. Even the people here should consider the Bill and apprise the Committee of their suggestions. — SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 9th June 1919.

The same paper publishes elsewhere the substance of an article appearing in the *Times of Ceylon* condemning the attitude of the Europeans in India and the Sydenham party in London in respect of the political reforms, in the course of which the following observations occur :—Whenever the British public and the House of Commons think of altering the system of administration in India, that the Europeans here should think otherwise only betrays a lack of wisdom on their part. . . In the very beginning they said that Mr. Montagu should not go to India. Their attitude when he came here was highly descreditable. When the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was published, they said that there was only harm in it and no good. Considering the fact of the House of Commons having supported Mr. Montagu in connexion with the reforms, it will be seen that there is not much value to their words.

The *Dravidan*, of the 10th June, reproduces the sentiments of the *Justice* of the 9th idem, under the heading "The Reforms" taking exception in particular to the failure of Reuter in not furnishing information about the debate in the House of Commons either on the introduction or the second reading of the Indian Reforms Bill. — DRAVIDAN, Madras, 10th June 1919.

Referring to the communique of the Government of India that the Indian Reforms Bill now introduced in the Parliament will be published in India within a week, the *Dravidan*, of the 10th June, remarks :—It is not known why this Bill was not published until its second reading was passed. Is it because there is no difference between the Bill and the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme and the report of the Southborough Committee thereon? Or, is it usual to delay publication in such cases? — DRAVIDAN, Madras, 10th June 1919.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th June 1919.

Referring to the communique of the Government of India that the reading of the Reforms Bill was passed without a division in the House of Commons, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th June, observes:—From this it is clear that the usual indifference in the Parliament in regard to the Reforms Bill still continues. The Indians are quite in the dark about the nature of this Bill. We do not know what alterations have been made in it by Mr. Montagu to suit the views of Indian patriots and those of the Government of India. This Bill should have been published in India for the information of the public at the time it was introduced in the Parliament. We hope that hereafter at least it will be published without delay. It is not desirable that matters affecting the interests of thirty-three crores of people should be attended to in such a fashion.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 1st June 1919.

Political reforms.

Under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 1st June, says:—We cannot agree with the Government of India in their objection that the proposed representation for foreigners in the supreme Legislative Council is inadequate and that there should be eight members to represent them. The report of the Southborough Committee is unsatisfactory in one respect. Only the people's representatives in the Provincial Legislative Councils have the power to elect the members of the Imperial Legislative Council. This is very unfair to the voters. Those elected for the Imperial Council can be representatives of the Provincial Councils and cannot be the representatives of the people. The Committee has not explained why the members of the Imperial Council could not be elected directly by the people. Sir W. Vincent advocates direct representation and we are in full agreement with him. Twenty-four members of the Council of State will be elected by the people's representatives in the Provincial Councils. This proposal is very undesirable. The Council of State has been established in order to nullify the authority of the Imperial Legislative Council. When the authorities think that certain drastic laws will not be accepted by the people's representatives in the Imperial Legislative Councils, they may put them into operation by obtaining the assent of the Council of State to them; for, in that Council, the number of official members exceeds that of the elected members. This is very unfair. When a difference arises between the Government and the people's representatives, the Imperial Legislative Council will become useless. Our leaders should try to see that this Council of State is not established. The objections of Sir C. Sankaran Nayar to this Council of State are very reasonable and proper.

The paper then refers to the report of the Franchise Committee and says:—The division into two of the authority of the Provincial Governments is the first defect of the proposed reforms and it is like the separation of the head from the body. It will lead to disputes. Many Governors in our country and statesmen in England are opposed to the proposed joint-government. The division of departments also is not good, for the departments yielding income have been reserved, while those entailing expenditure have been transferred. . . As the subject of land revenue has been reserved to the bureaucracy, the representatives of the people will be sub-servient to the bureaucracy for purposes of getting money. Sir C. Sankaran Nayar boldly pointed out the disadvantages of the budget system proposed by the Government of India and stated that the scheme of the Government should not be accepted. He also recommended the transfer to ministers certain departments in the Government of India as in the Provincial Governments. It will do if our leaders only support and strengthen his arguments.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 8th June 1919.

Mr. Montagu's speech.

39. Observing that Mr. Montagu has, in his recent Budget speech in the Parliament, boastfully said that due regard has been paid to the condition of India in the British Empire and that the Indian representatives have been authorised by His Majesty to go to the Peace Conference, discuss Indian affairs there, sign the Peace treaty and reconstitute the British Empire, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 8th June, remarks:—What is the effect of this honour? What advantages are the Indians going to derive from it in practice? Have the Indian representatives that have gone to the Peace Conference been elected by the Indians? Have they not been nominated by the bureaucrats? This being the case, would these Indian representatives, instead of acting according to the instructions of the bureaucrats,

act with a view to advance the interests of India and in accordance with the wishes of the people? Except that the Indians have been referred to by statesmen as possessing equal shares and equal privileges in the Empire, they are practically in a very low position. The condition of the Indians in South Africa, Canada, Fiji Islands and other places is pitiable. Mr. Montagu himself has stated that the condition of the Indians in South Africa is lower than that of the subjects in the British Empire. The British have given assurances to the Indians several times. But India is not generally governed according to these assurances. If, hereafter, the British without causing disappointment to the Indians by sweet and enticing words rule India in accordance with the assurances given by them, the Indians will become contented. We thank Mr. Montagu for his efforts. But the mischievous efforts of those who do not want India to get a government responsible to the people, are strong. It is not known how Mr. Montagu is going to free himself from the effect of these mischievous efforts and grant responsible government to the people in accordance with his declaration of August 1917.

He attributed the unrest in India to her poverty. We accept that this is a true cause, but how is this poverty to be got rid of? He says that the revival and improvement of Indian industries and the retaining of the articles in India for the use of the Indians are the means therefor. Mr. Montagu should note that, even though responsible government is granted to the people and Indian industries are improved, the poverty of the Indians will not disappear, unless fiscal responsibility is also given to them. But the Secretary of State says that this responsibility will be given. It is not known what kind of responsibility this will be.

Mr. Montagu spoke in support of the Rowlatt Law and this is what we anticipated. There is no meaning in his having stated that this law would affect only the conspirators. This too resembles the explanation offered by the bureaucrats. How many times have the Press Act and the Defence of India Act been applied wrongly? How many innocent persons have fallen a prey to the latter Act? Under this Act was not Annie Besant prohibited from entering the Bombay Presidency? While such is the experience, how can the Indians believe in the statement that the Rowlatt law will be used only for the purpose for which it is intended? How is it that Mr. Montagu does not realise that several ignorant persons among the bureaucrats will apply this law transgressing all bounds and that this will affect innocent people?

The Secretary of State has laid a charge upon Mr. Horniman, that he has freely circulated copies of his paper to the British troops in Bombay and made them disobedient. It is essential that the friends of Mr. Horniman and the proprietors of the *Bombay Chronicle* should intimate to the authorities and the public that this statement of the Secretary of State is wrong. Sometimes, the Secretary makes some statements without proper foundation. We doubt whether this too is one of such statements.

It is not proper that Mr. Montagu should have, after extolling the rare qualities of Mr. Gandhi, characterised him as an irresponsible person. How can Mr. Gandhi, who has broad views and is not self-interested, behave in an irresponsible manner? Perhaps the Secretary of State failed to see that it was illogical to say so! Mr. Gandhi is following truth and acting in accordance with justice. Whatever Mr. Montagu may say about him, it is certain that his glory will not be impaired.

The *Dravidan*, of the 5th June, reproduces in Tamil the comments of the *Justice* of the 4th idem on this speech, which takes exception to the attack of Mr. Montagu on the Indo-British Association and to his praise of Mr. Gandhi's character.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 5th June 1919.

Mr. Montagu's speech.

Adverting to Mr. Montagu's statement that the Rowlatt Law is necessary to get rid of the few that are hostile to Government in India, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 4th June, observes:—We are tired of hearing this old plea. None denies the existence of a few such persons in India, but how to find out that those few are hostile? When once it is proved that they are hostile, let them be punished in any way. Nobody would object to it. Mr. Montagu has not offered any explanation for presuming one to be an enemy before it is so proved and applying to him the Rowlatt Act

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 4th June 1919.

which is intended for such an enemy. The Secret Police Act as the eyes and ears of the Government. If they inform that a particular person is an enemy, the Rowlatt Act may be applied to him, confiding in their words. Thus any one who becomes the object of the ire or suspicion of the secret Police can be taken as an enemy and subjected to the provisions of the Rowlatt Law. Hence it is that the Indians complain that the Rowlatt Law greatly reduces the safeguards provided for the people by ordinary laws and object to it. Mr. Montagu's assurance that the law will be applied only against political revolutionaries is an useless one, as one who is reported by the secret Police to be a political revolutionary can be kept in custody solely on the strength of their report without the usual trial in a public court. Again, Mr. Montagu greatly praised Mr. Gandhi's motives, but what is his explanation for the application of the Defence of India Act against Mr. Gandhi? An assurance similar to that which Mr. Montagu has given with reference to the Rowlatt Law was given by the higher authorities, when the Defence of India Act was enacted. Hence can we remain certain that the future statesmen will act in accordance with the assurance of Mr. Montagu? His statement that the Rowlatt Law does not give the Government of India any new powers, but only perfects the procedure followed by the Government of India in exercise of their powers under the regulation of 1818 and other such laws, gives room for great surprise. But these laws were enacted when the British rule and the peace in the country were not established. Even the Penal Code was not in existence then. These laws should have been repealed subsequently. As this was not done they are yet alive, and to offer their existence as an excuse for enacting the Rowlatt Law is not proper. He again states that the Rowlatt Law will be in existence only for three years. But will this be a consolation if the rights of the people are affected by this law? His last statement that, if the law should be applied against those who are not hostile to Government and who are not anarchists, the new Legislative Council and the Provincial Government, which will be constituted under the Reforms Scheme, will have powers to take necessary steps. If so, is it not proper to leave to such a Legislative Council and Provincial Government the work of legislation, to suit the needs of the country? Unless the Government which is to come into existence as a result of the political reforms has the right of self-government, how can it interfere with the application of the Rowlatt Law? Departments such as the Judicial and the Police will be under the control of the Executive Council. As far as such departments are concerned, the decision of the Legislative Council will not be binding on them. Thus Mr. Montagu seems to have only explained away things and his statements only create an impression that he does not keep full confidence in the Governments which are to be constituted hereafter.

His statement that a commission will be appointed to inquire into the grievances of the people of the Punjab is no doubt a glad news. His observation again, that the question of free trade can be decided by the Indians themselves is indeed encouraging. But then will the Indians be given power to deal with that question as they please? Will Mr. Montagu recommend to the Parliament that the Indians should be given the power of levying duties?

His words regarding reforms create a sort of fear. He states that some of the suggestions made in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme have been modified and the recommendations of the Government of India accepted and embodied in the Bill. It is not known what these modifications are, as the Bill has not yet been published here though it has been introduced into the Parliament. We would again urge that the Bill should be published in India immediately.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 6th June 1919.

The following observations among others find place in the *Dravidan* of the 6th June:—Mr. Montagu has stated that when peace is restored in India an inquiry should be conducted into the causes of the disturbances and about the charges brought against the British troops. We trust that this inquiry will be conducted in such a way that all sides of the question will be considered, as the cause of the unrest in the country should be ascertained. As it is a lamentable fact, that hundreds of lives have been lost in a highly miserable condition, there is no doubt that a strict inquiry should be made into the matter. Mr. Montagu has spoken very reasonably about the Rowlatt Law. The statement that he has made in this connexion, namely, that it will be in force only for a short period

and will be applied only against those who are hostile to the Government will, we believe, dispel the anxiety which the people have in respect of this law.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th June 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th June, writes:—From the recent budget speech of the Secretary of State for India, it will be apparent that he is not much concerned in the present condition of India. Mr. Montagu has spoken in such a way as to make it appear that the Government of India are empowered to decide Indian affairs as they like. It is but an easy matter for him to express his sympathy for those that suffered as a result of the recent disturbances, especially for the people of the Punjab. He has been kind enough to declare that, when peace and quietude are restored, an inquiry will be conducted about the disturbances. But, if the news that reached us regarding the measures said to have been adopted by the authorities for the establishment of peace in the Punjab ever since disturbances cropped up there, is true, we fear that there would be no necessity at all for making an inquiry. Is the Government had thought of paying the least regard to the public opinion, they would have stopped punishing offenders under the martial law until the inquiry about the disturbances was completed. The powers granted to the Martial Law Commission for preventing further disturbances are themselves enough. Those who were suspected of having taken part in the recent disturbances might have been kept in custody until the inquiry was completed. Though the ordinary law does not admit of people being kept in custody for a long time, the military authorities could, in virtue of their powers, have done so. The leaders of the people who were deported when the disturbances were cropping up and immediately thereafter could have been kept in custody until peace and quietude were restored. We suggest that, if the view of the Government of the Punjab regarding the cause and the nature of the disturbances is proved to be correct, they could have conducted themselves as stated above. But we do not say that their view is correct, for we have not sufficient grounds before us to think so. Nor can we, for the same reason, say that their view is wrong. However, the news spread by the authorities regarding the events in the Punjab is apt to create a doubt whether their view can be correct. Until human nature does not change from its normal condition, it is impossible to expect that the authorities, whether they are in Lahore or in Simla, could have viewed the events in the Punjab with an unperturbed mind. In the disturbances in Amritsar some Europeans were killed, and in some other places a few were threatened with death. Some were afraid that the modesty of British women would be violated. But it is not stated that any one came forward to attempt such a base deed. As both official and non-official Europeans have to live alone amidst strangers, and as the fear caused by the incidents at the time of the sepoy mutiny is always in minds of the Anglo-Indians, it is but natural that they should entertain a fear at the sight of disturbances among people around them. They think that their being connected with the ruling race can by itself protect them and such a thought is indeed natural. That the Government too should try to encourage this view and support their rights is not surprising. The Viceroy is stated to have told Mr. Andrews that he is determined to use all his powers to guard the Englishmen in India from danger to their life. The main duty of our kings has been to protect the poor, and the Viceroy feels a great responsibility in the case of the people of a race whose number is very small in India. Do not the English too belong to that race? If the above statement has been truly made by the Viceroy, it clearly indicates the attitude of the bureaucrats in India. Though the authorities should possess vigilance, discretion, calm, deliberation and impartial judgment, it is not possible at present to expect these in the subordinate officers of Government. The very act of having taken the recent disturbances in the Punjab as open rebellion shows that the authorities were perturbed in mind at the sight of the disturbances in Amritsar and other places. Though we grant that it is proper that the excited authorities should have resorted to martial law to be on the guard, yet the infliction of rigorous punishments on those who were deemed to have committed offences before the enforcement of the martial law cannot be taken to be wholly just. We doubt whether Mr. Montagu has considered what benefit can be derived by instituting an inquiry after the restoration of peace. The majority of those who can give evidence about the events before and after the disturbances

have been sentenced either to death or transportation or to imprisonment for a long period. Thus it has become difficult to secure true evidence. So, the evidence that Mr. Montagu can get is only the evidence of the Police which, we do not say, will not be correct. However, the evidence of the public alone will be deemed superior to that of the police. Hence, it is necessary that those who would inquire and express their opinions about the disturbances in the Punjab should weigh the different circumstances calmly and give an impartial judgment. However whole-hearted the sympathy of the Secretary of State may be, we are afraid that the Indians who are immersed in the sea of misery will not be consoled by it.

Swadeshabhimani, Mangalore, 6th June 1919.

Mr. Montagu's speech in Parliament.

Commenting on the speech of Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons in which he referred to the place of honour which India has now come to occupy in the British Empire as a result of her great contributions in men and money during the war, the *Swadeshabhimani*, of the 6th June, writes:—Mr. Montagu clearly expressed that it would be inconsistent to deny equality of treatment to India in South Africa, Canada, Australia and other Colonies after having given her a place of equality in the War Conference. Although it is not possible to say whether this view of Mr. Montagu will be acceptable to the Colonials as a legislative measure, yet in view of the fact that Mr. Montagu is a Secretary of State for one of the largest countries of the Empire, a leading member of the Cabinet and a prominent British statesman, it would be graceful on the part of the Colonials to support his opinion. But if they should consider that Mr. Montagu's opinion is not binding on them and begin to act differently, then it would doubtless be a mere display of high-mindedness on their part. The adoration which the Indians sincerely felt for Mr. Montagu as a result of his plain-spoken words about India's place in relation to the Colonies is apt to be marred by Mr Montagu's support of the Rowlatt Law. Mr. Montagu has stated that the Government of India are determined to extirpate anarchy with the help of this law, but that it will affect only the anarchists and those who associate with them and will not affect the rest of the people. These words of Mr. Montagu do not seem to be characterised by either broad-mindedness or clearness of expression. To state that India was loyal to the core during the days of war and even thereafter and rendered incalculable help to the Imperial Government and with the same breath in the self-same speech to speak in support of the Rowlatt Laws is not only highly contradictory but it reveals a spirit of distrust in the harmlessness and loyalty of the Indians. There is no country in which cent per cent of the people are loyal. There may be numerous anarchists in England itself, but that will not seriously affect the people at large. To make a whole nation bear the burden of the Rowlatt Laws for the sake of a few anarchists among them is just like tying logs of wood to the necks of all the cattle in a herd because one or two among them are troublesome. In short it is to be highly regretted that exalted officials like Mr. Montagu brought up in a pure and liberal atmosphere should support the Rowlatt Law. Another regrettable feature of Mr. Montagu's action is that the Indian public are kept entirely ignorant of the exact nature of the Reform Bill which he has introduced into the Parliament.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 5th June 1919.

India's demand.

40. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 5th June, reproduces in Tamil a lecture on India's demand for self-government delivered by Mr. Tilak in England on the 3rd ultimo and published in *New India* of the 4th June 1919.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 6th June 1919.

The Press Act.

41. Observing that, when the Press Act was enacted in 1910, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya condemned it as strongly as he condemned the Rowlatt Law, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th June, writes:—Mr. Gokhale who was serving the country and aquiescing at the same time with the views of the bureaucrats, supported the Press Act with certain modifications therein. If, without supporting the Act, he had then started a great agitation, it would have disappeared then alone. He gave his support to this Act with the idea of doing good to the country by following the ways of the bureaucrats, but his purpose has not been fulfilled. The object of the bureaucrats has on the other hand been achieved. They get their objects fulfilled by patting the moderates. Under what class should we bring these moderates who, seeking

to do good to the country by prostrating at the feet of the bureaucrats and by pleasing them by concurring with their views, help them to enact cruel laws frequently? It is only on the strength of these moderates that the bureaucrats harass true patriots, and fetter the freedom of India by means of cruel laws. It is surprising indeed that the moderates have not yet understood the attitude of the bureaucrats and are in a position easily to be duped. It is not known when these moderates will derive good sense. It is certain that, as long as the Press Act exists, newspapers will have no freedom. What then is the means of getting rid of it? If the cruelty of the Press Act should be impressed upon the minds of the people, a number of papers should fall a prey to this Act and such papers should again and again be revived. The Press Act will continue to destroy the papers as they come back to life. Thus a great war should be waged between the papers and the Press Act. That war will attract the attention of the Government and create a feeling in the people too. A large capital is necessary for conducting such a war, and the popular leaders should now strive to secure this capital. It is not difficult to start a constitutional agitation among the people. This can be done by fixing a day for the Press Act, as was done in the case of the *Satyagraha* movement.

42. Referring to a leader in the *Englishman* about the relinquishment of title by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 6th June, observes:—As the *Englishman* states, Sir Rabindranath is only a poet and not a politician. He has not interfered with politics till now. Even now he has not relinquished his title on political grounds. That the people of the Punjab who are also created by God were treated worse than brutes has alone perturbed the mind of the great poet If he had been thus oppressed, he would have submitted to it gladly. It is only in indication of the impropriety of his holding a title as a greater man than his brethren, while they were being thus insulted, that he gave up his title. We think that not only the Indians but the whole world will condemn the action of the *Englishman* in venturing to disparage him. Sir Rabindranath's letter in connexion with his relinquishing the title was not written with the idea that the Viceroy should read it; but it was intended for the perusal of His Majesty the King-Emperor. As it is only His Majesty that confers titles, the right of taking them back too rests with him. Though it is true that His Majesty will not have the mind to go against the secret advice of his Ministers, there is no doubt that he will be dispirited to know, when he reads the letter, that the feelings of the Indians are wounded. Will not one who has written that he relinquishes his title be considered a political agitator by the bureaucrats! Will the world fail to realise the ulterior object of the letter of the great poet who is universally esteemed? There is no doubt that this letter would do considerable good to the Indians in the future though not at present.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 6th June 1919.

Referring to the renunciation of his Knighthood by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 7th May, writes:—Sir Rabindranath Tagore's letter to His Excellency the Viceroy renouncing his title shows that it has been written with the deepest sorrow and that he is ready even to part with his life, if necessary, in the cause of the country and for upholding British integrity and British principles of justice and constitutionalism He has given expression to his sorrows and all young and old among the Indians who have realised the present situation are filled with the same sorrow. It is imperative that the British Government should without delay appoint a commission for inquiring into the autocratic acts that are now done in India. It would be better to appoint a parliamentary commission and have the matter inquired into.

Rabindranath Tagore.

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 7th May 1919.

43. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 6th June, and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th idem, reproduce in Tamil a summary of the presidential speech made by Dr. Varadarajulu Nayudu at a public meeting held on the 5th idem in Salem for the purpose of considering the present policy of the Government and the remarks of Sir Alexander Cardew about the non-Brahmans in his note on the reform scheme. The *Desabhaktan*, also contains the resolutions passed at this meeting protesting against the remarks of

A public meeting at Salem.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 6th June 1919. & Desabhaktan, Madras, 7th June 1919.

Sir Alexander Cardew about the non-Brahmans and the action of the Government in demanding security from the *Hindu* and the *Swadesamitran*, praying for the immediate repeal of the Press Act and commending the action of Sir Sankaran Nayar in resigning his appointment and of Sir Rabindranath Tagore in relinquishing his Knighthood in the interests of the country.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 7th Jun 1919.

The efforts of Mr. Gandhi.

44. In an article under this heading the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th June, writes:—Wherever the rule of the white races is prevalent, rule by physical force predominates. As long as the rule of those who make use of physical force prevails, unjust acts such as riots, disturbances and war will not disappear. The practice of using guns for all petty disturbances should be wholly given up. Guns alone rule the world at present. Rule with the aid of guns may be called the rule of the devils and the rule of the demons. It is not known when the rule of love will prevail in the world. The white races are at present the most influential of all the races in the world, and the world is in their hands. The feeling of brotherhood has not yet been engendered in them. The attempt of other races to learn this brotherhood from them will end like the dumb man's dream. If the present condition of Europe is considered, wise men will think that the establishment of peace in the world is a matter of difficulty. If the white races wish to adopt the principle of brotherhood, they should completely give up their present customs and habits. If Europe gets purified the whole world will become purified, and if jealousy disappears from that continent, it will disappear in all other continents. But God alone can say when this will happen. The arrogance of Germany which, on account of its wealth and military strength, did not care to regard others, has abated. Let other races try to give up their haughtiness seeing at least the ruin of Germany brought about by her pride, for it is certain that all those who are at present haughty and disregard others will in the future share the fate of the Germans. Wisdom consists in practising temperance when wealth and power increase and those that oppress others when they possess these are indeed base. If now the west wants to get good sense, it must seek the aid of the east, for if it attains the wisdom of the east, it is certain that it will become pure. The westerns have their whole heart upon weapons, but the easterns have no thought of weapons at all. The east, which in ancient times gave birth to Christ, has now too produced a Christ. Let the west lend ear to the words of this Christ. If the calmness, patience and love of Christ had taken root in the west, it would not have fallen a prey to jealousy. As the westerns have, in practice, forgotten Christ and thought of the æroplanes and submarines as Christ himself, brotherhood fears to approach them. Though the westerns may have forgotten the Christ of those days, they should not forget Mr Gandhi, the modern Christ but reverse him. The nature of Mr. Gandhi, who tries to supplant physical force in this world by soul force, will be manifest only to people like himself. He has taken a vow to get rid of the Rowlatt Law and it is foolishness to discuss whether that vow will be fulfilled or not. As far as he is concerned, that vow has certainly triumphed. If others too behave like him with constancy, it is certain that the *Satyagraha* vow will be successful in their case as well. The bureaucrats have determined to suppress the efforts of Mr. Gandhi. It will be fostering British justice in India if the bureaucrats, instead of trying to suppress the efforts of Mr. Gandhi, do away with the Rowlatt Law and adopt the policy of loving the people. But the Government of India are obstinate. Even Mr. Montagu has spoken disparagingly of Mr. Gandhi's efforts. To those who ask us about the nature of the Secretary of State for India, we would reply that he is a gramaphone voicing forth the views of the Government of India. He will neither give out his own views, nor believe what the popular leaders say. What else can he do living as he does in England? Let patriots help Mr. Gandhi in his efforts and revive the *Satyagraha* movement. Our friends should not be bewildered by the number of those that issue notices prejudicial to him.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 7th June 1919.

The *Swadeshi* movement.

45. Remarking that the object of those who took part in the *Swadeshi* movement which was started in India on a previous occasion was to boycott foreign goods. While that of the present *Swadeshi* movement of Mr. Gandhi is only to support and develop indigenous industries, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th June, observes:—It is in no

way consistent with propriety that while the majority of the Indians are suffering for want of even a single meal a day, foreign merchants should trade in India and carry away huge profits. If, as stated by the late Mr. Gokhale, India should, like shedding blood, continue to give money by lakhs to foreign merchants every year, how can her poverty be got rid of? No country in the world is unceasingly giving its money away to foreigners like India. Other countries do not suffer from poverty like India only because of their being protected in such a way that their wealth may remain in them. India should first retain the articles she wants and give to other countries only what remains. As she is very poor, she cannot develop her industries without the aid of the Government. But the Government do not realize this and easily come forward to assist her. Some European capitalists who feared to pay the high wages demanded by the labourers in the west have come to India and started new industries here. No good can India derive from them. They will give such low wages to the labourers as will not be sufficient even to pacify their hunger and return to their countries with enormous profits.

India and South Africa.

46. Referring to the decision of the Government to make a free gift of railway materials worth five lakhs of pounds to the railways in South Africa in consideration of the help rendered by them to England during the war, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th June, observes:—We are not jealous of this gift. However, what are the gifts to India? At the time of the war, the authorities praised India as much as they could, but what has happened after the close of the war? The Rowlatt Bills were introduced, and have been passed by the authorities in spite of the unanimous opposition of the people and their representatives. This resulted in disturbances, riots and bloodshed throughout the country. Many lives were lost and martial law was introduced in the Punjab. As if these are not enough, the Press Act is now in its full swing. The lot of newspapers is pitiable. Famine is increasing, as well as the hardships of the people. These perhaps are the gifts to India. It was stated in the Parliament that some of the æroplanes, which were in service during the period of the war, would be presented to the Colonies and India for being utilized for mail service. Though a small gift, there is no doubt that the Indians will deem this to be great.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th June 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim.

47. Referring to the Knighthood conferred upon the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 7th June, observes:—This title should have been conferred upon Mr. Abdur Rahim some years back, but the bureaucrats were not then inclined to grant it to him. As he is in the service of Government he is bound to accept this title. However, there is a saying in English to the effect that titles generally impair the glory and greatness of sincere men, for those who receive titles have to be obliged to those that grant them.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th June 1919.

Disturbances in the Punjab.

48. Referring to the statement made by Mr. Montagu in the Parliament that a commission will be appointed by the Viceroy to inquire about the recent disturbances in the Punjab, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 7th June, observes that, if the Viceroy intends that the inquiry should satisfy the public and wishes to secure the confidence of the people thereby, he should include in the commission some distinguished Indian leaders, who, in the interests of the public, can conduct a careful inquiry into the several circumstances connected with the disturbances, and, suggesting the names of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sayyid Hassan Imam, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar and Sir C. Sankaran Nayar for being chosen as the members of this commission, advocate the necessity of a public inquiry being instituted into the matter.

HINDU NESAN, Madras. 7th June 1919.

Europeans and the recent disturbances.

49. Adverting to a circular said to have been issued to the members of the European Association by the President thereof after his interview with the Viceroy and his colleagues, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 7th June, writes:—What is the reason for the Viceroy and his colleagues to have granted a private interview to the President of the above association alone and communicated to him certain particulars connected with the recent disturbances when the

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 7th June 1919.

matter concerns all the 33 crores of people in India and when there are a good number of leaders among the people? That both the Viceroy and his colleagues should have managed the affairs without taking the Indian leaders into confidence indicates the change which has of late come in the system of administration.

SWADESAMITRAN & DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th June 1919.

A public meeting at Madura.

50. The *Swadesamitran* and the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th June, publish in Tamil the abstract of a lecture delivered at a public meeting in Madura by Mr. Sonasundara Bharati of Turticorin on 6th idem, on the "Indian Industries," in the course of which the lecturer is said to have dwelt on the importance of the *Swadeshi* vow and advocated the adoption of this vow by the people of this country.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 9th June 1919.

India and the Dominions.

51. Referring to a statement said to have been made recently by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir that, on account of the friendly relation between India and the Dominions, there exists a mutual good feeling between them, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 9th June, observes:—If his statement is true, it is clear that the Indians should have the same rights and privileges as the British subjects in the Dominions and the Colonies and in the countries subject to their control. In any affair wherein the Indians and Europeans work conjointly, no distinctions whatever should be made between the two. It is the object of the Maharaja of Bikanir that affairs should be conducted in such a way that India will have no troubles and there will be no difficulties in the way of the advancement of the Indians. We trust that this suggestion which was made by the Maharaja of Bikanir with the idea of promoting the harmony between the rulers and the ruled will reach the ears of the authorities and be productive of good results.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras. 9th June 1919.

The President of the ensuing National Congress.

52. Referring to the suggestion of a correspondent in the *Hindu* that Sir Sankaran Nayar should be elected as the President of the ensuing session of the Congress, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th June, observes:—This will be a fitting opportunity for manifesting the unanimous appreciation of the Indians of the rare services rendered in his official capacity by Sir Sankaran Nayar in connexion with the Indian political reforms. The correspondent says that, in case he is to preside, many of the non-Brahmans, who were till now keeping aloof, will join the Congress. Further, it is our opinion that all the moderates and the extremists in the country will make a common cause under his leadership sinking their party differences. There is no leader better than Sir Sankaran Nayar for setting forth boldly and clearly the grievances and the rights of the country at this juncture.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 9th June 1919.

The Governor's tour.

53. Adverting to an order said to have been issued by His Excellency the Governor of Madras to the District Collectors not to burden the people with any expenditure at this time of stress in connexion with his tour, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 9th June, observes:—This act is that of a good Governor. We are glad that Lord Willingdon has issued such an order. We trust he will realise the condition of the people in this time of severe famine and relieve their hardships. At the outset we expected that Lord Willingdon's administration would begin well. But the Press Act was applied to certain newspapers. We apprise His Excellency that, by this repressive measure, the feelings of the people are wounded. It is indispensable that hereafter at least Lord Willingdon should, without resorting to repressive measures, carry on the administration with the co-operation of the editors of newspapers and the support of the popular leaders. We hope that Lord Willingdon will consider our request and restore the union and harmony between the rulers and the ruled, which were lost during the regimé of Lord Pentland.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras. 10th June 1919.

The Ali brothers.

54. Referring to the decision of the Government to incarcerate the Ali brothers so as to prevent them from endeavouring to help the Afghans and breed disloyalty among the Moslems, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th June, observes:—It is not known what amount of truth there is in the statement made by the authorities about these brothers. We cannot say anything in the matter, until we know what the Ali brothers have to say. But there is no doubt that dissatisfaction will, on their account, prevail in the minds of the lakhs of our Moslem brethren in this country.

55. Under this heading the *Hitakarini*, of the 25th May, reports Mr. C. R. Das to have said:—Mr. Arden Wood has stated that if the (Indian) Nation becomes great politically, we (the English) have to leave this country or India will have to be conquered again. The English may remain in this country if it is advantageous for them to do so, or they may leave it. But it is ridiculous to say that our country should be conquered again. India was not conquered by the English. It was conquered by love and by the promise of good government The English come to our country for making money. They come very poor but go back from our country with large fortunes. If self-government is granted to us, what may become of these merchants! The pledges and promises of sovereigns and statesmen have not been carried out. This caused the people disappointment and indignation. The present administration is not of advantage to us. The Government of India is not responsible to anybody and there can be no good government under such circumstances. So in order to remove arbitrary authority, responsible self-government is supremely necessary. We want Legislative Councils like those obtaining in Australia. There is no use merely having 200 or 300 members in our Legislative Councils or having two more Indians in the Executive Councils. The liberty enjoyed by the people in England should be given to us also. It is essential that the Legislative Councils should have authority over the Executive. Arbitrary authority should leave us. We have no quarrel with anybody separately. We have been quarrelling with the bad anministration of to-dav. The time has come to eradicate this administration. In the self-government that we want, every one in our country from the poor ryot to the big zamindar should have a reasonable share. . While we have been working for the sake of the Empire, our rulers have been working for their advancement.

Responsible government.

Hitakarini, Eluru, 25th May 1919.

56. The *Kistnapatrika*, of the 31st May, writes under this heading:—The division of the administrative authority between two bodies will certainly give rise to discord and the device of the Government of India to avoid it is dangerous to self-government. It is the opinion of the Government that it would be well that when a dispute arises the Governor should, till the Ministers listen to his words, discharge their duties, and, hand over to the bureaucracy back the transferred departments and not appoint new ministers. By such an unbearble suggestion, self-government will be cut at the root. Even though reforms may be granted, they should be considered as not having been granted at all. In future, members of the Civil Service may become Governors. The object of Mr. Montagu's scheme of reforms is to transfer gradually the powers of the Civil Servants to the representatives of the people. It is an illusion to suppose that our rights will be safeguarded in England simply because the withdrawal of the departments handed over to the Ministers has to be done with the consent of the Secretary of State. As stated by Sir C. Sankaran Nayar the Secretary of State coolly approves of what the officers of the Civil Service say. The love of these officers for India is plainly that of a step mother. It is not well at all to make rules to take back the powers once given. It is harmful to vest the Civil Service with such power of scrutiny. Under Mr. Montagu's scheme, such a power belongs to the Parliament. We want that even the Parliament should not have the power to take back what has been given. Under such circumstances, the suggestion of the Government of India deserves to be rejected. The proposals of the Southborough Committee on the other hand are on the whole gratifying. The attempts of the Government of India to curtail them are very absurd. From the proposals of the Government of India, it is plain how arbitrarily the members of the Indian Civil Service who are selfish and opposed to reforms want to administer the country.

With regard to the subject of franchise, it must be admitted that the proposals of the Government of India are liberal, but it must be stated that the recommendations of our Madras Government are very shameful. . . That all classes should have due representation is beyond contradiction. The non-Brahmans may be given the privilege of separate representation. While Sir C. Sankaran Nayar recognised separate representation for non-Brahmans, he is not in agreement with Mr. Couchman. No wise man will accept the obstinate

The Southborough Committee.

Kistnapatrika, Masulipatam, 31st May 1919.

argument that self-government should not be granted without separate representation for non-Brahmans. It is the opinion of Sir C Sankaran Nayar that in the British rule, the non-Brahmans chiefly were the greatest losers. It is the non-Brahmans that were carrying on the administration before the British rule. It is only after the advent of the British that the non-Brahmans severed their connexion with the State. Sir C. Sankaran Nayar states that it is after the establishment of the British Government that the condition of the depressed classes also has become worse. In ancient times the depressed classes were given sites *gratis*. The present ryotwari system has abolished that practice. They used to get the timber required for their houses from the forests without payment. There is not that system now. Sir C. Sankaran Nayar has distinctly proved that the condition of the depressed classes also has become worse along with that of the ryots. Who brought about the decline of the Indian handicrafts? Is it not the non-Brahmans who have suffered loss thereby? So asks Doctor Nayar. Sir C. Sankaran Nayar has proclaimed boldly that the English officials not only oppose reformers who say that there should be no caste differences but they also used to say that they are necessary in their rule and take much pains to prevent the non-Brahmans from joining the Congress. . . From the letter of Sir Alexander Cardew who had appeared to be a great benefactor of the non-Brahmans till yesterday, it is plain that with a view to frustrate the grant of political reforms, he has so long fondled the non-Brahman leaders and made them speak words which are unfavourable to the future advancement of the country. May the non-Brahman leaders not follow others in future but act independently! It is praiseworthy that the Southborough Committee have not heeded the bad proposals of the Madras Government but have arranged for elections on the lines indicated by Mr. Montagu.

Kistnapatrika, Masulipatam, 31st May 1919

Military Government.

57. A correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 31st May, writes under this heading :—In the English system of administration there is no military Government like the one now introduced into the Punjab. There, after the riots have subsided, the riotors are tried in the ordinary courts. The readers will see the difference between such a policy and the policy prevailing here, where the riotors are tried in Special Courts by military officers vomitting the fire of anger. In England the freedom of the Press and of speech is very well safeguarded. In our last issue we have shown how many Acts opposed to principles of law, our rulers here have passed. It is not possible to establish in England a military Government like the one obtaining in the Punjab. Pleaders to defend the accused in the Punjab could not be sent for from other Provinces. The rulers perhaps fear that the rue state of things will come to light in the cross-examinations. When the lives of very respectable leaders are at stake, may they not be allowed to engage pleaders in whom they have faith? How can the people as well as the accused who are charged with offences punishable with death or transportation, be satisfied with the justness of a trial in which proper opportunities have not been afforded for defence? The pleaders might be ordered not to give lectures but only to defend the accused. The pleaders may agree to this condition though it may be humiliating. The orders passed in the Punjab regarding pleaders and newspapers, and the order prohibiting respectable men from entering the Punjab to ascertain the real state of things there, have given room for many suspicions. If the secret trials there are conducted without assistance being given to the accused, the administration of British justice will certainly be stained. Why should political and other offences be tried under martial law when there are ordinary courts to try them? The rulers might have introduced certain methods obtaining in some other countries when the people have turned against them. But when the revolt has subsided in ten days and the rulers themselves have declared that peace has been restored, under what authority have the military Government, the special courts and summary trials been established? If such a thing had taken place in England, every Judge, every Magistrate and every Police officer concerned in it, would have been tried in ordinary courts and punished. The ordinary courts would have inquired what reasons there were to use against the unarmed subjects murderous weapons intended for use against enemies in the

war. It is not a wonder under the present circumstances, that some of our Judges, like Mr. Darling who delivered judgment in Mr. Tilak's case recently, out of false political pride, are ready to support all the acts of the executive and to give judgment to the effect that all the Executive has done is good. Except when it is considered impossible to conduct regular trials leisurely in ordinary courts during times of war, to say simply that a military Government is established and to hold special courts and to resort to special procedure is entirely opposed to principles of law. To whom are we to make our complaints? Who is there to hear them? Our Viceroy and the English Cabinet do not seem to have the time even to lend their ear to such things. The Indians depend only upon God.

58. Referring to the article written by Sir Dinsha Wacha to the *Bombay Times* on this subject the *Kistnapatrika* states that the prices of cloth are rising gradually owing to the middlemen increasing their profits and asks why the Government are not making the necessary inquiry about the matter and remarks that it is useless to regret when it is too late.

Cloth famine.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam.

59. The *Hitakarini*, of the 1st June, refers to the security demanded from the *Hindu* and says:—We do not see anything objectionable in the leader of the 8th May. Will not a thing become an offence when it appears to be objectionable to the authorities? When they think something to be a mistake, it is a mistake. Wnat they do is an order. What they say is gospel truth. The condition of papers is very critical. . . We are to surmise that a paper in the hands of an editor who is connected with *Satyagraha* cannot escape paying security.

Papers and securities.

HITAKARINI, Eluru, 1st June 1919.

60. The *Hitakarini*, of the 1st June, says under this heading addressing the deputations:—Tell the British leaders that the placing of India on a level with the Colonies politically is the only reward for the help rendered by her in the war, and that political reforms without the power of self-determination and financial independence, are worthless. . . Remember the official and the non-official arguments in the Viceregal Council on the day on which the Rowlatt Bills were passed. The riots in the Punjab and the enforcement of the martial law must have taken root in your mind. Mark, how many innocent patriots and how many papers devoted to truth are falling a prey to the martial law and to the Defence of India Act. Bring to your mind why Messrs. Jinnah and Malavia resigned their seats in the Imperial Legislative Council! Consider deeply why the Indian Member Sir C. Sankaran Nayar has resigned his office! When an experienced English editor like Mr. Horniman has been suddenly deported, when an harmless man like Mr. Andrews devoted to the cause of India has been arrested, when the lawyers who wanted to defend the editor of the *Tribune* were not allowed to proceed (for conducting the defence) and the editor has been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for two years and a fine of Rs. 1,000 and when a security of Rs. 2,000 has been imposed on the *Hindu* which is noted for its able and grand views on different subjects, consider which movement and which living being can be happy and safe under the circumstances. May you not, on seing the City of London which is enjoying the heavenly bliss of liberty, forget India, which is bewailing under imprisonment, the poor life led by your country which is subjected to severe starvation due to famine, your own continent which enjoyed glory in ancient days, but which having lost the natural human liberty, is now caught among the meshes of repressive laws and is suffering, and your poor country which is wistfully looking up to you thinking that you have gone to a foreign continent in order to do a great good to it. If you realise all these things, will you not consider that self-government is the proper remedy, and that to-day or to-morrow or ten years hence, India should become a self-governing country within the British Empire. . . It is enough if the rulers promise the grant of complete responsible self-government to India within a fixed number of years. Your deputations will have their object fulfilled only when the promise is published.

India's message.

HITAKARINI, Eluru, 1st June 1919.

Hitavadi, Masulipatam, May 1919.

The *Swadeshi* vow.

61. Referring to the last portion of the *Swadeshi* vow of Mr. Gandhi in which the taker of the vow declares on oath that he would set fire to all the foreign clothes in his possession, the *Hitavadi*, for May, says:—We fear that great commotion may take place as a consequence of the last words of the vow. The riotous mob may take the hint and loot the piece-goods, shops, fall on persons wearing such cloths and take the cloths forcibly and set them all on fire. Again the poor cannot bear the loss caused thereby. Racial prejudice between foreigners and ourselves may thereby be aggravated. The people pray to Mr. Gandhi to avoid persuading the masses to take harmful vows.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 6th June 1919.

The Andhra province.

62. Referring to the total area comprising the Telugu districts and the total amount of revenues collected therein the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 6th June, observes that those districts satisfy the conditions necessary for a separate Andhra province being formed.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 4th June 1919.

The British papers and the condition of India.

63. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th June, in its leader under this heading writes:—However ardently constitutional agitation may be carried on in India, the British papers do not even try to know the condition of this country. . . Even Reuter does not inform the English people of the feelings of the Indians. But, if any the least disturbance occurs here, he sends alarming telegrams and thereupon the Northcliff papers make much noise. They give a political colour to every riot as in the case of the Bakrid riots. . . They are not concerned with the original cause of the Punjab riots or with the proper steps that should be taken for their suppression Their chief object is to make the Reforms scheme fruitless. . . The article written by Mr. Bernard Houghton in the *India* reveals the truth. . . The doctrine that one rule of law is applicable to the East and another to the West has not taken hold of his mind. . . The problems relating to Ireland, India and Egypt have risen from the natural right of self-government not having been granted to those countries. . . The British Government had faith in the Colonial Governments and gave them opportunities to develop as they liked. In those countries feelings of devotion towards England and love for their own country could be entertained together. . . Here, some may point out that the people of the colonies belong to the Anglo-Saxon race while the rest are of different races. If so, asks Mr. Houghton, is freedom the monopoly of the Anglo-Saxon race alone? The Anglo-Saxons did not form the bulk of the population in Canada and South Africa, when those countries were granted self-government. . . The conditions in the colonies prior to the grant of self-government were similar to those now obtaining in the dependencies. Repression was resorted to even then, the result having been the same as it now is. It is after the grant of self-government that peace and happiness have begun to make permanent progress in those parts. . . Thus, it becomes clear that the grant of self-government is the chief means of solving the problems of India, Egypt and Ireland. In the absence of a thorough solution of these problems, says Mr. Houghton, such big expressions as self-determination will become meaningless. These facts cannot be concealed. The Rowlatt Bills cannot constitute an answer to the request for reforms. Though the future is very gloomy, Mr. Houghton does not lose his hope. . . It is because Englishmen like Mr Houghton raise their voice that the faith of the Indian people in British justice still remains unshaken. Writing in the *Herald*, Doctor Clarke advises the English people to see that India does not turn out another Ireland. In this connexion. it is gratifying to note that the Indians now residing in England are doing their duty by writing to the British papers about the evil consequences of enforcing repressive laws. Doctor Muttu has given a vivid picture of the present situation in India in the following terms in the *Nation*:—". . . It will be ridiculous to enact the Rowlatt Bills in India after the war in return for all the devotion and self-sacrifice shown by her. She helped England to conquer German Militarism, and she has now become aware of the arbitrariness in her own midst. In India men of all parties have expressed their strong aversion for the ingratitude shown by the bureaucracy. While all the promises about self-government still remain unfulfilled, repressive measures are making good progress day by day. Even a moderate like myself is losing hope. It seems to me that the future will be very gloomy, if the

recent awakening which India has had is not directed in proper channels". . . The heart of India after the war has been the same as it was during the war. The public mind is full of anxiety on account of the Rowlatt Bills. It is wrong to think that the country is seething with sedition. . . Whatever the reason may be, the affairs of India are now attracting the attention of the British people. There has been a desire among them to know the truth. If the Indian leaders now impress firmly upon their minds the facts about the present situation in India, some good may be hoped for. Like Mr. Houghton, the people of India also will do well to patiently wait with faith in the ultimate triumph of justice.

64. Referring to the recommendation of the Government of India that there should be at least one seat reserved for Indians in the Imperial Executive Council, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th June, writes under this heading :—It is surprising that Mr. Montagu should deny the Indians even the good, which the Government of India wanted to do them. It is said that the scheme proposed for the other provinces will not be adopted in the case of Burma. The reason for this is not known. The people of Burma will not be pleased with the separate scheme proposed for that province. Though the Reform Bill has already been published in England, we do not know why it is taking such a long time for the particulars thereof to reach this country. Is the patience of the Indian people tested ?

The Government of India Bill.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th June 1919.

65. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th June, observes, with much pleasure and gratitude, the generous nature of the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir Edward Maclagon, as manifested in the reduction of the periods of punishments awarded in connexion with the Punjab disturbances, and adds that the rulers and the ruled will profit by his administration if His Honour also make the people of the Punjab forget the severity of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration.

Mercy.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th June 1919.

66. Referring to the recent Birth Day Honours List, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th June, observes:-- . . . The desire for titles is becoming less and less marked among the educated classes nowadays than before. Of late, titles seem to be bestowed on some of those who work to gain their own interests, while those who take a commendable part in public life get none. Since the advent of the political awakening in the country, it does not appear that those who have been taking considerable part in political activities have been honoured with titles. Political views seem to have some share in influencing the grant of titles. Be it as it may, there seems to be absolutely no reason to think that only the recipients of titles are the benefactors of the world and that men like them cannot be met with among others. From the way in which titles are being conferred, their value also is falling down. Though the whole honours list is searched through, the names of those respected as the leaders of the people do not find a place there. Even those who hold higher titles are renouncing them to maintain their self-respect. The truth of this statement will become evident from the way in which Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar and Doctor Rabindranath have renounced their kinghthood. Again, some others are refusing titles, even when they are offered to them. A perusal of the *India Gazette* published yesterday will show that the Madras Presidency has the smallest number of titles to its share while the Andhra country has received scant attention. Mr. Marjoribanks has been granted a C.I.E. Though his district administration has not been popular, he is known as a specialist in revenue matters. . . Those who serve God and their country without caring for the favours or frowns of others, will do their duty whether they are honoured with titles or not.

Titles.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th June 1919.

67. Referring to the public meeting which was to be held in the Gokhale Hall on the evening of the 4th June to protest against the application of the Press Act, the *Andhraratrika*, of the 4th June, advises the people to hold similar meetings all over the country, and gives in Telugu a note from the *New Statesman* written in appreciation of Mr. B. G. Horniman, which contains:— . . . Since the transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, this has been the first time when an Englishman who has given his support to the Radical Indian Reform Movement is punished in this way.

The *Bombay Chronicle*.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th June 1919.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th June 1919.

The *Bombay Chronicle*.

Referring to the reasons assigned by Mr. Montagu for the action taken by the Government against the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th June, observes:— . . . If these are the only reasons for the deportation of Mr. Horniman, the people cannot consider them sufficient. . . Mr. Horniman will not only be able to work for Reforms but will also speak from personal experience to the British public impressively on the unrest caused by the Rowlatt Bill. . . We hope that the Indian public will make liberal contributions to the fund started by Mr. Lakshmi Das in aid of Mr. Horniman.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras. 4th June 1919.

The budget speech of Mr. Montagu.

68. Referring to the speech of Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons on the Indian Budget, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th June, observes:— . . . The speech of Mr. Montagu is very disappointing. His defence of the Rowlatt Act is a matter of surprise for Indians. We have nothing to do now with the question whether the Rowlatt Commissioners are lawyers or not. However great they may be, the inquiry held and the verdict given by them resemble ex parte orders. They have not attempted to ascertain the public opinion. The evidence taken by them was not cross-examined. . . Revolutionary crime has not been defined in the Rowlatt Act. How is it possible to think that in the courts dispensing with the authority of law-courts, revolutionaries alone will be punished? When there is frequent miscarriage of justice even in the ordinary courts of law in spite of many safeguards, it is not understood how Mr. Montagu has led himself to believe that the innocent can be protected in the new courts doing away with the right of appeal and the principles of ordinary legal procedure. . . The recent despatches on the Reforms scheme afford little room for the hope entertained by Mr. Montagu that the new councils will see that the Act is not abused. So long as law, justice and police are in the hands of the bureaucracy, what can the representatives of the people do? And what can the Ministers do with the nominal power they possess? It would have, therefore, been very well, if proper self government had been given to the people and the responsibility for the passing of the Act had been left to the new legislative councils. Liberal English papers have given this advice. Mr Montagu hopes that the establishment of peace will create an atmosphere favourable to the Reforms. The leaders of the people, on the other hand, say that repression cannot lead towards conciliation and that conciliation itself, without any repression, will allay unrest. The grounds advanced by Mr. Montagu in defence of the deportation of Mr. Horniman cannot create confidence in the people. . . .

The paper then expresses joy at the statement of Mr. Montagu urging the necessity for commercial freedom to India and says: It is not known whether this idea will take a practical shape or will remain only as a pious wish. . .

Turning to the question of the Reforms, the paper appreciates Mr. Montagu's refutation of the schemes proposed by the Provincial Governments, which are, in its opinion, for continuing the present autocratic administration in future. . . It observes that it is dangerous to embody in the Reforms Bill the alterations proposed by the Government of India, and concludes by saying that the future is full of dispair, and that it is necessary for the British people to discharge their duty at this moment fearlessly.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th June 1919.

India in the Parliament.

69. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th June, writes:—. . . Men like Colonel Yates are trying their utmost to have the free continuance of the present bureaucratic system by altering the Reforms Bill and depriving it of the little responsibility it proposes to grant to the people. In case the Bill is altered, the Indian deputations should try to secure full provincial autonomy. . . There is the likelihood of such opponents as the Lords of the Sydenham party gaining access to the Joint Committee to be newly formed and upsetting the Reforms. It is not known how far it will be possible to surmount all these obstacles. . . It is not possible to understand why the Reuter's agency, which sends with so much care the questions asked by Colonel Yates and the replies given to them, has failed till now to communicate the details of the Reforms Bill introduced in the Parliament. Perhaps, in its opinion, the Reforms Bill is not of so much importance as the questions of Colonel Yates.

Increase of salaries.

70. Referring to the increase of the salaries of officers in the Educational Service from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th June, remarks:—. . . The salaries of officers in the Civil and Medical services will also be increased. We have no objection to this increase. . . . But as it is the low-paid officers who suffer most in these famine days, it would have been well if their claims had been first considered.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th June 1919.

The Reforms Bill.

71. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 9th June, writes with reference to the second reading of the Reforms Bill in the House of Commons:—It is to be regretted that though the Bill was read twice in the House of Commons, the details thereof have not yet reached India. The authorities do not seem to have realized the anxiety of the Indians. . . In the House of Lords there are many belonging to the Sydenham party. They may sit in the Joint Committee and make the Reforms scheme fruitless. Have our deputations the ability to accomplish their object by overcoming their obstacles and persuading the members of the Parliament and the British public to see that the Congress scheme of reforms is granted to this country?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 9th June 1919.

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur.

72. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 9th June, refers to the report of the work done by the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur in the Imperial Legislative Council and remarks that it is worthy of note that this gentleman while working for the welfare of the Muhammadans has also worked for the union of the Hindus and the Muhammadans and has lent his support to the Home Rule movement.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 9th June 1919.

Strikes.

73. In its leader under this heading, the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 27th May, observes that the habit of intemperance which is so characteristic of the western labourer threatens to affect the labouring classes in this country also. It thinks that there must be some wirepuller behind the strike of the Madras Pressmen, and also disapproves of the Calcutta Postal strike. It urges upon the Government the need for careful inquiry into such strikes, and tells them that it is their duty to increase the salaries of the strikers, if they have reason to believe that inadequate pay is their real grievance.

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 27th May 1919.

Will dual Government be accepted?

74. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th June, refers to Mr. Montagu's defence of dual Government in provinces and observes that the best thing that can be done is to grant complete provincial autonomy as asked for by the Congress and that in its absence dual Government is the next best alternative. It is afraid that the opponents of reforms may propose many reactionary changes in the Bill in the House of Lords which, in its opinion, is their stronghold.

Whatever be the findings of the Joint Committee, the paper urges that members of the Indian deputations should see that the Parliament rejects the Committee's proposals and grants the wishes of the people. It exhorts them to educate the British public, before the Bill comes up for final discussion, on the need for the application of self-determination to India for securing thereby the stability and lasting prosperity of the British Empire, and to spare no effort for the attainment of their common object, and remarks that every endeavour based on justice is bound to triumph in the end.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th June 1919.

An intolerable condition.

75. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th June, observes that the fall in the value of a sovereign and the principle of Imperial preference newly introduced into the British Empire will crush the rising industries of the country and will render its economic condition worse still. It claims for India the right of determining her own commercial policy. It remarks that as the British soldiers return home from the field, it would be difficult to provide them with employment and that there will be labour unrest when merchants make enormous profits on account of the policy of Imperial preference. It understands from the *Pioneer* cables that the authorities in Canada and South Africa are taking preventive measures again's

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th June 1919.

Bolshevism. From all these circumstances, it fears that the economic condition of the people may become intolerable, and appeals to the Government to relieve the present distress in the interests of the rulers as well as the ruled.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 10th June 1919.

The activities of Mr. Tilak.

76. Referring to the part taken by Mr. Tilak in winning the sympathies of the Labour party towards the Indian cause, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th June, reports that in a Labour meeting containing eight platforms and attended by three lakhs of people, it was unanimously resolved that the Indians should be given complete autonomy. It exhorts the members of the several Indian deputations to co-operate with him and to do their duty by educating the British public to bring about the fulfilment of the reforms and the repeal of repressive measures.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st May 1919.

Rupee notes

77. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 31st May, writes complaining that change for one rupee notes is given in the bazaar at one anna discount and that rupee coins are becoming very rare. He requests the Government to take prompt steps to remove the inconvenience felt by the public in the matter and observes, that their will be no limit to the trouble of the people otherwise.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

The Fifth Ganjām District Conference.

78. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd May, publishes in Telugu portions from the speech of the President of the Fifth Ganjām District Conference, which contain the following observations among others:—Is it proper to use these war measures, even though the people are unarmed? Is it just to put into force such extraordinary measures, after the disturbances have subsided in the affected parts? . . . Let alone reforms. How will the Rowlatt Act which violates the freedom of men disappear? Why does the Government which has quelled the disturbances with the strength of its laws and weapons require the Rowlatt Act? Why should the confidence of the Government in the people of India, who showed their loyalty during the war by giving their help in men and money to the best of their ability, now diminish? In this way, the people are questioning all over in newspapers and meetings. . . The foundation of the British Empire is its high standard of Justice. In every country there will be a few wicked persons and they certainly deserve severe punishment. But until the guilt is proved, the law affords certain facilities to the accused to disprove the charge made against him. Is it proper to curtail those facilities? . . . The view has been clearly expressed throughout India that this Act is troublesome. . . Dealing with the question of reforms, the President observes that public opinion in England is becoming more and more unfavourable to the system of diarchy. . . and that any arrangement which does not entrust power to the people will create much discontent in this country. He believes that the gentlemen holding responsible offices in England will fulfill the pledge of August 20, 1917, inspired with the idea that the object of the reforms is to secure the contentment of the people.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

Discontent in India.

79. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd May, publishes in Telugu the article on the Indian Unrest contributed by Lord Sydenham to the *Daily Graphic*, attributing the riots in Bihar, Khatarpur and the Punjab to political causes, charging the Government of India with inability and timidity, and complaining of tardiness in publishing news from India in England.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd May 1919.

The Andhra movement.

80. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd May, makes a proposal that the Andhra villages in the Chingleput district should be included either in the Chittoor district or in the Nellore district and appeals to the Andhra leaders to visit those villages and start some agitations in the matter.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 30th May 1919.

Indian Reforms. Some Moderate views

81. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 30th May, publishes in English and Telugu a Bombay telegram giving an account of the proceedings of the farewell entertainment held in honour of Messrs. M. Ramachandra Rao, C. Y Chintamani and others proceeding to England on behalf of the Moderate party. The account gives a summary of the concluding remarks of

Sir D. E. Wacha disapproving of the recent actions of the authorities in the Punjab and of the amendments proposed by the Government of India to the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms, and paying a glowing tribute to Sir C. Sankaran Nayar for his minute of dissent.

Indian Reforms.

Referring to the sensation caused by the announcement in the *Leader* of Allahabad that it has come into possession of a blue book containing the unpublished confidential reports of the Provincial Governments and the Government of India and the question of Indian Reforms, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 30th May, observes that it is now almost clear that several of the high administrative authorities in India have tried and are trying to make the reforms merely nominal. It is also clear that Sir Sankaran Nayar is struggling hard to successfully fight against this force. It does not, therefore, seem to be necessary to seek far and wide for the cause of his resignation.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 30th May 1919.

Sir Alexander Cardew on the Reforms.

82. The *Kantheerva*, of the 10th June, writes:—Sir Alexander Cardew has written a note to the Southborough Committee stating that there is no need for division of functions in the Madras Presidency where the Brahmans predominate and that in case of division the 42 millions of non-Brahmans will be the slaves of 1½ millions of Brahmans and will be still further oppressed. What else can we expect but these divine effusions from this great personage who occupied the *gadi* of Lord Pentland at least for four days! But why did he forget to cite figures from the 'Decentralization Commission Report' to show how the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Eurasians and other white men have kept both the Brahmans and non-Brahmans shut out of public services more completely than the Brahmans have predominated over the non-Brahmans? Another theory he has evolved is that the idea of democracy is alien to the Indians who believe in transmigration and ascribe everything to Karma. It is not mentioned in any history that the Hindus who believe in many births were not in a state of independence in the past. If nations should practise those principles which they say they believe in, there would be no war. Why did the Germans, the followers of Jesus Christ, without being like Him free from anger, draw their sword in the fight between Servia and Austria?

KANTHEERVA, Mangalore, 10th June 1919.

Again commenting on the figures showing the predominance of the Brahman element in the public service, and the absence of even a single member of the depressed classes in the Legislative Council, the paper says: It is to be hoped that the Government at least which regards all communities with strict impartiality will perhaps explain to Sir Alexander Cardew why it has not been possible to appoint at least one member of the depressed classes to the Legislative Council.

From the Public Services Commission report it could be seen in what proportion the higher appointments in Government service are held by foreigners and Indians. Out of 250 appointments carrying a salary of more than Rs. 800, only 242 are held by Indians; out of 30 of such appointments in the Agricultural department, not a single one is held by an Indian. In the Educational department 91 appointments of that grade are held by foreigners, and only two by Indians. In the Civil Service 743 by non-Indians and only 29 by Indians. In the Police department 266 are the foreigners while the Indians are only three! Let Sir Alexander Cardew decide whether it is abnormal to have 70 per cent of the Brahmans in the higher grades of service in the Madras Presidency or to have 90 per cent of the higher administrative posts to the share of Europeans. Does Sir Alexander Cardew fear that the higher posts will go to the Brahmans, or is he nervous that they might slip out of the hands of the Europeans as a result of the reforms?

Sir Sankaran Nayar.

83. In its leading article in English on "Sir Sankaran Nayar", the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 2nd June, says:—"The public of Britain will not be far from the right when they come to the conclusion that there is something wrong with the body composing the Government of India, when a number of very distinguished Indian Councillors and the solitary Indian Member of the Executive Council find it necessary to withdraw from participating in the administration of their country. The position

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 2nd June 1919.

of an important officer of Government is not something to be coveted if he is driven to the necessity of voting as he is told. In so far as we know, Mr. Nayar's position in the Government has been one of great difficulty, and the recent development of unhappy events were so dramatic as to arouse serious misgivings in the mind of 'Sir Nayar', an Ex-Congress President of no little independence. We view his resignation with mingled feelings of sorrow and satisfaction—sorrow, because of the loss of a strong hard-working champion of popular causes from the Council as well as of the absence of any successor with equal or a little less capability, and satisfaction, because of the manifold benefits the Indian public will derive by having him as their proud leader. Doubtless he might be expected to place his great abilities at the service of his fellow countrymen for whose uplift in the social and political world he has been working very hard *ab initio*. We accord him a sincerely warm welcome to the popular ranks, and wish him a career of more success and usefulness to our motherland."

MALABAR, TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN PAPERS.

The food problem—a crisis.

84. All Malabar, Travancore and Cochin papers, without any exception, complain of the grave crisis arising from intense shortage of food, exorbitant price of food-grains and difficulty to get them. They point out that the arrangements made by the Government or the Darbars concerned for the importation and sale of food-grains are quite inadequate to meet the situation, that profiteering is still going on, that the system of licensing dealers of grain is not working satisfactorily, that sale of grain by the Police in Travancore gives rise to much abuse and hardship, that sale by the lower officers of the Revenue department will be far more satisfactory, that there are fairly large stocks of grain in the possession of private janmis who keep them back for sale later at higher profits and that the suffering in the rural areas is severalfold greater than in towns. The rush for grain at the depots is so great that there have been cases of people being trampled to death.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 30th May 1919.

Informal Panchayats in Malabar.

85. In the course of an article on "Informal Panchayats in Malabar." the *Manorama*, of the 30th May, refers to the opinion of Mr. Evans that these Panchayats can serve a useful purpose only as agents of the Taluk Board and that they cannot develop into or lead to local self-governing bodies, and says:—We doubt whether this opinion is quite right. If these Panchayats are properly guided, they cannot but serve materially useful purposes. . . If their benefits are explained to the people, the people will, in course of time, have an interest in them. In ancient India, such institutions were very common. Even the administration of the village was conducted by them. For sometime past all these have disappeared. This accounts for the fall in interest and experience of the people in these matters. Interest has to be aroused again in the people. The task must be entrusted by the Government to influential local leaders.

KERALA CHANDRIKA, Quilon, 3rd June 1919.

Unrest in Northern India.

86. The *Kerala Chandrika*, of the 3rd June, says:—The agitation in Northern India does not seem to have subsided to any extent. In the minds of the people there, sullen anger burns like fire within a piece of ash-covered burning cinder. Their conviction is, of course, that they are working for their lawful rights. Yet since their actions are not found to be lawful, the Government are taking various steps to put them down.

YOGAKSHEMAM Trichur 30th May 1919.

Janmis and the Revenue Authorities.

87. Adverting to the interpellations of the Hon'ble Lieutenant Kavalappara Moopil Nayar in the Madras Legislative Council on the 5th April 1919, regarding certain hardships suffered by janmis at the hands of the Revenue department (e.g., transfer of lands to the class of permanent wet lands, the responsibility regarding replacement of survey demarcation stones, etc.) and to the replies of Government thereto, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 30th May, observes that it cannot but be said that whatever may be the rulings issued by Government in these matters, as far as the janmis are concerned, these cause real hardship to them.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 7th June 1919.

The opinion of the Secretary of State for India.

88. In its leading article on "The opinion of the Secretary of State for India," the *Malayali*, of the 7th June, thinks that the Secretary of State has been blowing hot and cold in the same breath in his recent budget speech

in Parliament. His admirers and Indians generally have been struck with amazement to see Mr. Montagu—a liberal of liberals—striving with arguments to support against his own conscience the actions of his Government. It is a notorious fact that the Rowlatt Bill is the root-cause of all the agitation and discontent in India at the present day. But Mr. Montagu does not commit himself to any opinion. He praises Mahatma Gandhi to the skies, expresses sympathy for those who have suffered under martial law, promises to institute an inquiry into abuses, if any, suffered under it, but at the same time he supports the Government of India and considers the Rowlatt Act necessary. This attitude of his will not please Indians. Even if the Government were of opinion that the Rowlatt Bill was necessary, it was not right for the Government to obstinately hold on to it when they saw that eminent lawyers and politicians, who till then had stood on the side of Government, stoutly opposed the legislation. Nor was it right on the part of a liberal Secretary of State to say "yes," to such obstinacy. It is a vain attempt on the part of Mr. Montagu to support and maintain repression and yet to try to please the people by dispensing other benefits. The nice things he says about India—about her loyalty, the importance of her representatives at the Peace Conference, the need of improvement in the pay and prospects of the Indian army—these cannot wipe off the disgrace suffered by her people under repression, the bondage imposed on the press, and the unjustly hard punishments inflicted on our leaders. The promise that he will not allow the Reform Scheme to be whittled down will not make us forget the unlawful deportation of Mr. Horniman, the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and the punishment of Kalinath Roy. What Mr. Montagu said of Mr. Horniman in Parliament is full of exaggerations. . . . By the same tongue that insists on the continuance of the Rowlatt Act he supports fiscal autonomy for India, he sympathises with the Muhammadan partiality for the Kaliphate and effectively demolishes the fear of Indians that his Reform Scheme will be allowed to be whittled down by the exertions of Lord Sydenham and party who are envious of India's progress.

An inquiry has been promised into the abuses of martial law in the Punjab. But if the result of the work of that Committee will be like that of the Rowlatt Committee or the Public Service Commission, there is no room for Indians to find any satisfaction. On the whole Mr. Montagu's speech is very disappointing to Indians at the present juncture.

89. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 4th June, in a leader on this subject writes :— Qaumi Report, Madras, 4th June 1919.

A poet's heart.

Rabindranath Tagore is an Indian poet whose heart contains all those aspirations which Nature has imported in Indian soil. He is a poet and his heart is more frangible than glass. He saw with his eyes and heard with his ears the calamities of his fellow-countrymen, and when he could endure it no longer, he arose from his seat of honour and sat down in the dust of degradation. The India's soil made Tagore a poet, and popular opinion, through the King Emperor, placed upon his brow the laurel of Knighthood. But when he found that the Government officials were annoying the King's subjects, he himself removed this laurel from his head.

90. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 5th June, writes :—We are not at all surprised to find that the religious leaders of the Punjab have presented a validictory address to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and His Honour the ex-Lieutenant Governor has replied to it in the gentlest and most affectionate terms possible. We have already read in Madras the address, the Moulvies presented to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. We are also acquainted with these "Ulama of Religion" and how they donned their pious robes, put on their mystic garments and appeared at Government House. Perhaps pious Pirs of the Punjab bore some resemblance to this deputation! Qaumi Report, Madras, 5th June 1919.

The courage of the religious leaders of the Punjab.

The writer goes on to say that a mosque in the Punjab was closed and that Mussalmans were victims of the mistortune. These pious and devout Pirs could find no time to condole with or extend a helping hand to them. The question of the Khalifate and the Holy Places created restlessness and disappointment in the minds of Mussalmans, but the Madras Moulvies and Mufties were not blessed with the privilege of declaring the truth. They did not emerge from the

shell of their dignity. They received their own mental assent to interview the authorities and their religion demanded nothing more!

Qaumi Report, Madras, 6th June 1919.

Mr. Montagu and Muhammadans.

91. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 5th June, writes:—Mr. Montagu has tried with some sincerity and sympathy to wipe away the tears of Muhammadans. We hope that the King's Government has not left any stone unturned in espousing their cause. Mr. Montagu says: 'I do not believe that peace will be concluded on any but national principles'. We also believe that peace will not be concluded against the interests of Muhammadans. The principle of nationality, however, urged by him is one that does not convey the same meaning in Europe as it does in Asia. European nationality depends upon Geography but in Islam it is based on religion. Therefore any separation of the Turks from the Arabs is in accordance with European nationality but it is opposed to Islamic nationality.

The writer notes that the remarks by Mr. Montagu with reference to the Khalifate are very reassuring and says: 'we know no one has anything to do with the Khalifate and it is a fact that the Peace Conference will not deprive the Sultan of the Khalifate'. But so far as the terms are concerned, we do not think we are wrong in being apprehensive that conformity with these conditions will reduce the office to that of a puppet. Hence we wish to get the cause of this fear removed by means of the support of the Government and we demand that along with the Khalifate its power should also be maintained.

The writer asserts that Mr. Montagu's statement is not sufficient to decide the question. Such hints and suggestions cannot afford real comfort and so long as the suzerainty of the Khalifate is not maintained over Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Najaf, Constantinople and other Islamic towns, Moslem tears will not cease to flow, nor will the people consent to be comforted.

III.—Legislation.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 5th June 1919.

A meeting of protest against the Press Act.

92. Referring to the letter of sympathy sent by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar to the meeting held at the Gokhale Hall on the 4th June to protest against the Press Act, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th June, remarks:—The Press Act is very widely applied against papers in the Madras Presidency. When such an important person as Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, not belonging to the Extremist party, is adversely criticising its application, the Government ought to consider deeply. Lord Willingdon said in England that confidence and sympathy are the basic principles of administration. Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, Chairman of the meeting, and Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar have remarked that the very beginning of his administration in Madras is not characterised by such principles in the matter of the application of the Press Act. The people have to carry on agitation properly for repealing the Act. Until it is repealed, the papers cannot express the opinion of the people plainly.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 7th June 1919.

Dissatisfaction with the Press Act.

93. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 7th June, writes:—A big meeting was held on Thursday last at the Gokhale's Hall to protest against security being taken from the *Hindu*, *Swadesamitran* and the *Hindu Nasan* newspapers.

We consider the question of the long arm of the Press Act calls for more profound consideration. If the Press Act should continue to operate in the manner, reforms will be of no use, and responsible government will prove to be of little benefit. If the Press of a nation is not free, the nation itself cannot be free. The Press Act is less endurable than the proposed Rowlatt Act and experience prove that thanks to the Press Act, the state of journalism in India is becoming daily more and more deplorable. We should first of all secure the independence of the indigenous Press.

IV.—Native States.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 10th June 1919.

Sir M. Visveswarayya.

94. Referring to the retirement of Sir M. Visveswarayya, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 10th June, remarks that it is bound to prove a great loss to the Mysore State, and hopes that he will earn the blessings of his mother-land, by devoting his energy in future to her service.

Errata.

Report No. 22.

Page 846, paragraph 100, line 13, *insert* 'the' *before* 'burial'.
„ 846 „ 100 „ 33, *insert* 'the' *before* 'school'.
„ 846 „ 100 „ 36, *substitute* 'the' *for* 'their' *after* 'flattering'.
„ 846 „ 101 „ 8, *insert* 'and' *before* 'realise'.
„ 847 „ 101 „ 18, *substitute* '?' *for* '.'.
„ 847 „ 101 „ 19, *omit* 'to' *after* 'help'.
„ 847 „ 102, margin, *insert* 'the' *before* 'internees'.
„ 847 „ 102, line 4, *insert* 'the' *before* 'indifference'.
„ 847 „ 102 „ 10, *substitute* 'desperation' *for* 'desparation'.
„ 847 „ 103 „ 19, *insert* 'for' *after* 'calls'.
„ 847 „ 103 „ 22, *substitute* 'Najaf' *for* 'Najap'.
„ 847 „ 103 „ 24, *insert* 'a' *after* 'decision'.
„ 848 „ 103 „ 11, *omit* 'the' *before* 'Rowlatt'.
„ 848 „ 104 „ 8, *substitute* 'Najaf' *for* 'Ujap'.
„ 848 „ 105 „ 5, *substitute* 'Vult' and 'prius' *for* 'Vutt' and 'prins'..
„ 848 „ 105 „ 9, *insert* 'relations' *after* 'break off'.
„ 848 „ 105 „ 14, *substitute* 'martyr' *for* martyar'.
„ 849 „ 105 „ 1, *insert* 'a' *before* 'young'.
„ 849 „ 106 „ 16, *substitute* 'hem' *for* 'brim'.
„ 849 „ 106 „ 19, *substitute* 'accordance' *for* 'accordanee'.

[Issued, the 18th June 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 25 of 1919.

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 21st June 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

1. Writing under the heading 'Notes and Comments' for May,* observes:— *Everymans Review,* Everymans Review, Madras, May 1919.

Indian Loyalty and Passive Resistance.

"*Indian Loyalty disproved?*

"'India's hypocritical loyalty has been disproved. The ungrateful heathens have given vent to their ineradicable animal hatred towards their benign and enlightened rulers to whom they owe all the benefits and blessings of modern civilised life. The devils! They have betrayed themselves too soon after such unctuous and abject professions during the recent great war. Whoever believed them before, which son of Britian ever thought it possible that these black niggers of India had any spark of sincerity or honesty of purpose in all their stilted words and pompous professions? Damn them, the miscreants and murderers! How well they cooed but yesterday like a gentle sucking dove all the softest sickliest sentimentalities about the Empire, the Imperial Citizenship, the League of Human Brotherhood, etc., O perfidy, thy home is India where the perjuring, betel-chewing blacks live in hundreds of millions. They chew and jeer at us and show us their red-stained teeth. Perhaps the red paint is suggestive of the gore they would drink from our very bowels—oh these traitorous dogs, ravenous wolves, villainous blacks, shoot them, hang them, transport or deport under any old rule or new, under the cover of any antiquated ordinance, and let us have peace of mind and personal security at any cost.' Thus perhaps might an irate Anglo-Indian exclaim when he reads of the recent disturbances and outrages in Punjab and elsewhere.

"*Rejoice, ye enemies!*

"Let the enemies of the Indian people rejoice. Those whose hearts grew sore at the prospect of substantial reforms and grant of self-government may now make capital out of Indian disloyalty and ingratitude, of Indian savagery and inability to appreciate the advantages of good and orderly government, still less of responsible self-government. India is doomed to servitude and deserves nothing better than whips and scourges, bludgeons and bastinadoes. The blacks, the blacks, they must be peeled white before they are fit to be treated something better than domestic animals. In this land of cowards and traitors, the only heroes are their valiant white rulers. They are the real trustees and guardians of everything good and honourable and it is their ever-continued mastery and superiority that will ensure the safety and peace of the country. O Peace! O Order! O Awful Silence of Suppression! Unvoiced Agony of Indignation! Miserable India, hast thou anything better to thy record than such brief spells of adulation at the hands of thy masters to be followed by long periods of condemnation and repression.

"*Call forth the Devil and the Devil shall appear.*

"In the days of the most universal and fervid loyalty the British Government of India went out of its way in suspecting evil of each and every born Indian and framed drastic measures of oppression before they were actually wanted. The consequence is the most loyal of the provinces has been turned to a rebel camp and those who fought *under* the banner of His Majesty the Emperor are now on summary trials to be immediately shot or hanged for their guilt of waging war *against* the very same King-Emperor! The evil prophets may well rejoice over the realisation of their gloomy and malignant forebodings. But the

* Received in June.

real rulers of men and large-hearted statesmen would only grieve to see such sudden conversion of loyal and heroic soldiers into truculent and desperate rebels.

"*What is Loyalty?*

"Loyalty is obedience to the inevitable or established law, an intelligent recognition of its scope and workings and a wise utilisation of its available benefits. Laws are overruled in the end by first being obeyed and loyalty is that primary state of obedience which is implied in all moral and righteous actions. Not mere conformity but the confirmation of that which is affirmed outside and independent of us is what constitutes true loyalty. Loyalty may be spontaneous or strained, genuine or false. That which is born of inward confirmation and sincere conviction is the genuine and spontaneous one, while mere outward conformity and formal show of acquiescence characterise the latter. Engines of oppression and instruments of wholesale destruction, howitzers and machine-guns, armoured cars and aeroplanes, however much efficient and effective they might be in exhibiting the organised power of the executive authority, are almost futile and out of use in *evoking* loyalty of the genuine kind. A government prone to excesses of vengeance is not sure of its own established sovereignty and so long as the stray acts of violence on the part of the people are punished with tenfold and hundredfold severity by the agents of Government, its authority and reputation for essential goodness is undermined. Self-possession is the mark of all potent and exalted powers and trepidation ill-becomes a great sovereign or reigning power as much as timidity. All authority is fundamentally based on the attitude and ability to do good and the divine right of kings and governments to exact implicit obedience from all their subjects, to hold absolute control over all life and property is assumed and acquiesced in by mankind only so long as such kings or governments are credited with the really godly element of *goodwill.*

"*The British-Indian Ideal.*

"Perhaps the British rulers of India entertain not any serious ideal of happy human government. Though high sentiments and lofty principles are often preached and professed by the highest authorities, the only concern for which they are appointed and which they are asked to give their greatest attention to is the business of conducting the vast Indian Empire on a peaceful, law-abiding basis, peaceful and law-abiding enough for all purposes of commerce, exploitation and official high-handedness. So long as money goes out of India in regular instalments to the British investors' pockets, so long as the prospects and promotions, the privileges and prerogatives of the various British services—misnamed Indian—are preserved intact, everything is well and good and ordered for the best in the Dependency of India. Loyalty of the sneaking kind is what is wanted of the various Indian peoples, willing acquiescence to all measures of aggrandisement and exploitation, affected elation at the opportunity thus given to them of being exploited and employed under the British agents and officers, merchants and planters, viceroys and governors. A loyal contented India according to the British ideal is nothing more than a vast camp of coolies and clerks, subordinates and vassals arrayed, ordered and drilled under the strict discipline of British bludgeons and jack-boots and employed day and night in the profitable task of impoverishing the land of their birth in the interests of their white masters.

"*The Higher Laws.*

"As we have said before, true loyalty springs from love and none has any right to exact loyalty where it is not voluntarily and gladly given. Loyalty is simply the name given to an existing harmonious joyous relation; the name is nothing, the actual relation is everything. There is no sanctity in any man-made law except that which makes for the realisation of the divine in us. The Fountain-head of all Justice and the Eternal Throne of Judgment is God and so long as the human hearts on earth are fully alive to the call of the Divine they need not concern themselves too much with their obedience or otherwise to earthly powers and authorities. He who is above the fear of punishment and harbours not in his heart any desire for vengeance however much he is tortured or

persecuted, him the Gods entertain with their feast of unending joy and protect him from all encroachments of evil. The higher laws are not in essence opposed to the ordinary earthly laws. That is no law which leads not ultimately to realization and liberty. Obedience is expected of us to any authority, society, Government or institution only on the implied assumption that such obedience is good both for us and the society or institution concerned, that higher good is impossible without collective co-operation and collective co-operation impossible without individual obedience and willingness to work with the others. Even extreme anarchists and anti-social idealists have some sort of corporate discipline amongst themselves. No moral man is really an outlaw and the only justification for the existence of any law is its moral significance.

"*On Resistance Righteous.*

"The Master Genius of Hinduism, the Divine Lord of the Gita, approves only one kind of action—the God creative one. The same Divine Lord commands Partha to take up arms and hold himself in readiness only for one form of fight and resistance—the Resistance Righteous. It is not the active or passive attitude, the aggressive or defensive method which justifies resistance on our part to opposing forces, the real necessity, the moral obligation and commandment to fight and resist comes when we are convinced of the righteousness of our cause, when we have come to believe that we are face to face with incorrigible and all-devouring evil which will not be satisfied with anything less than the destruction of every virtue in us. When the environment threatens to kill the soul and individuality of the organism, when the world we are born in is opposed to our healthy living, then life becomes impossible for us unless we conquer and convert it into good. There is no evil that is entirely outside of us and quite apart from us. Such ceases to be evil at least for us. What we are enjoined to resist with all our available strength physical, moral and spiritual, is the element of evil that has affected us, that has injected the poison into our blood and stopped its free flow and current. What we should be up in arms against is the germ of death we have already taken into our system, the element of evil which has come to inhabit our heart and soul; and unless all the living cells and corpuscles, the germicidal opsonins and revitalising agencies are brought together and made to fight the decisive battle for the victory of life, death is certain and future life is impossible. That which makes for prolonged life and progress is righteous resistance where the mortal life surrenders its all in the struggle to establish the empire of the Immortal. Whole-hearted resistance of both body and mind backed up by the full assent and affirmation of the heart and soul leaves us no room to doubt the necessity or righteousness of our cause. In such fighting every available weapon in support of us can and ought to be used, every stratagem and intelligent devise, all sudden inventions and opportune improvements in the means of offence and defence ought and must be availed of by us and there need be no compunctions of conscience in the hearts of the fighters so long as such fights are necessitated by the presence of evil which knows no mercy, no kindness, no honour, no nobility, but implacable hatred of life. . .

"*Out and out submission.*

"What is wanted of us by our rulers is submission out and out. No disobedience of any kind and 'no damned nonsense' civil or criminal, physical or moral, *Satyagraha* or spiritual, are they prepared to tolerate in us. The very name of resistance on the part of the Indians to the established laws and enactments, to the accustomed powers and privileges of the British is anathema to their ears. Moralise as high as we may, adopt the highest and loftiest principles of conduct at the greatest sacrifice to our interests and suffering to our persons, starve or fast for days together, lie us down in numbers before the running railway trains, we will not be treated better than the very worst criminals, and swords and bayonets, halters and scaffolds will not be used against such self-immolating passive-resisters in any degree less than what they would be used against active rebels and actual murderers. Such fanaticism of faith is but a heathen virtue, the heathens whose ancestors used to prostrate themselves down and lay down their very lives before the rolling car of Juggernaut (the anglicised spelling); and not

until these very same pagans and heathens show the very same degree of submission and abject surrender to the dictates of the Tin-God of Jingoism and imperialism will their prayers be heard or their protestations be heeded."

EVERYMANS REVIEW, Madras, May 1919.

The Rationality of Governments.

2. In an article published in *Everymans Review*, for May, under the heading 'Man—Is he a rational animal,' by a correspondent, the following appears:—"Among the duties of a State, the next in importance to self-defence, is that of good Government. Want of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled is the one crying shame and the root-evil of all misgovernment in Russia, Ireland and India. . . When we find the Government recognising an evil, we may be sure that it is already in a very chronic and irrecoverable state. The slow moving automaton grinds along relentlessly on its course recking neither famine nor mortality, neither strikes nor look-outs: it is enough if the taxes are paid in regularly, and the exchange does not fall low for purposes of remittance 'Home'. If agriculturists' indebtedness to harpy jewish money-lenders increases, if poverty, illiteracy and disease are spreading their ghastly shadows in ever-widening circles, it is not their concern."

WEDNESDAY REVIEW, Trichinopoly, 11th June 1919.

Mr. Montagu and the Reform Bill.

3. The *Wednesday Review*, for the week ending 11th June, states:—"In concluding his speech on the budget, Mr. Montagu declared with engaging bombast his Indian policy to be the maintenance of order, tireless investigation and removal of causes of discontent, eradication of the source of disorder and courageous, zealous, and determined effort to make India a union of great self-governing countries and partner in the great British Commonwealth. . . A late Viceroy signalled the assumption of his Viceroyalty by declaring that he had set to himself a dozen tasks, like a second Hercules, and we are still wondering if he accomplished any of them. We are afraid Mr. Montagu's success will be equally poor. As regards the first item in his programme, we are afraid he has had much to do in quelling disorder rather than maintaining order and we may take this opportunity of telling Mr. Montagu, that if he persists in placating agitators and giving them fulsome testimonials he will have his hands fully occupied in putting down disorder. Another of the items in the list is tireless investigation and we wish he addressed himself to more practical tasks, instead of indulging in tireless investigation for the excellent reason that he may not be able to see the end of it. It is more urgent that he did something to stamp out disorder, and left alone for the present the root causes of it as they are called which afford ample scope for theorising and lazy thinking. We want a statesman who would understand the realities of a situation and go straight at things. We have had enough of day-dreamers and it is time that India secured a practical statesman to direct her affairs."

WEDNESDAY REVIEW, Trichinopoly, 11th June 1919.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

4. In an article under the heading 'Mr. Montagu on Diarchy' the *Wednesday Review*, for the week ending 11th June, remarks:—"Unless Mr. Montagu is bent on handing over the people of India to the tender mercies of political Bolshevists, though the variety may be indigenous, it is hard to understand why he should cling to his diarchy proposal with such obstinacy. It is the least sensible of the proposals contained in the Joint Report which, as the *Times* rightly said, contains a lot of dangerous nonsense. In his memorandum on the Government of India Bill which he presented to Parliament he could only reiterate the precious argument of his in support of diarchy that no alternative has been suggested. Does Mr. Montagu think that it is the business of any responsible Indian or Englishman to put forth an alternative to any wild scheme of reform which he may choose to adumbrate? It is the business of Mr. Montagu to make out a case for the diarchy, which he has not done yet. All that he has been doing is to challenge the rest of the world to produce an alternative. We are yet to hear a cogent argument in support of the proposal. If anything, the joint report shows why the diarchy should be dropped, how impracticable it is, and how disastrous will be the effect, if it is forced on the country. . . It does not matter to us at all that Mr. Montagu is illogical and we are not responsible for his lack of logic. What matters is that the Parliament should be in possession of all the facts of the situation in considering the diarchy proposal

which finds a place in the reform bill. To begin with, there can be no electorate capable of exercising the franchise with a population of whom nearly 98 per cent are illiterate, and if under such circumstances, a wide electorate is forced into existence, the vote will be really exercised by wire-pullers in favour of political undesirables. Only third-rate politicians of no defined status in society will care to contest for seats in the Legislative Councils, who will represent the wire-pullers and not the voters. If the choice of ministers for the administration of the transferred subjects, should be confined to these 'representatives', it is not difficult to prophesy what sort of politicians will be the ministers under the Montagu-Chelmsford dispensation. The Parliament should not therefore dismiss as idle fancy the considered protest of responsible Provincial Governments against the diarchy proposal. They know a lot better than either Mr. Montagu or Lord Chelmsford and the objections they have raised ought to carry great weight with the Parliament. The immediate effect of diarchy will be to bring British rule into contempt by pitchforking into the seats of power and authority undesirable men and Parliament ought to desist from signifying its assent to so dangerous a proposal."

5. Referring Mr. Montagu's speech on the Indian Budget the *Cochin Argus*, of the 14th June, remarks:—"In the course of his references to the recent political disturbances, Mr. Montagu, we regret to find, was unable to resist the temptation of having another cheap sneer at the Indo-British Association. We really do not know why the Secretary of State should be so deeply prejudiced against this organisation. It is not to be denied, of course, that the Association, in dealing with the proposed Indian Constitutional Reforms, has sometimes permitted itself to indulge in much stronger language than the times and circumstances have rendered justifiable, but then, has the Indo-British Association been the only offender in this respect? The most rabid utterances which could be set down to the account of the Association are mildness compared with the ravings and vapourings which have been constantly heard in Indian Extremist camps ever since Mr. Montagu paid his memorable visit to India and the strangest thing is that, in spite of their ravings and vapourings, the Extremists, as a body, and several of their leaders, in particular, have been treated by Mr. Montagu with a consideration and a deference one is not generally accustomed to extend to avowed and apparently irreconcilable antagonists."

Cochin Argus, Cochin, 14th June 1919.

The Indian Reform Bill.

The *West Coast Spectator*, of the 17th June, says:—"We are glad that the Secretary of State plainly told the House that it had to deal with an India it was not a couple of years ago, a fact that had 'even reached the Government of Madras'. The Madras Government is proverbially benighted, and the fling Mr. Montagu has made at it is probably well-deserved! Some people are anxious to put the reforms off, in fact we have often heard it advocated that more inquiries should be held, for what purpose we are unaware, and the obstructive tactics of the Sydenhamites connote an attempt to put off the 'evil day'. It is very right that Mr. Montagu has impressed upon the House the danger that lies in delay and exhorted it to proceed with the Bill expeditiously."

West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 17th June 1919.

New India, of the 18th June, writes:—"We must say at once and frankly that the terms of the Indian Reform Bill are a deep disappointment. It may be that no other terms could in the initial stages be offered to a Parliament already inclined to regard the demands of coloured races for self-determination, equal treatment, and equal rights, as but the manœuvrings of Bolshevik agitators entirely unrepresentative of the people as a whole. . . . In any case the Bill as it now stands is quite unacceptable, and we must all get to work to leave Mr. Montagu no other alternative than to accept from India, and to insist upon in the House, a number of very radical modifications, so that the measure of self-government India receives may be real and substantial."

New India, Madras, 18th June 1919.

The *Hindu*, of the 18th June, remarks:—"The deputations now in England have a very hard task to perform. They should be able to convince the English public that the Bill embodies no generous proposals for reform such as are called for by the urgent needs of the situation and that it should be vastly improved before Indians could accord a welcome to it. We are glad that the Congress deputation under the leadership of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao has set to work and

Hindu, Madras, 18th June 1919.

interviewed Mr. Montagu and others. The Bill as published, which does not appear to be a model of draftsmanship and is disfigured by much looseness of language, is very incomplete. . . It may be stated at the outset that the Bill, on the whole, does not even though a few objectionable proposals of the Government of India are brushed aside, embody, as they are, the halting proposals of the Joint Report; there are striking departures from it which still further reduce their value to the people of India."

HINDU, Madras, 19th June 1919.

In a leader under the heading "the New Dyarchy," the *Hindu*, of the 19th June, states:—"To those who have read the Reform Bill carefully and compared it with the proposals in the report, it must have been evident that the reactionary influences of the Government of India have had their desired effect, if not to the fullest degree, at any rate to a disappointingly considerable extent. . . The proposals in the Reform Bill constitute a serious departure from the letter as well as the spirit of the reforms report; they lean more towards the Government of India proposals than might at first sight be supposed; they set up a spurious dyarchy which, while it lacks almost all the advantages claimed for it in the report, has all its disadvantages. The fact is the attention and the energies of the framers of the Reform Bill seem to have been directed more towards providing guarantees against abuse of power by the popular legislature and the ministers than towards securing to them real powers; and under the Bill, they have little power and less prospect of getting themselves trained in the art of responsible government by the responsible exercise, or by the watching of such exercise, of power. A new dyarchy, far more ugly than the old, is proposed to be set up in which all those 'unifying forces,' which the authors of the report congratulated themselves on having provided to prop up the old, have been swept clean."

HINDU, Madras, 17th June 1919.

Racial prejudice against Indians in South Africa.

6. The *Hindu*, of the 17th June, writes:—"A fresh crop of troubles in South Africa appears likely to push the question of Indians in that Dominion into ugly prominence once again. Mr. Montagu, in the course of his budget speech, pointed out to South Africa the position held by India in the British Empire and remarked that that self-governing Dominion can no longer treat India as it has been doing in the past. We do not know if Mr. Montagu had in mind at the time he spoke the provisions of a drastic Bill considered by the House of Assembly a week earlier, which sought to introduce racial discrimination into the statute and extinguish certain valuable rights of Indians in the Transvaal by a stroke of the pen, thus breaking faith with Indian settlers who were encouraged to think that no racial bar will be allowed to brand them as an inferior class of human beings. The genesis of this new legislation is to be found in the jealousy of white traders at the success attained by Indian businessmen, and the debate on the Bill on the second reading very clearly showed how strong the anti-Indian feeling is nourished by a large body of Europeans and how weak and half-hearted were these members who were supposed to be friends of Indian settlers."

NEW INDIA, Madras, 20th June 1919.

The Currency Committee.

7. Referring to the correspondence between the South Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Government of India on this question, *New India*, of the 20th June, observes:—"A solitary Parsi is included in this Committee of eleven members to 'represent' the whole of India! Does the Government of India really believe that there are no Indians other than Mr. Dalal who are sufficiently qualified to sit on this Committee, or is it frankly a Committee intended to further European interests without the slightest regard to the views of Indian merchants, traders and bankers? In view of the constitution of the Committee, the public can hardly be blamed for viewing with considerable suspicion the conclusions which may result, and it being quite clear that Indian interests are considered to be entirely subordinate to those of European competitors. But this is not all, though it is bad enough. By June 11th, the Government of India begin to be sorry they ever mentioned the possibility of witnesses. Accordingly, they write to the South India Chamber of Commerce that they 'do not propose, on this occasion, to invite witnesses from this country to give evidence before the Committee and to send such witnesses home at public expense'."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

8. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th June, observes:—It is understood that Austria too has refused to sign the peace treaty, following the example of Germany. It is not known what Turkey and Bulgaria will do hereafter, and what the result will be, if these too refuse to sign. However, it is certain that these countries will have eventually to accept the decisions of the Peace Conference.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 11th June 1919.

The peace treaty.

9. Quoting extracts from a speech of the Bishop of Chelmsford that the three Asiatic countries, China, Japan and India are likely to attain the pre-war advanced state of Germany in scientific lore, industrial training and general culture, that when Germany, by herself, subjected the world to such hardships, any amount of trouble should be expected from these three countries, which have neither morality nor religion and that the democratic spirit that has arisen in China and Japan, the activity of the National Congress in India and the recent troubles in Egypt rendered the League of Nations very necessary for establishing peace in the world, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 8th May, observes:—Anyhow, this missionary admits that, if there is a new awakening in these three countries, there is none in this world that can stand against them. Even this he does not say plainly but talks as if it will injure the peace of the world and pleads for the establishment of the League of Nations. This resembles the dog going into mourning when the horse dies. We have already pointed out that President Wilson too has come forward to establish the League only with a similar object. Every day the inward objects of people who strove for the liberty of the world are becoming manifest. As for the missionary's remark that there is no morality or religion, he would not have made it, had he known what is meant by morality. It is but natural that he should find no religion in India, for the majority of the Indians are Hindus and not Christians. We would ask a few questions of this missionary. Is the murder of brothers permissible according to the Christian faith? Is it Christ's teaching to throw bombs on unarmed women and children? Is it in consonance with the Bible to injure and destroy the liberties of small kingdoms? Is it in conformity with the Christian doctrines to waylay and sink sailing ships? Those that have carefully noted the trend of events during the last four years of the war, can definitely say that there are no true Christians in Europe. Do the unjust acts of the Belgians in the Congo Islands indicate righteousness? Can it be morality to have hunted down the Red Indians and Negroes? All these are hostile to the principles of Christianity. Is the murder of the Czar and his children in Russia, an act of righteousness? In which country are women declared to be public property? These are just men and there is no morality in India! Who are those that follow Christ's teaching and offer the other cheek to one that slaps them on one cheek? Who are those that are all along making a show of working for the peace of the world but are in reality aiming at getting the whole world under their control? Do not the words of the missionary, uttered without considering the above facts, show the attitude of the Europeans towards the progress of the Asiatic countries? It is wonderful that the Europeans should accuse the Indians as wanting in principles, having learnt their civilization from the latter, among whom a king who imprisoned his sister's husband sent his sister also to prison, on the ground that it was sinful to separate the couple, and another asked his enemy to come up freshly armed, when the latter stood on the ground bereft of all arms and even his chariot. How many crowned heads came down before the end of the war? How many kings were killed at the time of the republican agitation in England? What was done in France? What is the present condition of Europe? What can Europeans do, who do not know the aims and objects of the Indians?

Vartakamitran, Tanjore, 8th May 1919.

The world in peril.

They can only blab as they like. Even a beggar in this country knows the philosophy that 'all is one.' Others cannot understand this though they go through many births. So, if peace is to be established in the world, and it is to be saved from her old troubles, India should be granted Home Rule, and her philosophic principles should be adopted by other countries. We can definitely say that the salvation of the world lies only through Asia and not through Europe and its civilization and that even the minor disturbances now occurring in India are due only to the advent of European civilization. We can assert that it is only to the good of the world that a democratic spirit has arisen in India.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 12th June 1919.

The future of the Fiji Islands.

10. The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 12th June, observes:—Now that the constitution of the British Empire is going to be changed, there is a proposal among the Europeans to add the Fiji Islands, in which our Indian brethren have settled in large numbers, to Australia or New Zealand; for the capitalists there are Europeans. But our brethren there have been awake and have submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. We think that the prayer of our brethren in that memorial is reasonable and trust that it will be granted by the English Government. As regards the population, the Indians come next to the people of the Islands and there is a demand there for a still larger number of Indians. Further as stated in the memorial, the hot climate of the place is not suitable to the Europeans and they will not, therefore, settle there permanently. So, it is but reasonable that the Fiji Islands should be brought under the Government of India. If this is done, the primary advantage is only to the Europeans there, for then we will not object to a large number of Indians being sent thither. Whether we consider the interests of the Europeans or those of the Indians, the adding on of the Fiji Islands to India seems to be the proper course. But where is the chance for the words of the poor Indians being heard?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th June 1919.

China and Japan.

11. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th June, writes:—The Chinese hate the Japanese on account of the Peace Conference having decided to hand over Shantung to the latter. The relations between China and Japan have not been very satisfactory for the last few years. It appears that in Peking the Chinese are destroying all Japanese articles and that the students are inciting hatred against the Japanese in the minds of the people. While every one expects these two countries to be on friendly relations, it is not proper for the Chinese to behave like this. It is necessary that, at this juncture, the allies should exercise their influence and prevent the hatred between these two countries from increasing.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 17th June 1919.

Indians in South Africa.

12. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 17th June, writes:—Lord Napier who was the Governor of Madras, forty years back, in delivering a lecture on the excellence of Indian architecture, appreciated the spirit in which Indian houses were built with pials in the front, and observed that these pials indicated the character of the people. Just as the man passing in the street can sit on our pials and take rest, there is nothing to prevent the people of any country from coming to our country and making money. But if we happen to go and sit on the pial of another man's house, we are necked out. That is the nature of some. Our civilization has taught us to help a stranger. But we cannot believe that the civilization of the stranger teaches him to neck us out if we sit on his pial. The details of a law about to be passed in South Africa in connexion with the Indians there are such as to wound the feelings of everyone. This law in effect precludes the grant of licences to Indians for trading purposes after the 1st of May 1919. The discussion about this law in the South African Parliament will invoke pity and anger from our people. One member said that the Asiatics and the whites could never live together and another declared that if Asiatics were given room, they would root out the whites. We are in this connexion reminded of the European doctrine of the survival of the fittest. If, as a result of the Asiatics and the South African whites living together, the latter are rooted out, great scientists will only deem the latter to be unfit and useless for the world. Though the fact of these timid people being afraid of our people shows the glory of the latter, we do not understand what right these have in putting a fence in South Africa. Their

ancestors did not receive all the tracts in the world fit for colonisation as free gifts. Every community settled in places most suitable for them. If, without following this principle, a community should, in view of the influence and power they wield in the government of a colony, urge that government to adopt a particular course and that government also gives in, it becomes necessary for us to complain to a government in which we have influence and seek remedy. If the Government of South Africa dare to make it impossible for the Indians to exercise their rights as British subjects in the colony in the future, the Government of India too will have to pass a law to show our valour. Then South Africa and India will be different entities in the British Empire having no link between each other. If the Government of South Africa do not realise this, it is the duty of the Government of India to make them do so. Let those who spoke on the new law in the South African Parliament note the remark of Mr. Lloyd George at Paris that South Africa should give up the idea that she can stand alone. They are not aware of the changes that have come about in the opinions of the world within the last few years. Though the Colonial Government are acting justly in recognizing the licences granted till now, it would be prejudicial to the rights of our people if licences are not granted in the future.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th June, also refers to this subject and observes :— We were under the impression that the Commission appointed to inquire about the hardships of the Indians in South Africa would be prepared to reduce them a little though not to remove them altogether. But their recommendation shows that their idea is to make the position of the Indians in South Africa worse than what it is now. For, the new law proposed by them, besides precluding the grant of any future privileges to Indians, prevents the Asiatics from acquiring any permanent property in South Africa. It is really regrettable that the Indians being British subjects should be treated with contempt like this within the British Empire. And yet what can the Indians do? They have not the right to retaliate such cruel laws by equally cruel ones. This new law will impose greater hardships upon the Indians than they were undergoing before. There is no doubt that the passing of such laws in South Africa will create a difference in status among the British subjects themselves. Do not the Government see that such a difference will reduce the strength of the British Government?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th June 1919.

13. Referring to the Labour strikes in Canada, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th June, writes:— . . . Before the unrest prevailing among labourers develops into Bolshevism, it behoves the several Governments to adopt the remedies proposed by the Peace Conference and protect the peace of the world. There is no use of delay and there is no good of temporary repressive measures either. The proper course is to ascertain the root cause of the unrest and apply the proper remedies for its cure.

The Canadian strikes.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th June 1919.

14. Expressing gratitude to the Japanese for the resolution moved by Baron Makino in the Peace Conference urging equal treatment of all foreign races living in any country, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th June, observes:— . . . It is not understood how the League of Nations which is not prepared to accept even such a simple principle can undertake the protection of the freedom of the world. The objects of war will not be realised if the League, determined to uphold the cause of justice and righteousness, still observes colour distinctions. . . However keenly the white nations may observe racial distinctions, the equality of the eastern people is bound to be accepted in course of time.

The League of Nations and racial distinction.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th June 1919.

15. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th June, publishes in Telugu the memorial addressed by the Indians living in the Fiji Islands to Lord Milner, the Secretary of the British Colonies, expressing their disapproval of the proposals, which they hear as having been made by the Europeans of the Islands for the annexation of the Fiji Islands to Australia or failing it for the establishment of a separate Government for all the Australasian Islands amalgamating the Fiji Islands with them, and praying that the Fiji Islands may be annexed to India or in the alternative that they may be governed as a Crown Colony from London.

The Fiji Islands and the memorial of the Indians.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th June 1919.

Commenting on this memorial in the course of its leader, the paper observes :— . . . The Europeans seem to have made their proposals, lest the Indians in

the Islands should come into prominence and go ahead of them. . . The racial prejudice which is shown in Australia is not to be found anywhere else. For this reason the miserable condition of the Indians will be aggravated once more if the Islands are annexed to Australia. . . The Europeans cannot make permanent habitation in the Islands on account of the hot climate. So, it will be proper to annex the Islands to India. The Fiji will also like this arrangement, and there will be sympathy between them and the Indians, both belonging to the Eastern races. . . It is not yet known how far the representations of the Indians in the Fiji Islands have been accepted. There seems to be absolutely no need to annex the Fiji Islands to Australia or New Zealand. Such a change is not in keeping with the principle of self-determination, nor is it conducive to the welfare of the people or the progress of the Islands. We trust that the British Government will grant the wishes of the Indians, and will not agree to subject the Indians to further troubles in view of the already unbearable condition in which they are living but will grant the prayer of the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands. Otherwise discontent amongst the Indians will still grow. It is the duty of the British Government to see that the well-being of the majority is not sacrificed to the selfishness of the minority. The people of the Fiji Islands will be waiting to see how this duty will be discharged.

II.—Home Administration.

(a) *Police.*

Dravidan, Madras, 16th June 1919.

Higher pay for the Indian Police.

16. Adverting to the Government communiqué announcing the sanction of a higher scale of pay for the posts of Deputy Inspectors-General of Police, etc., the *Dravidan*, of the 16th June, asks what necessity has arisen for raising their pay by hundreds and remarks that such arrangement only increases the burden of the poor Indian agriculturists.

(d) *Education.*

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 10th June 1919.

The Hindu University.

17. Expressing its regret at differences having arisen among the members of the governing body of this University and its work not being properly conducted on this account and, pointing to the recent resignation of the Vice-Chancellorship of the University by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 10th June, remarks that the benign Government will do well to interfere and save this great institution, which was started with the idea that it should excel the existing universities and seek the advancement of the country, before its administration becomes worse.

Andhraprakasika, Madras, 1919.

The present system of education.

18. Referring to the demand for the transfer of education from the hands of the Government to the people, the *Andhraprakasika*, observes that the Government has not paid sufficient attention to the education of the masses, and that they should educate all their subjects equally without distinction. It condemns the plea for national education advanced by some people as it is calculated to re-establish the authority of the Brahmans and urges that the system of education should continue to be under the control of the British, until non-Brahmans come to the stage of progress attained by the other nations of the world in political, social and educational matters.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

Swadesamitran' Madras, 13th June 1919.

District boards and war allowances.

19. A correspondent to the *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th June, complains that in spite of a resolution having been passed at a meeting of the Tiruppattur Taluk Board, that war allowances at half rates should be given to all teachers in Board Schools from April 1918, it has not been given effect to yet, and pointing to a similar complaint made by a correspondent about the Board schools in Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, prays that orders may be passed for war allowance, etc., being granted at the full rate to teachers of all the Board schools, seeing that these allowances are now paid only at half the rate in some schools and are not paid at all in others in these famine times.

(*h*) *Railways.*

Assistant station-masters.

20. Observing that assistant station-masters are neither paid salaries nor afforded conveniences proportionate to the trouble they undergo, and that though in reply to resolution of Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai in the Legislative Council five years back, the Government promised to consider about the grievances of these assistant station-masters, nothing had been done as yet, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th June, writes:—The assistant station-masters besides waking up during nights are like the station-masters doing every kind of responsible work. Still they are given quarters only near those of the porters. The porters too have at times the fortune of sleeping during nights. But the assistant station-masters can never hope to have sleep in the nights until they get to the position of station-masters, though it may take twenty years, and many of them even meet with an untimely death, as a result of waking up for years together. The Government should note their pitiable condition at least hereafter.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th June 1919.

(*j*) *Salt and Abkāri.*

The drink evil.

21. Referring to a resolution said to have been passed at a meeting of the South Indian Missionaries at Coonoor that the Government should do away altogether with the consumption of liquor, the *Lokopakari*, of the 16th June, observes:—The American Government have passed a law prohibiting the consumption of liquor, without caring for the pecuniary loss they sustain thereby. But the Government of India are not prepared to lose their abkāri revenue. They are keen only upon their income and pay no attention to the hardships suffered by the people on account of the consumption of liquor. A big official once stated in the local Legislative Council that the labourers would suffer much if the consumption of liquor was prohibited. It can never be therefore got rid of under the administration of officials of this type. It is a great mistake on the part of the authorities in India to make no attempt to do away with the consumption of liquor which is prohibited by the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 16th June 1919.

(*k*) *General.*

Short notes.

22. In writing short notes on a variety of subjects, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 22nd May, makes the following remarks:—Statistics obtained up to the end of 30th April 1919 show that the gold standard reserve of India is £36,089,033, out of which £6,054,761 have been lent out to merchants in England. All this amount is made up only of the profit of As. 6 gained by the Government in minting the Rupee coin with silver worth As. 10. Can this sum not be utilized for the improvement of Indian industries?

The debt of England now amounts to £7,235,000,000 and though it is necessary to levy heavy taxes for making payment towards this loan, both by way of capital and interest, the people there are for cancelling the excess profits tax, on the ground that it operates as a clog to their taking to new industries, developing the existing ones and finding out new methods. But in India?

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 22nd May 1919.

Short notes.

In commenting upon a variety of subjects, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 29th May, makes the following observations:—The sudden fall in the price of piecegoods and that of cotton and other products exported is due to the increase in the rate of exchange. The reason for this is that in India silver coins are the chief current coins and that gold coins are current only in name. On this account, the rate of exchange always depends upon the price of silver and gold. What good has resulted from a number of Currency Committees appointed in India? As it is always self-interested persons that decide these questions, their decisions are only prejudicial to her. It seems a Currency Committee is to be appointed now. This is only a waste of money. For a very long time there has been a reserve fund in existence which is intended to regulate the rate of exchange between India and England. But that too is in England. What can be done? As a result of the present increase in the rate of exchange, exports of India will certainly decrease and the

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 29th May 1919.

imports will increase, which means that India will have to pay more than what she receives. It may be said that Government will sustain a loss by calculating the rupee at 1*s.* 4*d.* The forty crores of rupees of India retained in England are intended only to recoup such a loss. Even if this loss should extend over one whole year, it will not exceed five crores of rupees. Why not such a means be sought as will not affect the growth of trade?

It is a known fact that, after the introduction of German dyes, the cultivation of indigo has decreased. But an expert of Manchester says that, if indigo is cultivated making use of good manure, it can be sold at lower rates than English dyes. This can be done and even more. But who can help the want of funds?

While the Indians are for exporting only oil and oil-cake on the ground that the export of oil-seeds has resulted in the ruin of several industries in the country, Mr. Chadwick insists upon seeds alone being exported. This gentleman is the expert who has been appointed to safeguard Indian trade. If those who are intended to protect certain interests injure them themselves, how to blame others for it?

MAHAVIKATADUTAN, Madras, 31st May 1919.

The liberty of the press.

23. In a leader dwelling at length on the Press Act, the *Mahavikatadutan*, of the 31st May, quotes the letter addressed by Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar to the press on the application of the Press Act to the Indian newspapers and adds:—Ever since this Act was introduced, the newspapers have lost much of the right they have of pointing out the grievances of the people. There is no limit to the hardships suffered by the latter on account of famine in the different provinces in India, and, if the newspapers raise a cry regarding this, nothing else is done to relieve the distress of the people than the making of statements that rice and other grains are coming from this and that place, that arrangements have been made for a liberal supply of railway wagons and that persons have been appointed to watch the measurement in different areas. The authorities do not in the least hesitate to collect the taxes, as if the poor exist only to pay the taxes even by borrowing. But if one blabs anything on account of distress, the sword of the Press Act comes down upon one's head. Though this Act has been framed with certain limitations, the application of it by the bureaucrats depends upon the fortune of the paper concerned. Securities have now been demanded from papers like the *Swadesamitran* and the *Hindu Nesan*. It is not a difficult thing to pay the securities. The prayer of all is only that the newspapers should have the privilege of pointing out the defects and needs of the community and the mistakes committed at times by the bureaucrats. It is also wrong on the part of the papers to oppose the Government or to create ill-feeling or dissension. With the Press Act before an editor, it will not be wise on his part to commit a mistake and then to admit it. Thus the papers should also conduct themselves properly and the Government again grant them due privileges in view of their status.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 19th June 1919.

The liberty of the Press.

. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 19th June, writes:—The *Commonweal* writes that His Excellency Lord Willingdon in a speech on the liberty of the Press stated that the Press may use as strong language as possible in criticising real grievances. The people too agree that punishment should be inflicted when the Government is wrongly accused. If the Government and the Press should both uphold this view, there can be no further dispute. Lord Willingdon should withdraw the order demanding security from the *Hindu* and other papers without trial. The people will then have unfeigned loyalty towards Government.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 5th June 1919.

The present situation.

24. The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 5th June, writes:—The bureaucrats are raising a great cry that, for the last some years, disloyalty and sedition have increased in our country. Without evincing the least love or sympathy for the people, these bureaucrats have begun to exercise their powers beyond limits and commit several highhanded acts. If the wise object to these acts, they immediately put it down as disloyalty. A new spirit has arisen among the Indians at present. The orders of Goddess *Sakti* were pronounced by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in the Congress of 1906, that India should acquire liberty. These orders are sure to be carried out. But traitors to liberty—traitors to God—traitors to the King—if it

is true that England is a land of liberty, traitors to England, are sure to do all to crush this spirit of liberty and to injure the heroes that come forward in accordance with the orders of Mother *Bharata*, Goddess *Sakti*. If honour which is eternal like the soul is greater than life which is transient, O excellent patriots, do not recede. How many hundreds of people, innocent or otherwise, have been imprisoned from 1906 up to date, on mere suspicion and with or without trial for having sought the advancement of India? How many have been deported? We should represent our grievances to the English public and the world at large either orally or through writing. When these two ways are blocked, the feeling, of which the mind is full, will naturally explode rudely in some corner, having no way of getting out. Though it is justifiable to prevent the spread of acts favourable to the subversion of the Government, there is nothing more unwise or detestable than that a Government should prevent the defects and drawbacks of the Government officials being pointed out. We are ashamed that the Press Act, which has been modelled on an Austrian law, continues still even after the ruin of Austria. And especially immense is the injustice committed by this Act in our country just now. It is devouring all the newspapers which represent the public opinion somewhat truly. If the liberty of the newspapers is to be wrested like this, how can the confidence of the people in the English Government be without waning? In England, America and other countries it is the editors of papers that make or mar the Government. The most beneficial of the results we have derived from western education is the liberty of the Press. If this liberty is taken away, it can be said that we have derived no benefit from our connexion with the westerns. Numerous instances can be quoted from our *purānās* to show that a king is bound to act according to the public opinion.

Elsewhere in the same issue, this paper, while laying stress upon the necessity of getting the Press Act repealed, observes:—The present condition of our country is very dangerous. Patriots of the highest order have to face dangers. All the newspapers are paralysed with fear. The heroes that venture to struggle against untruth and injustice, standing under the flag of liberty of Mother *Bharata*, held aloft by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at Calcutta about 13 years back, are being hacked to pieces. The actions of the Government officials are such that one has to be afraid of being caught for either writing or speaking. Terror has increased much in the country. This is not the time for those who speak out the truth. Those who identify themselves with public life now have only two courses to follow. One is to carry the dust of the feet of the bureaucrats on the head and play a false game to the people. These will be traitors to both the bureaucrats and the people. The other is to stand by truth irrespective of all consequences and serve humanity by speaking out only such things as will be beneficial to the officials and the people in the eye of God, without caring for the favour of any, and cutting away even one's own hand if it blocks one's path. If the community is to be ruined for ever, the former course is preferable. But as every one wishes only that the country should prosper, we should devise some means of removing the Press Act from the Statute Book. What strikes us is that instead of granting us 'Toy' reforms, it is enough if the Englishmen repeal all the barbarous laws such as the Press Act, the Arms Act and the Defence of India Act and govern us with the ordinary Penal Code. It is the duty of our representatives in England to press for this point.

25. The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 5th June, observes as follows under this heading:—India has obtained a place in the League of Nations equal to Australia, Canada and other countries. What grievance have we still? But the Secretary of State himself has admitted that the Indians are treated with contempt in South Africa and other places. What if? India has obtained a seat in the League of Nations. What further grievance is there still? While Australia, Canada and other countries have sent their own representatives to the League of Nations, the Government of India have sent their representatives without the consent of the public. What grievance is there still? What if there exist in India the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, and many old laws which had grown rusty and have been revived again and, as if these will not do, even martial law and its concomitant weapons? Have not the representatives of the Government of India obtained seats in the

What grievance is there still?

Indian Emigrant, Madras, 5th June 1919.

League of Nations? What grievance is there still? Oh! God! What we get are all 'Toy' representatives, 'Toy' reforms and 'Toy' words. Not one of these has any life in it.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 5th June 1919.

The Birth-day Honours list.

26. Observing that no title has been conferred herein upon any true leader of the people, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 5th June, remarks:—We note that while titles have been granted to the Police Commissioners of Bombay and Calcutta, the Commissioner of Police in Madras has not had one. The Commissioners of Bombay and Calcutta might have put down rioting and restored peace. But our Commissioner has, besides preventing all disturbances, behaved well also towards the public and a title may be conferred on him for this very reason. Further he acted with great tact on the *Satyagraha* day without sending even one police constable to the beach, where about two lakhs of people had assembled. Though the Government have not granted him any title, he has earned the name of a good man in Madras and that will do.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th June 1919.

The Birth-day Honours.

Quoting the observation of the *Mussalman* that, as far as non-officials are concerned, titles and honours are conferred only upon undeserving people and that it only pities and does not esteem those on whom titles are conferred, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th June, remarks that this paper deserves the esteem of all for having openly expressed its sincere opinion.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 9th June 1919.

Birth-day Honours.

Referring to the Birth-day Honours, the *Lokopakari*, of the 9th June, observes that, as usual, the Madras Presidency has had very few titles this year, and that no higher title has been conferred on any one here and pointing to the bestowal of the title of Diwan Bahadur on Mr. Bhavanandam Pillai, remarks that, though titles have lost their value now, it is noteworthy that they are conferred in consideration of merits.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 7th June 1919.

Honorary titles.

Adverting to the recent Birth-day Honours' list, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 7th June, regrets that the claims of those that have been loyally working for the welfare of the country and the Government without desiring any return have not been respected. The paper also observes that the title of Rao Saheb conferred on Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu [*sic*] is too small for him and that everybody who knows Mr. Pantulu and his abilities will be sorry for it.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 6th June 1919.

Birth-day Honours.

The *Manorama*, of the 6th June, points out that Malabar gets only one award in the Birth-day Honours list, that of "Rao Sahib", given to Mr. G. Zachariah, B.A., Municipal Secretary, Calicut, who certainly deserves it. It sympathises with disappointed aspirants.

LOKAPRAKASAM, Trichur, 9th June 1919.

The Birth-day Honours.

The *Lokaprakasam*, of the 9th June, remarks that it was not at all good that several deserving people in Malabar have been passed over in the bestowal of Birth-day Honours.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 7th June 1919.

The Birth-day Honours.

The *Samadarsi*, of 7th June, says:—Though these honours are granted in the name of our revered King Emperor yet on account of the misdeeds of the bureaucracy patriots have lost all taste for them. When noble selfless men who work disinterestedly for the good of the country are not even noticed, and mean persons who for their own advancement cringe without a shade of self-respect the favour of some bureaucrats and especially Durais (Europeans) are adorned with these honours, it is no wonder that these titles should now generally have begun to be looked upon with contempt.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 9th June 1919.

A glance at the Honours' list.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 9th June, referring to the Honours' list, writes:—From the Islamic point of view the Birth-day Honours' list is not very encouraging. There are in the Madras Presidency many persons, who, by virtue of their lofty aspirations, are deserving of honours, but for some reason or other they have been left out in the cold by the Government. Although we are

sure they will not grieve over the diversion; but the effect upon the community is not good. For example, Mr. Abdul Karim Sahib Faruqi, a Deputy Superintendent of Police, who should have by now received Khan Bahadur, has for a long time had to content himself with the title of Khan Sahib. As regards Mr. Bhavanandam Pillai, Assistant Commissioner of Police, who has received an additional decoration, it will, perhaps, be said that he managed things excellently during the looting. If this be the reason for his being given a decoration, we do not understand why Mr. Kalimullah Sahib, Chida, Inspector of Police, has been forgotten, when at the risk of his life he helped during the same looting. Many correspondents were eye-witnesses of his good work and many disturbances were put down by his exertions.

As a reward for war service some Muslims and non-Muslims have been honoured, but in this connexion the name of Khan Bahadur Mr. Bazlullah Sahib Bahadur, Revenue Officer, has been left out, in spite of the fact that it is an open secret that it was through his exertions alone that Muhammadans participated in the War Fund and a large sum was collected. Similarly there are others who did excellent war work, e.g., Mr. Mahing Ahmad Badsha Sahib Bahadur, B.A., Khan Sahib, Jamal Muhiuddin Rowther, Mr. C. Abdul Hakim Sahib Bahadur, and Moulana Abdus Subhan Sahib, who in addition to paying income-taxes have taken up some of the war loan also.

It is amazing to find that petty officials should be decorated, while men famous for their generosity and benevolence should be ignored.

Among Muhammadans Unani doctors have also been left out and their public services not in any way appreciated.

There exist learned and qualified medical men like Moulvi Hakim Muhammad Ghouse Sahib Ghias connected with the Nawabs of the Carnatic. Among the younger doctors there are Hakim Saiyed Makhdoom Ashraf Sahib, Hakim Muhiuddin Sahib Faruqi, Saiyed Shah Alhaj, Hakim Abdulla Husaini Sahib, Razavi, Moulavi Hakim Ahmad Mohiuddin Sahib Feroze, all of whom had rendered services to the poor during the recent outbreaks of influenza, cholera and plague.

Those, deserving the title of Shams-ul-Ulama, are the religious leaders: Moulana Alhaj Mahmood Sahib and Moulana Tajammul Husain Khan Bahadur, Iman, etc., who are rendering services to Muhammadans without any recompense and have played an important part in teaching the people lessons of loyalty.

Likewise there are some members of the Royal family who, by virtue of their knowledge and prestige, are held in great esteem by the community. For example, Moulvi Muhammad Abdur Rahman Sahib Bahadur, Shatir, who besides being a great poet is reckoned as one of the leaders of the community, Raoof Ahmad Khan Bahabur, Perthon, who is considered to be a very respectable member of the Carnatic family. Though he is regarded as a Nawab by the community but the Government has not conferred the title on him. We hope that these persons will be remembered on a future occasion and that deserving persons will not be lost sight of.

27. The following paragraph finds place among others in Narada's notes in the *Indian Emigrant* of the 5th June :—Sir Rabindranath Tagore has relinquished his Knighthood in token of his rage and discontent at the actions of the authorities in the Punjab. He has done well! It is indeed honourable to receive titles from a Government which conducts the administration in accordance with the wishes of the people. The poet's having relinquished his title now has only increased his prestige.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 5th June 1919.

Under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 8th June, publishes in Telugu the letter of Sir Ravindranath to His Excellency the Viceroy renouncing his knighthood. The letter was published in English in the *Hindu* of the 2nd June.

Ravindranath's letter.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 8th June 1919.

Adverting to the letter of Sir Ravindranath to His Excellency the Viceroy renouncing his knighthood, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 7th June, says :—Whose heart will not melt at the thought of the terrible deeds happening in the Punjab in the name of military rule? Punishments out of proportion to the offences committed, trials dispensing with the aid of counsels, judgments without appeal, the insults

The heroic act of Ravindra.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 7th June 1919.

shown to leaders, the severe penalties undergone by students, and the strange end to which newspapers are put, all these cast an irretrieveable slur on the British Government. . . May His Excellency the Viceroy now at least turn the Punjab Government from its terrible path and uphold the honour of the British flag by returning to Ravindra the star and the sword conferred on him by His Majesty George as tokens of knighthood.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 11th June 1919.

Legislative Council elections.

28. Referring to the ensuing Legislative Council elections, the *Dasabhaktan*, of the 11th June, observes that Mr. Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar, who has hitherto been representing the Muslims of the southern districts, has not done any tangible good to them, while on the other hand he has been supporting the bureaucrats and doing many things contrary to the wishes of the people, especially of the Muslims, and, remarking that he is an anti-Home Ruler, exhorts the Muslims to prefer the claims of Mr. Kalifulla Sahib, M.A., B.L., of Trichinopoly, on the ground that he supports the views of the Congress League.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 11th June 1919.

Amnesty to political prisoners.

29. Observing that there is a proposal in England that, in view of the signing of the peace treaty, all prisoners, especially those punished for political crimes, should be pardoned and released, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th June, approves of this proposal and adds:—There are in our country many youths who have been suffering in prison for some years past having been punished for disloyalty and sedition. Many youths are again suffering indescribable hardships in the Andamans, having been convicted for offences committed by them only as a result of their patriotism when the *swadeshi* spirit appeared in Bengal about twelve years back. The Government may show mercy to all those and release them. The hardship these have suffered till now is itself sufficient punishment for the crimes they committed. Now, when a new spirit and new ideas are prevalent throughout the world, their minds too would have undergone many changes. Even Hardayal who was a great enemy to the British Government and who was scheming with Germany has, after the war, become a great friend of the Government. So, it is a mistake to think that these youths are still disloyal. They will feel highly grateful if the Government show mercy to them and release them. This is also an opportunity for releasing the hundreds of youths in Bengal who are kept in custody. But though the opportunity offers itself, the authorities should have the mind.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 11th June 1919.

The I.C.S. officers.

30. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th June, writes:—Some I.C.S. officers who are arrogant with power are accustomed to say that India is a conquered country, and that the Indians are not eligible to have equal privileges with them. For sometime past, such words were rare. Now Mr. E. P. Henderson, a late I.C.S. officer, has written in the *Morning Post* that he is one of those who conquered India and that the Indians (natives) are only his subjects and not his equals. What arrogant words these! How can these words create a good impression about the British in the mind of the Indians? Mr. Henderson will be deemed by wise men to have done injury to the British Government.

Dravidan, Madras, 14th June 1919.

The Indians and Civil Service.

The *Dravidan*, of the 14th June, echoes the views of *Justice* of the 13th idem on the observation of Mr. Montagu to nominate forty more Indians to the Indian Civil Service.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 11th June 1919.

Mr. Montagu's speech.

31. Observing that the remarks made by Mr. Montagu about the reforms and the Rowlatt Law are the most important portions of his Budget speech, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 11th June, writes:—Though his assurance that, as far as the British Cabinet is concerned, no attempt will be made to curtail the Indian Reforms, may, in a way console our moderate friends, it has not removed our doubt, for the Civil Service officials and the Government of India are intent upon preventing the accomplishment of his object. The Sydenham party too are determined to give effect to their plans and this will be helped by the *Justice* party proceeding from India. Even in the House of Commons, there are many members who are friends of the I.C.S. officers. When the recommendations of the Government of India

which are based upon the suggestions of the Civil Servants are carefully examined, it has to be feared whether the reforms will be granted to India only in accordance with the wishes of the bureaucrats. The question now is whether the assurance of Mr. Montagu will stand before the agitation and the scheming of these people. Further, some experienced men are of opinion that, as the majority of the members of the present Parliament belong to the Unionist Party, they will try to curtail the reforms. We do not know how far the several parties who are hostile to the progress of India will acquiesce in the rare view of Mr. Lloyd George. Though Mr. Montagu has stated that he intends instituting an inquiry about the recent disturbances in India and that the Viceroy too has got this idea, it is regrettable that he should have come to a kind of conclusion before conducting such an inquiry. He has also stated that the said inquiry is intended to sift the aspersions cast against the British troops and those responsible for suppressing the disturbances. The belief that the troops fired upon poor and unarmed people without sufficient reason, is the main cause of the disturbances that cropped up in India. It is also the opinion of the public that the officials responsible for putting down the rebellion got unnecessarily excited and acted with haste. It is on account of such opinion that great patriots like Sir Rabindranath have come forward to expose the pitiable condition of their country. If this impression should be dispelled from the mind of the public, the members of the committee of inquiry should be capable of examining the circumstances impartially. When Mr. Montagu alluded to the necessity of instituting the inquiry, he should have spoken with an unperturbed mind. If he should think that the action of the troops and the responsible authorities is just, where is the necessity for an inquiry? While speaking of the Rowlatt Law, the Secretary of State has only reiterated the views of the Government of India. However, his statement that this law is hated by the people deserves notice. He is, nevertheless, determined to retain this law in force contrary to the wishes of the people, at this time when the grant of reforms to India is in the air. In this respect, he has followed only the example of Lord Morley. But the partition of Bengal regarding which Lord Morley held an obstinate view against the wishes of the people affected only one province, while the Rowlatt Law affects the whole of India. There is again no one in this country who supports this law. It is regrettable that the Secretary of State should, without understanding the trend of the times, be obstinate like his predecessor, Lord Morley. Probably this is the misfortune of India. When Mr. Montagu spoke of the Rowlatt Law, he did not fail to allude to the Bolshevik conspiracy. It is the *Empire* of Calcutta that first started the theory of the existence of Bolshevism in India and other Anglo-Indian papers vied with each other in raising this cry which terrified Simla and almost shook the very foundations of the India Office in London. The result is, India has to suffer. The Secretary of State has said that the party of anarchists is small and that the majority of the Indians are highly loyal. Still, he does not hesitate to oppress the majority of the Indians for the purpose of putting down the anarchists. Mr. Neill Maclean's motion in the House of Commons that the Rowlatt Law should not be enforced until the House expresses its opinion on it, was lost without any discussion. The very fact that the House of Commons have not concerned themselves about the Rowlatt Law which has created a feeling of terror throughout India, betrays their lack of interest in this country.

The Indian Budget and Mr. Montagu's speech.

Hitakarini, Ellore, 8th June 1919.

Dealing with the speech of Mr. Montagu in connexion with the Indian Budget, the *Hitakarini*, of the 8th June, remarks in its leader that the speech evokes mixed feelings of joy and regret, and that it is not right to find fault with Mr. Montagu for any loopholes in some of his statements, as he has voiced only the opinions of the authorities in India, which were communicated to him. It urges that it is the representatives of the people and not Government officials like Lord Sinha and Mr. Montagu who should represent India in the League of Nations and expresses the disappointment of the people in this respect. It pays a warm tribute to Mr. Montagu for his condemnation of the activities of the Indo-British Association, of which, it says, any true Englishman should be ashamed. It disapproves of Mr. Montagu's defence of the Rowlatt Act and says that though this may be policy, it reduces the opinion of Mr. Montagu to the level of the

ex parte decision of the Rowlatt Commission. It observes that Mr. Montagu seems to have respected the arguments of the India Government only and not to have followed the view of the Indian leaders. It wants to know what answer he has to give for his failure to show due regard for the oft-repeated request of the popular representatives to postpone this legislation at least until the introduction of the new reforms. The non-officials have pointed out, says the paper, that the Act will be troublesome to innocent persons, since the Government have already in their possession weapons to suppress wicked men. It doubts the sincerity of the arguments advanced by Mr. Montagu in defence of the Rowlatt Act and asks whether they have really emanated from the heart of such a liberal statesman. It is of opinion that Mr. Montagu's view of the Rowlatt Act would have been different, if he had expressed it after discussing it with the Indian leaders who have gone to England with the deputations. . . It does not approve of the method of holding an inquiry after peace is established and thinks that the policy of safeguarding peace by means of an inquiry is better. . . Referring to the defence of Mr. Horniman's deportation, it says: We are constrained to regret the guilelessness of Mr. Montagu who has believed the reports of the authorities in India. If he who speaks is superstitious, says the adage, should not he who listens use his discretion? No self-respecting editor would stoop to make a free distribution of his paper. . . We agree with *New India* in its view that those who assign reasons in defence of the measures adopted by them have probably sent wrong information to Mr. Montagu. . . In conclusion, it prays that the Secretary of State and British statesmen may be pleased to consider with sympathy the representations of the Indian deputations to modify the Bill according to them and to grant satisfactory reforms to the people.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th June 1919.

British justice !

32. In the course of a leader under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th June, refers to the conviction of Mariwalla and Durgadas of Sind for having published a pamphlet entitled 'New call' and remarking that the severe punishments inflicted upon those deemed to be offenders, make it clear that the fundamental rights of the Indians are being attacked one after another, adds:—The present unrest in India well proves that the existing system of administration is somewhere defective and that India has the thirst for liberty. It is highly regrettable that at this juncture offenders in cases like the 'New call' case should be punished as anarchists without being proved as such. We are afraid that, by this, the confidence of the Indians in the British justice, which is universally esteemed, will wane. As we have oftentimes stated, India can derive all the benefits she can from England only by the creation of mutual love and co-operation between the rulers and the ruled. No good will result from observing such differences as that between the rulers and the ruled and the white and coloured races. It is a feeling of brotherhood among all classes that will bring about India's advancement and strengthen the British rule. If this feeling should spread in India, British justice and righteousness should prevail everywhere.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th June 1919.

The condition in the Punjab.

33. Remarking that it is a sign of good times that Sir Edward Maclagan, the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, has begun his administration by reducing some of the severe punishments inflicted by the Martial Law Commission, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th June, writes:—Though some may hate him for evincing sympathy towards the Indians and especially towards the people of the Punjab who are in a pitiable plight, Indians and those who aim at the advancement of India will not fail to esteem him. Sir Edward cannot restore the lives of those in whose case the sentence of death has been given effect to. But in case of people who are yet alive with a sentence of death on them, he has the power of converting the punishment to one of transportation. That some of the offenders have committed murder is no doubt true. Those who murdered two Europeans in Amritsar do not deserve mercy. However, if it is not proved that all the twenty persons on whom the sentence of death has been passed in the case in question were connected with the murder, the suitable punishment for them will only be transportation. This is the first time in world's history when twenty lives are taken away in lieu of the lives of two people. These cruel deeds were

not perpetrated in ordinary times and with a calm mind. They were done in a fit of frenzy, when good and evil could not be discriminated. Seven persons were sentenced to death in Amritsar for having harassed one European lady. It is said that legal experts themselves do not understand under which section of the Penal Code they were punished. They are reported to have been charged with having waged war against His Majesty the King-Emperor. We do not understand how the treatment of a single European lady with disrespect can be taken to be waging war with His Majesty. Our readers are aware that for attempting to murder – not for murdering—an European lady, six people were sentenced to death. No section of the Penal Code prescribes a sentence of death for those who attempt to murder. The youth, who attempted to murder Sir Andrew Fraser by means of a gun, was sentenced only to imprisonment for ten years. Some have been sentenced to transportation for having burnt the dress of a C.I.D. Inspector, and for brandishing a stick. It is also a matter for regret that Babu Kali Nath Roy should have been punished. If Sir Edward inquires about him, he will know well that he is not one who will write seditious matter. Even if he had used certain objectionable expressions, he would have done so thoughtlessly and not with any bad motive. The responsibility of making a calm and impartial inquiry and redressing the grivances of the people of the Punjab rests upon Sir Edward Maclagan. Confidence of the Indians in the British justice will keep on only if Sir Edward does this.

The condition in the Punjab.

Referring to a resolution passed by the Indian Association of Calcutta condemning the severity of the punishments inflicted by the Martial Law Commission on those connected with the disturbances in the Punjab, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th June, states that, though it has not any sympathy for the rioters in the Punjab, the Government should see that there does not arise a feeling in the country that the punishments inflicted on them are too severe.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th June 1919.

Martial law in the Punjab.

The *Samadarsi*, of the 7th June, protests against the introduction of martial law in the Punjab. "Who will say that it is not a harsh and cruel act to hurl a whole Presidency into hell for such a trifling cause?!" The renonuncement of knighthood by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the resignation of their membership by some eminent non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council and of his seat in the Imperial Executive Council by Sir C. Sankaran Nayar and the arrival in England of several leading citizens of India will conjointly help to open the eyes of the great men of England to the evils of Indian administration and to the need of discovering proper remedies.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 7th June 919.

The Martial Law in the Punjab.

The *Desabhaktan* reproduces in Tamil, in its issues of the 7th, 9th and 11th June, an article contributed by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar to the *Servant of India* discussing the legal aspect of the action taken by the authorities in the Punjab under the Martial Law.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 7th, 9th and 11th June 1919.

The Punjab and Martial Law.

Referring to the withdrawal of Martial Law from the Punjab excepting railway areas, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th June, says:—. . . The liberal-mindedness of Sir Edward Maclagan is beginning to express itself just now. It will not be possible for him to undo at one stroke the extraordinary unrest created by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. . . Opinion about him is favourable both in India and England. He will earn the gratitude of the public, if she pacifies the people of the Punjab and obliterates by his sympathy the memory of the severity adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. We are glad to learn from the *Graphic* that he is favourably disposed to political reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th June 1919.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

34. Referring to the reply of Mr. Montagu to a question in the Parliament on the subject, that he was aware of the efforts made by Lala Lajpat Rai to incite in America a hostile feeling to the British, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 12th June, says:—Though this charge is often brought against Lala Lajpat Rai by the authorities, they do not come forward to specify what his particular efforts are. It is not just that the

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 12th June 1919.

authorities should often find fault with him and defame him without detailing the matter. They object to his going to India and England. If it is true that he is making in America efforts hostile to the British, he may be tried even there; or, the Government of America may be requested to deport him; or, he may be brought to India without being allowed to make hostile efforts there. That the authorities should, without doing any of these things, find fault with him is unnecessarily insulting a great patriot who is living in a foreign country finding it impossible to get into his native land.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th June 1919.

The food situation.

35. Referring to a memorandum issued by the Director of Civil Supplies detailing the several steps taken till now to regulate the price of foodstuffs, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th June, points to the decision come to in the Conference held under the presidency of Sir Alexander Cardew that the importers of rice from Burma should be compelled to sell it only at a profit of four annas per bag of two maunds and that all the rice imported should be sold by the authorities themselves and remarks:—If there is a grain of truth in the rumour that some of the importers have bought rice secretly for a price higher than that fixed, this arrangement will put a stop to such a practice. But this arrangement is said to be causing inconvenience to merchants, inasmuch as those who require rice have to deposit the price in advance with the Director and wait for the supply for a month or two losing the interest on the amount deposited. We trust the Director of Civil Supplies will attend to this matter and redress the grievance. Then as regards sugar, the authorities appear to have reduced in August last the quantity of sugar imported from Singapore on the impression that an enormous quantity was being imported; but at the same time they did not fix the price at which the stock of sugar on hand should be sold, so that its price in Madras rose from six annas to twelve annas a viss. As, however, the authorities have on reconsideration of the matter permitted the import of 1,500 tons of sugar recently, its price may go down hereafter. So, we have to think that it is the action of the authorities that increased the price of sugar two-fold in the middle and caused loss to the people thereby. As regards kerosene oil, though, as a result of the measures adopted in connexion with this, much difficulty is not felt in towns now as before, it is understood that this oil is sold at four annas per bottle in several villages. As for the question of using other oils in place of kerosene, the prices of the former too are very high. We do not see why the Director has made no mention whatever about oil-seeds in his memorandum. The people will be anxious to know if there is any other reason for the price of gingelly oil having risen two-fold in the city and even higher in the mufassal than the increase in the price of gingelly owing to shortage of produce.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 12th June 1919.

Wanted a new form.

36. The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 12th June, contains a contribution under this heading by the 'Youths of India' wherein the following observations occur among others:—We want a new form of Government. The old view is that a government is a strong body which should display capacity and valour, which has upon it the duty of satisfying the needs of the subjects and has the right of taking away from them whatever it wants. In ancient times, a leader generally stood high above his brethren. But the method which Christ taught for attaining leadership is to descend lower than the people and elevate them. A Government should be more ready than before to adopt this process of elevation. It should give up the tendency of goading people and help them to live freely. We please ourselves with the false saying that the liberty of man should not be interfered with. But in every stage of the life of man we do interfere in his affairs. We compel him to get his child vaccinated. It is no doubt good for the child. Nevertheless it is interference. We insist upon his paying taxes. Certainly, it is for his good and for the good of his community. However, it is interference with the property of man. We prevent him from grazing his cattle in reserved forests. We tell him that this is only for the good of the country and reasonably so. Still, it is interference with man's liberty. Similarly, in every stage of man's life, we interfere with his liberty in a hundred ways. Can we not do so when he behaves in such a way as to spoil his physical health and happiness and cause degradation to the nation itself?

37. Remarking that the public opinion about Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali is that they are patriots of a high order who will never belie their conscience, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 12th June, refers to the Government having recently imprisoned them under Regulation III of 1818 and observes:—We do not take exception to the Government inflicting any kind of punishment upon seditionists and anarchists. But we wish that they should be brought before a court of law and punished after their offence is proved publicly. Was not Sir Roger Casement, who was charged with having worked in Ireland and America in complicity with the Germans in the recent war, tried in a court of law and punished? If, similarly, the offence of these two brothers is also proved in a court of law and they are punished adequately, it is certain that no Indian will regret it.

The Ali brothers.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 12th June 1919.

38. The following observations find place among *Narada's* notes in the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 12th June:—The Police in London threaten to strike work. The Government refuse to recognise the Police Union. On this account there is a great unrest among the London Police and it is surprising that the Government have been keeping quiet without suppressing this unrest for the last three months. What would have happened, if such a thing had occurred in India?

More than 350,000 labourers have struck work in Paris, and it is said that a still larger number of them will go on strike. What is the reason for four lakhs of labourers striking work in the very place where the Peace Conference is being held? Those who cannot restore peace locally are going to establish peace in the world!

Stray notes.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 12th June 1919.

39. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th June, writes:—Co-operative societies are conducive to the improvement of agriculture in any country and especially in an agricultural country like India. Agriculturists borrow money from these societies at a low rate of interest and utilize it for purchasing ploughing cattle, manures and seeds. Though the Government have, in view of the poor condition of the agriculturists, provided several facilities for them, the revenue authorities do not satisfactorily give effect to the wishes of the Government, as can be seen from the fact that in granting loans to agriculturists they are not given properly to those who need them. Further there is often a dearth of funds in co-operative societies themselves. It is understood that, to get rid of this difficulty, the co-operative conference of the Andhra districts which is to assemble in Bezwada on the 28th and 29th instant is going to pass a resolution containing a suggestion to the Government which is to the effect that, before preparing the annual budget, the Government should call upon the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to give an estimate of the amount that may be required by the societies for being granted as loans and that they should deposit the said amount in the Central Bank which will distribute it to each co-operative society and thereby help agriculturists. We support this suggestion and request the Government to consider this.

Co-operative societies.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th June 1919.

40. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 13th June, observes:—As regards the question as to when we will be fit for liberty, the Anglo-Indian papers say that we are not fit for it. But says the *Modern Review*: 'In all countries where a despotic form of Government prevails, there will be many who will support the actions and the conduct of the rulers. It is only the people of a country, where the number of those who will not fear the repressive measures adopted by the rulers, who will not accept the titles conferred, and who will not take up high appointments given is on the increase, that are fit to have liberty.' We cannot but accept the truth of this opinion.

Fitness for liberty.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 13th June 1919.

41. Concluding from the speech of Mr. Montagu in introducing the Reforms Bill in the Parliament that he has a great sympathy for India, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th June, remarks that the European war and the constitutional agitation of the popular leaders are the two causes that have brought about the present reforms and adds:—Mr. Montagu is fully aware of the thirst for liberty having spread throughout India. He has stated that the appearance and the trend of the war

The political reforms.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th June 1919.

and the political agitation which cropped up as a result thereof had their effect upon the whole of India, and even woke up the Government of Madras. The point which here deserves notice is the opinion of Mr. Montagu about the Government of Madras. Probably his view is that the Government of Lord Pentland was as stagnant as a rock-snake! It creates laughter to think of the beautiful actions of Lord Pentland's Government. We trust that Lord Willingdon will, instead of spending his time in vain like Lord Pentland, mix with the popular leaders and work for the advancement of this Presidency, by improving industry and trade. The Secretary of State for India has well understood the device of Lord Sydenham's party. Pity it is that Doctor Nayar has secured the help of Lord Sydenham! Will the leaders of the *Justice* party realise at least hereafter that wise men among the British do not entertain a good opinion about the Indo-British Association which creates obstacles in the way of India's advancement? Mr. Montagu thinks that the reforms that are to be granted to India now are the basis of responsible government. We differ from him here. Let the Committee who are to consider the Bill and the members of Parliament note also the resolution of the Delhi Congress on the reforms, while considering the Montford scheme. Our prayer is that, though the Indians are not granted reforms as desired by the Congress-League, reforms should be introduced at least to the extent indicated in the resolution of the Delhi Congress.

Dravidan, Madras, 14th June 1919.

The Reforms.

The *Dravidan*, of the 14th June, reproduces the remarks of *Justice* of the 13th idem on the speech of Mr. Montagu in introducing the Reforms Bill in the Parliament remarking that the observation of Mr. Montagu that the war and its causes and objects had reached even the Government of Madras had no meaning in it as it was in the time of Lord Pentland the interests of the non-Brahmans were neglected to the largest extent, though the Brahmans set up a false report that this Government was specially favouring the non-Brahmans.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 14th June 1919.

The Reforms.

Remarking that the speech of Mr. Montagu in proposing the second reading of the Reforms Bill in Parliament, indicates his sincere desire to uplift India for which the Indians are bound to be grateful to him, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 14th June, says:—Though the Indians could not accept many of his proposals they never doubted his sincerity. But they cannot accept his view that no other proposals than his would practically give effect to the announcement of August 1917. The August announcement promised the grant of responsibility to the Indians by instalments, but not the training of them in one department after another. According to Mr. Montagu's proposals it is only unimportant departments that will be left in the hands of the Indians, and if they prove their capacity to administer them, some other departments will be placed under them as a next instalment. Thus, Mr. Montagu has no confidence in the Indians' capacity to manage even unimportant departments. It is this distrust that is the basis of his imperfect proposals. The proposals of the Indians are framed on the assumption that they are capable of managing any departments. The August announcement does not bind the Indians as it has bound the British Government. Still, seeing that those who are to grant the reforms are bound by that announcement, the Indians agree to take up responsibility in instalments, and urge that, in view of their capacity and claim, all the important items at least in the Provincial administration should be left under their control. They say that the power of remedying any mistake committed can be reserved by the Government of India and the Parliament. This will be the first instalment. The next instalment will be to transfer the power of the Government of India also after some time to the people subject to the general supervision of the Parliament. In the instalment after that, the Parliament too can transfer the major portion of its powers to the people excluding imperial matters as has been done in the colonies. This course will also be giving effect to the August announcement. But it will imply the admission of the capacity of the Indians, which Mr. Montagu is not inclined to do. He has stated that it is not proper to entrust all power to the Indians at the same time, that mistakes will be committed in items such as the preservation of peace and that such items should be kept off from the hands of popular representatives.

How does the August announcement warrant this statement? Mr. Montagu himself quoted the sympathy of the British Government in trying to secure the right of self-determination for the Arabians and Zecho-slavs. No one has suggested that these races should be trained in administration or granted the control of departments by instalments. Are the Indians inferior to these? If these races have the capacity of governing themselves, why not Mr. Montagu note that the Indians have this capacity a hundredfold? It looks as if Mr. Montagu thinks that his proposals are a compromise between the suggestions of the Indo-British association and some civilians, that the bureaucrats should continue to exercise supreme authority without any portion of it being handed over to the people, and the demand of the Indians that they should be given complete authority in the Provincial administration! The words of Mr. Montagu about the Indo-British Association show that their words will not carry weight with the Parliament. Therefore, if our moderate leaders had not been terrified in the beginning by the work of this association and, giving up their original views, supported the Montagu scheme thereby creating a split in the country, why would not Mr. Montagu have made some alterations in his proposals in pursuance of our demands as he has done in pursuance of the suggestions of the Government of India?

Remarking elsewhere in the same issue that, whatever may be the final form of the reforms introduced in the Parliament, it is needless to say that the political policy now adopted in the country affects the privileges of the public in several ways, the same paper observes:—It was pointed out by Mr. Montagu in his speech that the main object of his reforms was to create an interest and afford a training to the Indians in the administration of the country. But the right of voting and the right of taxation are essential privileges for leading a good and civilized life. When the authorities are entrusted with such wide powers of repression as will deprive the people of their fundamental rights, how can the work of training the people in self-government be completed soon and properly? On this point, the moderates and the extremists are at one. Both have been condemning the Rowlatt Law and seeking the abolition of the Press Act. Many may attain eminence by getting the posts of ministers or members of Legislative Council under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. But unless along with this the rights of the public are preserved, repressive measures are dropped and progressive measures adopted, the Councils and appointments that are created by these reforms will only lead to strife.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 4th June 1919.

The Reform Bill.

Referring to the speech of Mr. Montagu on the occasion of the second reading of the Indian Reform Bill, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 4th June, observes in its leader:—

. . . Even after India has been accorded a place in the League of Nations, some people cannot part with the foolish view that there is no such thing as the Indian nation. . . As has been pointed out by Mr. Montagu, the difficulties of the public will be multiplied, if the control over Provincial Governments is removed without granting self-government to the people. Mr. Montagu has agreed to grant to some extent self-government to the people through the establishment of diarchy. It is not understood what objections he has to the grant of complete autonomy to provinces. . . Though the people may commit some mistakes in the beginning, they will rectify them as they gain experience. The truth of this statement has been brought home by Sir B. Fuller in an article contributed by him to the *London Times*, urging the need for proceeding forward boldly. . . Mr. Montagu is of opinion that the responsibility of preserving peace and order should not be entrusted to the people so soon. When it is realized what unrest has been created in the country by the actions of the authorities in the matter of preserving peace, the need for making over this responsibility to the people forthwith will be understood. The Madura disturbance and the recent disturbance in the Punjab cannot be proofs of the efficiency of the administration of the bureaucracy. Democratic governments will avoid unpopular measures as far as possible, and thus, there will be little chance for the appearance of unrest. . . It is not understood why land revenue cannot be transferred to the people. . . As the authorities are increasing land revenue as they please, ryots are not encouraged to improve their lands and turn out larger produce. The system of revenue settlement is a source of ruin to the ryot

and takes away his proprietary right in the land and makes it over to the Government. . . The transferred subjects cannot have plenty of funds unless land revenue at least is included among them. . . The condemnation by Mr. Montagu of the scheme prepared by the Indo-British Association is quite appropriate. . . The Congress urges the introduction of responsibility in the Government of India along with the Provincial Governments. The Government of India should have no power to introduce hereafter such unpopular bills as the Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council. . . Complete self-government may be granted to the provinces, and division of subjects may be made in the Imperial Government. The Congress representatives should now place before the British public, the opinion of the people in undubious terms and see that the Parliament will accept only such a Reform Bill as will be favourable to the aspirations of India.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th June 1919.

Indian economy.

42. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th June, writes:—In objecting to the reduction of the salary of the Judges in England on account of the war, Sir Thomas Vitaker is reported to have pointed out that lawyers earning enormous income accept the post of Judge only for the prestige of it, and that as they have to lead a life befitting their position, it is not proper for the Government to have reduced their salary. Of all the countries in the world, it is in India that Government officials are paid the highest salaries. Though on account of war, England has had recourse to economy, military expenditure and medical expenditure in India have been increased. This is perhaps Indian economy!

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 14th June 1919.

Kali Nath Roy.

43. Referring to the petition of Mr. Kali Nath Roy to the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for mercy having been rejected by the latter, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 14th June, hopes that the Viceroy at least will be compassionate towards Roy and pointing to his having been ordered by the jail authorities to grind corn, remarks:—It is cruel to include political prisoners with prisoners who have committed theft, cheating, etc., and to impose on the former mean kinds of labour that are imposed on the latter. This system is not in vogue in western countries. It is not compatible with order and justice that under the British Government which is said to be advanced in civilization political prisoners should be treated equally with ordinary ones. We apprise the British Government that their prestige will be affected on account of this bad system. It is not known when the Government of the British Empire will realise that it is only the mischievous acts of the bureaucrats that lowers the prestige and justice of the British rule.

Remarking elsewhere in the same issue that the only way to secure the release of Kali Nath Roy is to appeal to the Viceroy, the paper observes:—Mr. Kali Nath Roy has not written anything new in his paper nor anything more than what the Indian editors in other provinces have written. Further permission was not given for vakils to defend him. The Viceroy should consider all this.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 11th June 1919.

The Indian Officers' Association.

44. The *Dravidan*, of the 11th June, expresses itself against the prayer of the members of the Indian Officers' Association, that the Government should make a special grant for providing a hostel for the benefit of their sons and remarks:—The President of this Association is a Member of the Madras Executive Council, and all the officers who are the members of this Association belong mostly to one class and are receiving decent remuneration. We are not, therefore, in favour of pecuniary aid being given to these from the taxes paid with difficulty by the poor ryot. The sons of these officials get Government appointment very easily, while those of the poor ryot find it difficult to get one even if they pass the examination. There are no officials to support the latter. On the other hand, the existing officials are throwing every obstacle in the way of the sons of the ryots getting employment. It is, therefore, detestable that an Association of Government officials consisting mostly of such wily and selfish members should receive pecuniary support from the Government. When Lord Pentland yielded to the request of the zamindars and landholders who contribute in the main to the Government revenue, that a Rajkumar College should be started for giving education to their sons, the aforesaid official class and their newspapers vainly raised a cry against

it. When these officials evince an aversion to those who form the foundation of Government revenue, how will it be justifiable to help these people who prove dangerous to Government revenue itself?

45. The *Hindu Nesan*, of the 12th June, is against the proposal made in some quarters that the system of beggary should be completely put a stop to by the act of begging rendered penal and dividing the beggars into four classes, viz., those who beg on account of their poverty and the high price of foodstuffs, religious mendicants who have taken to begging on principle. Eurasian beggars and beggars suffering from contagious diseases, observes:—As regards the youths who have taken to begging as a profession, the Government can interfere and send them either to reformatories or industrial schools until they improve in conduct. As for the religious mendicants, no punishment can prevent their begging. There is no necessity at all for the Eurasian beggars to beg in the streets, for there is the 'Friend-in-need Society' which exists exclusively for their sake. Coming to beggars suffering from contagious and incurable diseases, though their condition is really pitiable, they are certainly a great menace to the public health. No other course can be adopted in their case than the provision of separate hospitals or asylums for them, and the Government will be rendering a mighty aid to these unfortunate people by paying attention to this matter.

The mendicant nuisance.

Hindu Nesan, Madras, 12th June 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 13th June, has a leader on this subject reproducing almost the same sentiments as noted above.

Dravidan, Madras, 13th June 1919.

46. Referring to the meeting held in the Government House to consider about how to dispose of the balance of four lakhs of rupees on hand of the amount collected for the War Fund and the proposal to appoint a committee with Lady Willingdon at its head to consider this question, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th June, points to the suggestion made by Mr. Natesan at the meeting that the hands of the Committee should not be tied down in the matter of spending this amount and remarks:—Though the Fund was originally intended to secure the comforts of the troops in the front, this necessity having disappeared now, the subscribers to the fund have also a voice in determining the way in which it should be utilised. So we cannot approve of the suggestion of Mr. Natesan. Though the new committee should be left free in the matter, it is necessary that they should ascertain the way in which the majority of the subscribers would like the fund to be utilised. As education has not advanced much in our country, it will be satisfactory to all if this amount is utilised for the improvement of education. We hope the committee will bestow their special attention on this matter.

The Madras War Fund.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 13th June 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th June, refers to nearly fifty houses and huts having been destroyed by fire on the 14th idem in Ikkadu Paracheri, in the Tiruvallur taluk, leaving a number of poor people homeless and helpless in the matter of food and clothing and appeals to Lord and Lady Willingdon to spend a portion of the balance of the War Fund for relieving the distress of these poor people as there is no better charity than the protection of the poor.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 16th June 1919.

Referring to the meeting held under the presidency of His Excellency Lord Willingdon to concert measures for the utilisation of the balance of the Madras war fund, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th June, remarks:— . . . We hope that the sub-committee formed under the presidentship of Lady Willingdon, who worked so commendably in Bombay for the comforts of soldiers, will turn out good work in Madras also.

The war fund.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 13th June 1919.

47. Referring to the complaint of the *Times of Ceylon* that corruption is very common in the Colony and its appeal to the Colonial Government to punish the offenders in this respect rigorously so as to get rid of this practice, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th June, observes that this evil habit is prevalent in several parts of India and hopes that the Government will not hesitate to adopt timely measures to root out this evil.

A detestable practice.

Swadesamitran, Madras, 13th June 1919.

Vartakamitran, Tanjore, 8th May 1919.

48. In an article under this heading the *Vartakamitran*, of the 8th May, writes:—It is needless for us to state that the disagreement between the capitalists and the labourers in this country is the cause for its present impoverished condition. The capitalist should realise that the ruin of the labourer will eventually result in his own ruin. Otherwise Indian industries can never improve. The capitalists in India are of two classes, namely, the influential European capitalist and the uninfluential Indian capitalist who is ever losing his trade in various ways. There is never any union between these two classes of capitalists. The condition of the labourer is still worse. He is deemed to be almost a beast by the foreign capitalist. The decision of the Madras Tramway Company that two suits will do for their employees in a year is an instance of this. The salary of these employees was raised a little as the result of their having struck work. What did it lead to? The tramway fare was raised by $\frac{1}{4}$ anna. Our foreign capitalists have the capacity to make money out of our labour. What has resulted from the increase in the railway fare on the score of the present and prospective loss of the companies concerned on account of the stoppage of trains as a result of the war and the increase in the prices of articles respectively? They made ten times as much profit as before. But they have not got the magnanimity to give a share of this profit to the workmen who contributed to it. Imitating these foreign merchants, even the capitalists of our country have become devoid of sympathy. If these at least begin to pay attention to the convenience of the labourers, will not the foreigners too be compelled to follow suit? We see the foreign capitalist always adjusting things in such a way as to avoid all competition and our capitalists and labourers are only helping him in this matter. Foreign merchants have not come to this country with the object of securing gain to the Indian merchants and labourers; they have come only to secure their own profit and we cannot expect anything from them. We have therefore to protect ourselves. The Indian capitalists, to improve their condition, should join together and safeguard the interest of their poor brethren. Their position is no doubt hard; the new income-tax is oppressing many. Some who have been assessed say that it will be profitable to them if the Government take away their whole income and return the tax paid by them. The increase of the taxable minimum to Rs. 2,000 is no doubt a beneficial step. But where is the guarantee that next year even those with an income of only Rs. 1,000 will not be classed along with those having an income of Rs. 2,000? The attitude of our executive officials is not fair. Do we not see in practice that the report of a village karnam on a pay of Rs. 7 is taken as gospel by all from the lowest to the highest official? The statements of people paying taxes of Rs. 10,000 and 20,000 a year are belied by those of these karnams. This is the condition of our capitalists. This is the proper time for both the capitalists and labourers of our country to realise their mutual position and strive to improve it.

Is there salvation for Indian labour?

Vartakamitran, Tanjore, 29th May 1919.

In continuation of this article the same paper makes the following observations among others in its issue of the 29th May:—We have to fear whether even the rice and paddy trade which has till now been in the hands of the Indians will pass into those of the Europeans. Of the several companies that have been licensed to import rice from Burma into Bombay, the majority are European, only two being Indian. Why this partiality? Should we not note the way in which trade is proceeding? Even the rice trade of Ceylon is in the same condition. As people who have no idea of the economic condition of the country and who have no desire to understand it began to control the trade carried on till now, it has become shattered like a garland of flowers in the hands of a monkey. We doubt if this condition will be perpetuated. That is why we have been urging that the Indian capitalist and the Indian labourer should come together.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 17th June 1919.

49. Remarking that the condition of the people of India could never have been what it is now, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th June, writes:—Some time back the bureaucrats were paying heed to the representations made by the popular leaders about the grievances of the people and doing the needful. But now they rarely do so. Almost all the heads of provinces in India unanimously act on the principle of

The bureaucrats and the people.

not lending ear to the words of popular leaders. The opinions communicated by the latter from meetings held are not attended to. In the time of Lord Pentland, he never attached any value to the numerous protest meetings held in the Gokhale Hall. He conducted his administration to the end without consulting the popular leaders and in our opinion he mostly acted contrary to their views. Our present condition is clearly illustrated by the actions of the authorities in the Punjab. While our leaders are very active in convening protest meetings and contributing articles to the papers, the bureaucrats are not at all budging an inch from their resolute position. It is incongruous on the part of our people to adopt the old methods even after seeing the determination of the bureaucrats. We should conquer the present *Satyagraha* vow of the bureaucrats by our *Satyagraha* vow. If the popular leaders stick to their principles resolutely, the *Satyagraha* vow of the bureaucrats, not to pay heed to the words of the leaders, will certainly be broken. Some great men have, realising the present obstinacy of the bureaucrats, adopted certain courses. What have the Saint of Mylapore and our King of poets done? Why not their example be followed by others? Mahatma Gandhi stands by the *Satyagraha* vow. Is this not due to the bureaucrats acting as they like, not heeding the words of any? Why not the majority of the people come forward to adopt this vow? Our people should now adopt all constitutional means to attract the attention of the bureaucrats. Mr. Kalinath Roy, the editor of the *Tribune*, is now performing mean labour in prison. Protest meetings, legal speeches and newspaper articles will not release his bondage. If Lord Chelmsford's mercy is to be evoked, we have to adopt certain principles and they are being preached by Mahatma Gandhi. The popular leaders and excellent nationalist papers are now getting dejected. There is no enthusiasm or activity anywhere. What can be done? Our Tamil land is like a sea without waves.

Love will conquer.

50. Remarking that it is only love and not repression that will win, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 8th May, observes that the recent communiqué issued by the Government of Madras has authorised the local officers to resort to repressive measures in view to prevent recurrence of disturbances and lootings this year as have happened last year and adds:—Special reference is made in the communiqué to vernacular newspapers and home rule speakers. What can the poor vernacular papers do? Those that are conducting them being born in this country and participating in the happiness and misery of the people therein freely write about the real condition of the country without hiding anything and similarly patriots also speak only about what they feel. The Government communiqué throws on these the blame for these disturbances and lootings. It is no doubt necessary to ascertain the right causes of such disturbances and lootings, while it is a world-known fact that the majority of the Indians are a quiet and grateful set of people, it is for the wise to consider whether it is desirable to resort to repression wholesale instead of ascertaining the real cause of such a type of people entertaining wrong ideas and seeking a proper remedy for the same. Repression can increase only the brutish nature of men, while love will develop only excellent qualities such as meekness and patience. No one, however, objects to those who commit murder, robbery, etc., being dealt with severely. But if the people should occasionally transgress bounds, the reasons therefor should be ascertained and they should be controlled by the weapon of love. Coming to the lootings of last year hunger was the main cause of them and therefore the first thing to be done is to see that the people do not starve. It is a fact known to economists that agriculturists of this country are gradually becoming poor and immersed in debt. As for artizans, the industries which they were engaged in from ancient times have been ruined one after another on account of foreign competition and they have also lost their living and become beggars, cheats and thieves.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 8th May 1919.

Continuing this article in its issue of the 22nd May, the *Vartakamitran*, remarks:—The disturbances last year occurred mostly in towns, where the majority of the people that suffer during a time of famine are labourers. So the adoption of repression now to prevent such disturbances will resemble only the superficial healing of a wound that spreads inside. So the policy of stopping newspapers, deportation, forfeiture of securities under the Press Act and the use

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 22nd May 1919.

of machine guns and aeroplanes as in the Punjab should be given up and a policy of love inaugurated. Many canals and lakes which have become silted up with sand should be repaired and well irrigation improved in as many places as possible. The agriculturist should be induced to take to the cultivation of dry crops and certain special wet crops peculiar to the summer with the existing irrigation facilities. The defects in the office of the Director of Civil Supplies should be removed and food-grains made available for a cheap price everywhere. If all these things are done the attention of the public will be diverted from bad ways to good ones. Before then, the seasonal rains will also appear and famine disappear. This policy of love is advocated even in our ancient works which shows that the ancients were not behind the men of the present day in the matter of statesmanship. So it is the duty of the King to prefer conquest by love to conquest by repression.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th June 1919.

51. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th June, reproduces in Tamil an article on this subject from the *Independent*, applauding the conduct of those like the late Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in refusing to accept any title and those like Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar and Rabindranath Tagore in relinquishing titles already conferred on them and expressing the view that titles in this country are conferred only on those who are in the good graces of the Government.

Titles of honour.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 10th and 11th June 1919, & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 14th June 1919.

52. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 10th and the 11th June, and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 14th June, reproduce in Tamil a lecture on India's demand for self-government delivered by Mr. Tilak in London recently.

India's demand.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 11th June 1919.

53. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 11th June, publishes in Tamil a summary of the proceedings of a public meeting recently held in Kankoduthavanitam in the Tanjore district, at which resolutions are said to have been passed condemning the repressive measures adopted by the authorities in the Punjab and the application of the Press Act to certain newspapers by the authorities in Madras, and praying for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and the Press Act.

Public meetings.

DESABHAKTAN, & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th June 1919.

The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th June, publish the proceedings of a public meeting held in Tanjore on the 10th idem under the presidency of Doctor Vardarajulu Nayudu, in connexion with the opening of an association called *Bharata Bhakta Samajam* for the purpose of fostering patriotism among the Indians at which Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar, the editor of the *Swadesamitran*, is reported to have stated among other things that *Satyagraha* agitation is the only righteous means that can be adopted by the people in these days when repressive measures are being adopted by the authorities as if the hardships of the people from famine and pestilence are not enough, and that several persons should come forward now to undergo trouble and make sacrifices as victory can never be won without sacrifice.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 12th June 1919.

54. The *Dravidan*, of the 12th June, reproduces the sentiments of the *Justice* of the 11th idem appreciating the observations of Lord Willingdon in his reply to the address of the Corporation of Madras, apprising him that he can count upon the hearty co-operation of the non-Brahman community in carrying out his policy as indicated in that reply and appealing to him to remove the present disabilities of the non-Brahmans in getting adequate representation in the public services.

Lord Willingdon.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th June 1919.

Referring to the statement made by His Excellency Lord Willingdon in the course of his reply to the address presented to him by the Madras Corporation that the Government in India is prepared to consider all reasonable criticism, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th June, observes under this heading :—. . . In case His Excellency's exhortation takes practical effect, there is no doubt that the Province will make rapid progress. But at the very outset of his administration, securities have been taken from well-known newspapers. We cannot think that either the *Hindu* or

Lord Willingdon's advice.

any other paper has used objectionable language in its criticism of the Government measures. It is necessary that the Government should view such criticisms with a sympathetic mind, as has been pointed out by Lord Willingdon. Neither the rulers nor the ruled will gain anything by punishing newspapers for this. What is past is past; we hope that His Excellency will consider public criticism with sympathy in future at any rate and will try to redress the grievances of the people without resorting to repressive measures ordinarily. If his future administration is based on such a conciliatory policy, he will be able to secure the co-operation of the people easily. . . Turning to the advice given by His Excellency that local bodies should as far as possible rely upon themselves, the paper remarks that the representatives of the people made many suggestions during the debate on the Madras City Municipal Bill, to improve the sources of income of the corporation, all of which were rejected by the Government and that before this advice can be followed it is but just that the Government should show first adequate sources of income to municipal bodies. Their condition will become ridiculous if the Government refuses to give them help and at the same time does not show them means of improving their financial resources.

55. The *Dravidan*, of the 12th June, refutes the charge levelled against the non-Brahmans that they are against political reforms and remarks:—We do want reforms in the constitution of the Indian Government and we are anxious that they should be introduced soon, but what we feel is that the people should have a real voice in the administration of the country. All that we say is that a small class should not exercise predominating influence in the Government. The Montford reforms aim only at increasing the existing influence of such a class. We want certain reforms in that scheme itself. Considering the present condition of the non-Brahmans, if they are to have influence in the Government, communal representation is indispensable. It is because the Muhammadans were given communal representation that the dissensions between them and the Hindus disappeared as well as their disabilites in the matter of status under the Government. If communal representation is not granted to the non-Brahmans who form the major portion of the population, the fume of discontent among them is sure to spread far and wide and cause trouble to the whole country, by increasing the divisions and dissensions among the Hindu community. We do not want this representation perpetually but only until such time as our people make appreciable advance in social status, education and politics.

Dravidan, Madras, 12th June 1919.

The non-Brahmans and reforms.

56. A correspondent to the *Hitakarini*, of the 11th May, writing about the political activities in India admits the existence of anarchism and observes that though the anarchists may think that the object of their attempts is good, they are using brute force against brute force, and that it will be in keeping with the best national traditions to try for the freedom of India on the strength of soul power.

Hitakarini, Ellore, 11th May 1919.

The shell of anarchism.

57. Referring to the Irish problem and the motion passed in the House of Commons urging the Government to appoint a Parliamentary body to consider and report on the measure for Federal Devolution, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th June, writes in its leader:—. . . Since the British Government has not handled the Irish problem with a liberal mind, the Irish Nationalists are gradually losing their influence, while the Sinn Fein movement is gaining in strength. . . If the measure for Federal Devolution has been introduced with the object of delaying the settlement of the Irish problem, there cannot be a greater mistake than this, as delay in this respect is dangerous. When the Irish problem is attracting the attention of the whole world and is becoming more and more complicated as days pass on, there is absolutely no good of temporary measures of relief. . . If a satisfactory form of self-government within the Empire is granted to Ireland now at least without delay, the Sinn Fein movement is bound to disappear, and the Irish people will no longer entertain the wish for a separate republic. We believe that England will show the promptitude required by the times and will satisfy the Irish people.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 11th June 1919.

The Irish Problem and Federal Devolution.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th June 1919.

The Rowlatt Act and England.

58. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th June, gives in Telugu extracts from the *Westminister Gazette*, the *Positivist Review*, and the *Review of Reviews* condemning the Rowlatt Act. The last-named journal remarks that suspicions have begun to arise in the mind of the people and their confidence has begun to shake, as confidential reports and the secret investigations of the police increased.

Having given the above-mentioned extracts, the paper observes that it will be beneficial if the British authorities repeal now at least the Rowlatt Act condemned not only by Indians but even by Englishmen and create a condition of things favourable to the introduction of reforms.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th June 1919.

What tolerance!

59. Referring to the pursuit of a Negro and an Indian by some white soldiers of South Africa, which was reported by the *India*, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th June, writes under this heading:—. . . The South Africans are showing their spirit of intolerance towards the blacks not only in their own country but even in England. Their comradeship with Indians on the battlefield has perhaps ended there only. Such incidents are enough to show the difficulties experienced by Indians in South Africa. It is the duty of Indians to agitate in this matter till justice is secured, and to get an assurance from the British authorities that no room will be afforded for the recurrence of such acts of rowdyism in future.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th June 1919.

India and the Parliament.

60. Referring to the statement of Mr. Bonar Law that the Joint Committee will be competent to consider the alternative proposals for reforms, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th June, observes that the Indian leaders should try to see that the committee considers the Congress scheme of reforms. With regard to the composition of the Indian Currency Commission, the paper complains that there is only one Indian on the Commission, who does not seem to sympathise with the people in their aspirations. It observes:—All the rest are Europeans. . . It may be seen what apathy prevails against Indian interests.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 6th June 1919.

India and Parliament.

The *Manorama*, of the 6th June, is pleased with the statement made by Mr. Montagu in his Budget Speech about the status of India in the Empire, but is greatly disappointed with his attitude of support of the Rowlatt Act.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 6th May 1919.

India and the British Parliament.

Referring to the long delay in the transmission to India of statements made by Mr. Montagu in Parliament in his Budget Speech and at the introduction of the Government of India Reform Bill, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 6th May, complains about the tardiness of Reuter or the policy of the Government whichever of them is responsible for the delay.

The article notes the absence in the speech of any statement that India's financial loss in the war will be recovered from the enemy and made good to India. The Secretary of State has laboured to prove that the Rowlatt Law was necessary. He praised Mr. Gandhi, but condemned his attitude in respect of the Rowlatt Act. This was rather surprising. . . Anyway, the Secretary of State seems to have made up his mind to see to it that the Reform scheme is passed, whatever may be the opposition it may have to confront.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th June 1919.

The first Tenali Taluk Home Rule Leagues Conference.

61. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th June, gives in Telugu an account of the proceedings of the first Tenali Taluk Home Rule Leagues Conference held on the 6th instant at Kuchipudi, where resolutions asking for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, it being detrimental to the birth-rights of the people in the opinion of the conference, and for the withdrawal of Martial Law from Punjab, the application of it being unjust and improper, expressing regret for the deportation of Mr. Horniman and for the security taken from the *Hindu*, and approving of the resolutions adopted by the Delhi Congress, were passed.

A speaker is reported to have remarked:—"Home Rule would be very easily secured, when we equal our brethren in the Punjab. We should first set right our social affairs."

62. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th June, publishes in Telugu an article that Indians, however rich and educated, are very much illtreated in South Africa and that they cannot get justice even in public courts in cases between them and the Europeans on account of the colour bar.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th June 1919.

Racial difference in South Africa.

63. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 11th June, contains an article complaining that ryots are misusing cattle manure as a substitute for firewood and requesting the Government to see that it is used for cultivation purposes.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 11th June 1919.

Cattle manure.

64. A correspondent to the *Hitakarini*, of the 1st June, writes under this heading, complaining that with a few noble exceptions, men in authority in this country often take offence, if anybody criticises their actions, and bear grudge against him. He advises officers to give up anger and consider all criticisms passed on their actions with a dispassionate mind.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 1st June 1919.

Official power and arrogance.

65. Referring to the speech of Mr. Montagu delivered in connexion with the second reading of the Indian Reform Bill in the House of Commons, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th June, observes in its leader:— . . . It is not understood why Mr. Montagu has given the Joint Committee the discretion to consider alternative schemes instead of instructing it simply to examine the details of the Bill only and express its opinion on them. He is confident that the Joint Committee will not dare to go back upon the Bill in the least. He has pointed out that even in case the committee should propose an alternative scheme he would lend his ear to it only on the condition that it grants reforms at least to the extent promised in the Bill. The faith of Mr. Montagu is like that of a man who exposes a light to the wind and then says "O God! It is all thy power now!"

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th June 1919.

The Second Reading of the Reform Bill.

The Joint Committee will be composed of members of both the Houses of the Parliament. Among those representing the House of Commons, there will surely be a good number of Unionists. And the House of Lords is the home of typical conservatives determined on opposing all progress and consists of retired governors of provinces living in ease and wearing the title of Lord. They will be watching with a thousand eyes to guard against any the least interference with the long enjoyed rights of the bureaucracy. Lord Sydenham is their leader. It may be imagined what adverse proposals the Joint Committee composed of such members will make. It will try to make the Bill lifeless, even when it is empowered to examine its details. When it is allowed to consider alternative schemes, it will be easy to surmise what sort of advice it will offer. . . Under such circumstances will the Provincial Governments and the Sydenham party keep quiet? Will they not try to upset the Bill? . . . It may be supposed that the opponents of reforms have placed their hopes in the Joint Committee, and they will surely raise a hue and cry if the cabinet or Mr. Montagu reject the Committee's proposals. They may even try to circulate false reports among the members of the Parliament. . . When the matter is considered with foresight, neither the composition of the Joint Committee nor the discretion allowed to it will contribute in any large measure to the success of the Reforms. . . Since alternative schemes also will be considered by the Joint Committee the Indian representatives should clearly explain to it the Congress scheme. . . Mr. Tilak is telling the British people how the authorities in India who are their agents are not properly discharging their duties, and is exhorting them to do their own duty in the matter. . . Though from the above passage the *Madras Mail* appears to scorn the followers of Mr. Tilak in England, at heart it entertains anxiety about their activities! It behoves our representatives, to work unceasingly for the success of the movement started by Mr. Tilak. They should tell the British public clearly what a loss it will be to the empire if the wishes of Indians are not granted. Just as the opponents of reforms place their hopes in the Joint Committee, the friends of reforms naturally rely on the Parliament.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th June 1919.

66. Reviewing the report on civil supplies for 1918–19, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th June, observes:— . . . Though the supply of kerosene oil is now better than before, people in villages are still experiencing inconvenience in the matter. It is necessary, therefore, to provide villages with an adequate supply of oil. . . Though the war has ended, the famine of food-stuffs has not. It is to be seen what steps the Director of Civil Supplies will hereafter take to relieve this.

Civil supplies.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th June 1919.

Referring to the report of the Director of Civil Supplies for April, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th June, observes:— . . . It is stated in the report that 58,880 tons of rice were imported from Burma in April and that this has set right the matters. But experience is opposed to this inference. There is not much change in the prices of rice which the people ordinarily consume. As months pass on, the price of rice is again going up and not falling down. . . As the export of rice has been forbidden from the Kistna to the Guntūr and the Gōdāvari districts, the reports received by us have shown that some villages in the latter two districts are suffering for want of rice. . . The food-famine is still increasing and not decreasing, and whatever the past may be the Civil Supplies Director does not tell us what steps will be taken in future. We submit that His Excellency Lord Willingdon will do well to hold a conference of the leaders of the people, consult them as to what steps should be taken to relieve the present distress and take immediate action in the matter.

The Civil supplies.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 13th June 1919.

67. Adverting to the reference made by Mr. Montagu in his speech to the question of a more natural re-distribution of provinces, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 13th June, says:— . . . If the Andhras show their persistence in the matter, they may get a separate province even after the introduction of reforms.

Distribution of provinces.

RAVI, Cocanada, 29th May 1919.

68. Under this heading the *Ravi*, of the 29th May, observes:— . . . On account of this contact with the west, the habit of drinking is increasing in this country. Different sorts of wines are being imported; the merchants and the officials who come from Europe are addicted to drinking. . .

The Christian Endeavour Society.

DURBAR, Guntūr, 15th May 1919.

69. Under this heading, the *Durbar*, of the 15th May, observes that it will be better that the Provident fund to which low-paid officials mostly contribute is invested in some concern which pays higher interest than in fluctuating security bonds. It also proposes that all those working in district boards and municipalities should unanimously request the Government to invest their Provident fund in Co-operative banks so that it may be utilised for purposes of public usefulness.

Local Boards—Provident Fund.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 7th June 1919.

70. Dealing with the recommendations of the Franchise Committee regarding the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 7th June, disapproves of the method of electing members to the Imperial Legislative Council through the Provincial Councils instead of electing them directly as in the case of members to the Provincial Councils. . . Remarking that the recommendations of the Committee in this respect afford scope for even a member of the corporation to become a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, it observes that there cannot be a more intolerable absurdity than this and that it is needless to point out that any body who is not qualified to speak with authority on the needs of the people by whom he has been elected is not fit to be a member of any Council, whether small or great.

The Indian Legislative Council.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 7th June 1919.

71. Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 7th June, writes regretting that the *Satyagraha* movement of Mr. Gandhi has been the cause of disturbances in many parts of India as well as of the Afghan war and also disapproves of the swadeshi vow preached by him. It says that it will give offence to foreign merchants, cause loss to the indigenous merchants, and will put the poor people to enormous trouble by enabling retail indigenous merchants to increase the prices of articles abnormally on account of the short supply of swadeshi articles. In conclusion,

The Swadeshi vow.

it advises Mr. Gandhi to give up this vow and to use his influence to collect money for the encouragement of home industries.

Government posts and communal representation.

72. Under this heading, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 7th June, observes that the Government of India is British only in name and that there is no doubt that the entire administrative power vests in the hands of Brahmans, all offices in the State being held by them. It complains that such recent orders as the one making even a school-final candidate eligible for the post of a Probationary Revenue Inspector are utilised by Brahman Sarishtadars to increase the Brahman element in the public service still further, though the object of these orders is to encourage non-Brahmans. It suggests as a remedy for this evil that the Government should reserve certain posts for non-Brahmans. It quotes for example the case of the Superintending Engineer's office at Bellary, which, it alleges, is filled entirely with Brahman clerks, the Engineer being himself a Brahman. In conclusion it gives an extract in Telugu from the letter of one, Judex, advising non-Brahmans to wake up and send their representatives to England to fight for communal representation in every respect.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 7th June 1919.

His Excellency the Governor's tour.

73. Referring to the report that public subscriptions are being collected at Cuddapah to accord a grand reception to His Excellency Lord Willingdon in connexion with his ensuing visit to that town, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 7th June, says :— . . . When great people come, it is proper to honour them in some manner. But much money should not be collected to be spent away on festivities in hard times. If money is collected and used for the protection of the poor, it will please God.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 7th June 1919.

The future Madras Legislative Council.

74. Referring to the distribution of seats in the Madras Legislative Council according to the recommendations of the Franchise Committee, the *Andhraprakasika*, of the 7th June, observes that the method of distribution proposed by the Committee does not seem to have any head or tail, and hopes from the remarks of the Government of India, that some good will be done to the large bulk of the depressed classes in this Presidency and that they will command equal respect with other communities in the new Legislative Councils, though the Franchise Committee ignored them.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 7th June 1919.

The Fifth Ganjām District Conference.

75. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 7th June, publishes in Telugu the resolutions passed at the Fifth Ganjām District Conference, such as those praying for the immediate repeal of the Rowlatt Act which, according to the Conference, have been passed by the Government of India arbitrarily on the strength of their official majority and are detrimental to the natural rights and liberties of men, regretting the occurrence of disturbances in some parts of the country, condemning the use of guns against unarmed men as unjust and the application of Martial Law as unnecessary and requesting their immediate repeal, and approving of the *Satyagraha* movement started by Mr. Gandhi for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 7th June 1919.

Famine.

76. In its leader under this heading, the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 10th June, complains that in spite of the appointment of special officers by the Government to control the food-supply, the severity of famine is increasing day by day, and the Government do not seem to have taken sufficient care to improve the lot of middle class people such as low-paid clerks employed in Government offices, under local bodies and in private concerns. It remarks that the Government should take necessary action to stop the export of food-grains to foreign countries. It points out that the present famine does not seem to be the result of failure of crops. So far as the Gōdāvari district is concerned, says the paper, the people know that lands have yielded good crops and that merchants in towns have purchased thousands of paddy bags at cheap prices and stored them with the object of selling them at famine rates, and naturally ask why these merchants should not be made to sell paddy and other grains at fair prices. The paper observes that the people are also labouring under a great misapprehension that food-grains are being exported not only to other districts but even to foreign countries, and that it is the duty of

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 10th June 1919.

the Government to dispel this wrong impression in clear terms and suggests that the Government should take possession of all paddy and have it sold under the supervision of responsibile gentlemen at fair prices which do not entail loss on the merchant or on the ryot, and that local officers such as Collectors and Revenue Divisional Officers should take proper steps to prevent adulteration of food-grains by merchants with sand, dust, etc.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 8th June 1919.

Mr. B. G. Tilak and the Indian demand.

77. The *Hitakarini*, of the 8th June, publishes in Telugu part of Mr. Tilak's speech at an 'At Home' given by Britain and Indian Association in the Caxton Hall in London on the 3rd May. The proceedings of the meeting and the speech in question appeared in English in *New India* of the 4th June.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th June 1919.

Unrest in India.

78. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th June, publishes in Telugu a letter written by Mr. K. G. N. Menon in the *Nation* dealing with the unrest in India, which it describes as thoughtful and which contains observations such as the following:—. . . Though India is in a very critical condition and news is reaching this country of flogging, capital punishments and the use of bombs, it seems to me strange that all the responsible Indians living here should remain silent. . . A section of the Newspapers is affording amusement by writing about the ability of English soldiers. These papers have ventured to remark that Indians are a wicked people, equal to Germans and that they are creating disturbances, when the Government of India has passed the Rowlatt Act in order to prevent their collusion with Germans. It is insulting India to say that the loyal and discriminating people of India have rebelled against an Act meant for the suppression of anarchists. Such a commentary on a nation which has sacrificed its all for the success of the British will be a calumny. The publication of such commentaries will be a source of mental anguish, before the memory of the help rendered by Indians in Palestine and the German East Africa has hardly faded away. Indians do not accept this Act, as it confers unlimited powers on the Police. The Indian Police cannot be compared with the Police in England. The Police in this country are the servants of the people. It is not so in India where they are the masters of the people. Their actions cannot be questioned except through courts of law. For this reason, all the people of India have expressed their disapproval of an Act which confers absolute power on the Police. There is nothing strange in the Parliament being indifferent to the Indian affairs. But it is not understood why disapproval of the system of employing aeroplanes against an unarmed people has not been expressed anywhere in England. Such indifference does not become a great nation. All discriminating Indians condemn violence. Therefore, violence which is not supported by the people cannot have any place in India.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th June 1919.

Mr. Kalinath Roy and the way for his release.

79. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th June, writes:—. . . Even Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar has expressed his opinion that the offence of sedition cannot be tried under Martial Law. Moreover the Indian papers have commented on the inaccuracy of the judgment of the Martial Law Court. . . In these circumstances, it will be proper for the Government to try him again in an ordinary court of law or to release him out of mercy. We expected the new Lieutenant-Governor to show his liberality. But the telegrams convey the very disappointing news that His Honour has expressed his inability to interfere in the matter. Mahatma Gandhi advises the people to hold public meetings in every town and submit memorials to the Viceroy praying for the release of Mr. Kalinath Roy. We, therefore, believe that all our Andhra brethren will promptly discharge their duty in the matter. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 1919.

Patents.

80. Referring to the new patents for 1918, the *Andhrapatrika* observes that out of the 644 applications for patents received in the year, only 77 bear Indian names and that this shows that Indians have very little scope or encouragement for research.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 7th May 1919.

Unrest.

81. In its leader under this heading, the *Desabhimani*, of the 7th May (received on 14th June), writes:—. . . India which showed its world-renowned and flawless loyalty at

a time when England was involved in a terrible war for the defence of her Empire, India which rained gold and caused blood to flow in streams for the sake of the freedom of the world without drawing back in the least is full of unrest and disturbances to-day. Martial Law has been established in the Punjab to-day. The freedom of the press has been suppressed. Editors of newspapers and leaders of the people are undergoing deportations. Hundreds of ordinary people are subjected to flogging in public streets without being tried in the ordinary courts of law. They are also receiving capital punishment. Cannons also, which are used for the destruction of enemies are employed against unarmed people who have defied official authority under the influence of an excitement which is the result of ignorance, and bombs have been hurled upon them from aeroplanes. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who is an adept in bureaucracy, has employed without the least scruple such horrible means as no civilized Government has ever used under ordinary circumstances to quell the disturbances of its own subjects. In the Delhi, the Sindh, and to some extent the Bombay provinces, the Government have resorted to very drastic measures. At a pleasant time when political reforms are about to be granted to satisfy the Indian public opinion, what danger has happened to necessitate a resort to such severe measures for the suppression of the mischievous deeds committed by people under temporary excitement? . . . When some of the subjects transgress just laws and dare to endanger public safety, it is unobjectionable that the Government should adopt proper severe measures and try to establish public peace, and it is the bounden duty of all well-wishers of the country to co-operate with the Government in such attempt as far as it lies in their power. It is undoubted that all national leaders who have gained the confidence of the people are always prepared to extend such co-operation. The fact that the Government have not yet withdrawn their repressive policy even though peace has been restored and no fresh disturbances have broken out in the Punjab and in the other provinces, has afforded room not only for the nationalists but for the moderates also to think that the Government are acting with a severity which is beyond what is required. . . The observation made by Burke in one connexion that the nation is always innocent, is undoubtedly correct. . . To grow angry with all the people on the ground that all of them have gone wrong is not statesmanship. There can be no Government without the people. The Government is for the people, and not the people for the Government. Some officials who have become adepts in bureaucracy often forget this simple fact. It is a fact not unknown to statesmen that it is as much necessary for the Government to ascertain forthwith the causes of discontent and remove them as it is to adopt severe measures and check the disobedience of just laws when unrest has grown among the people and mischievous methods are resorted to on account of the machinations of some wicked persons. It is known by experience that the greater the pressure with which a rubber ball is struck down the greater will be the force with which it will rise up. According to the poetic convention, the Asoka tree will put forth tender leaves the more, the more frequently it is kicked. The theory started by the Anglo-Indian newspapers and accepted by Mrs. Besant that the disturbances in the northern Hindustan have been instigated by the Bolsheviks or anarchists is absolutely unfounded. The failure of German attempts to create a revolution in India while England was involved in endless troubles is the strongest proof of this fact. . .

82. Referring to leaflet No. 12 of Mr. Gandhi on *Satyagraha*, the *Desabhimani*, of the 7th May, remarks:—. . . If even now the people obey the commands of this holy man and follow the methods of the vow, it is certain that these Rowlatt Acts of the most unbearable and terrible cruelty will be exterminated. Amen.

Satyagraha.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 7th May 1919.

83. The *Desabhimani*, of the 7th May, publishes in Telugu portions from the memorandum addressed by Mr. Tilak to the President of the Peace Conference demanding the principle of self-determination to India.

The Peace Conference.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 7th May 1919.

84. Referring to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi on his way from Bombay to Delhi in the early part of April, the *Hitakarini*, of the 13th April (received on the 18th June), writes in its leader under this heading:— . . . When

The refuge of satva: the arrest of Maharshi Gandhi.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 13th April 1919.

dharma is disturbed in the world, when truth is subjected to a critical test, when wickedness is in the ascendent, when the world is tormented by demoniacal deeds when the minds of the good are agitated, when the honour of chaste women is about to be defiled and when the natural liberties (of men) are repressed, satva (the quality of purity or goodness) is the sole refuge. . . So also, this new age in India, after pursuing endless activities in vain, has at last entered on the path of satva, following the message of Mahatma Gandhi. . . In this movement, there is no place for disturbances, and for terrible wars causing bloodshed. This divine remedy is composed of absolute satva (goodness).

Adverting to the orders under the Defence of India Act served on Mr. Gandhi, the paper says:— . . . There is nothing strange in all these orders looking as even more trivial than a blade of grass before soul-power which is the Emperor of Emperors and the cause of creation. Such great saints as Gandhi who have a thorough communion with and realisation of the soul are not and cannot be bound by such physical laws. According to the interpretation of Gandhi, it is the physical body which is bound by physical laws and not the inner soul. True! . The orders of the Government have been defied by Mr. Gandhi. As a result of this, the physical body of Gandhi has been kept under arrest, but his soul is moving all over the world, exhorting his countrymen to regain the freedom of their selves (or souls) by following truth. . . When did the real *Satyagraha* vow come into contact with the world of action, emerging out of the world of thought. . . It was not on the 30th of March which was observed as a day of protest against the Rowlatt Act by the *Satyagrahis* at Delhi under the leadership of Swami Shraddhananda, when patriots had bathed the mother country with their blood. It was not on the day when Swami Shraddhananda stood in perfect peace ready to sacrifice his physical body to the rifle and the sword. It was not even on the day when the *Satyagraha* committee at Bombay publicly sold proscribed literature in company with Mr. Gandhi. It was at 7-20 a.m. on the 10th April when Mr. Gandhi left Bombay for Delhi that the *Satyagraha* vow had begun to show itself in its true form. . . The vow was fulfilled when the order of arrest was served on Mr. Gandhi. Maharshi Gandhi is explaining the sacred principles not only by messages but also by practical conduct.

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 13th April 1919.

The message of Maharshi Gandhi.

Under this heading, the *Hitakarini*, of the 13th April, publishes in Telugu the message of Mr. Gandhi to his countrymen communicated through his secretary on the eve of his arrest, while on his way to Delhi.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 5th June 1919.

The Press Act and a Madras public protest meeting.

85. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 5th June, publishes in Telugu the proceedings of the public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall on the 4th June, to protest against the application of the Press Act, summaries of the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed thereat.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 7th June 1919.

The value of a sovereign.

86. Referring to the fall in the value of a sovereign from Rs. 15 to Rs. 12, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 7th June, explains the results of the change and observes in its leader:— As the Government have fixed the value of the sovereign but have not made it the current coin the Indian commerce and trade are sustaining great loss. . . When sovereigns are not current in India, what necessity has arisen to reduce their value to Rs. 12 each? Is it not clear that this trick has been played simply to safeguard the interests of foreign merchants? . . . All the discount paid by us for this sovereign goes to support foreign industries. Even the Government of India is obliged to sustain loss on account of this discount, and what is the meaning of the Government of India sustaining loss? Is it not the ryot who pays taxes that suffers? This discount is bound to tell upon our export traffic, to seriously damage the cause of our industries, and to keep the Government of India and through it, the ryot in poverty. Under such circumstances, how can the people fail to ask for self-government? How long can the ryot be a victim to poverty? India belongs to the Indian ryot, the Indian merchant and the Indian mill-owner. Is it not right to govern India in the interests of Indians? The time is gone by when people can be deceived by arguments which explain that an increase in foreign imports is a sign of India's growing prosperity. There is no good of any number of reforms, so long as India does not get fiscal autonomy

and her economic policy is regulated to safeguard the interests of foreign merchants and not of her own people. Legislative Councils may be enlarged; some departments may be handed over to the people, special representations may be granted, and more offices may be thrown open; but all these are unsubstantial. There is only one thing which can save the ryot from the clutches of poverty, and that is fiscal autonomy. The other day Mr. Montagu promised to appoint a commission to inquire into the Indian currency question. The composition of the committee is not known. We are already well aware of the benefits accruing from such commissions. There is no hope that this new commission in particular will be different.

87. In the course of some reflections under this heading, a correspondent to the *Sudarsini*, of the 1st June, remarks:— . . . Mr. Gandhi has resolved to destroy by self-sacrifice the Rowlatt Act which is dangerous to Aryans. . . Victory to Gandhi! . . . Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao has done well in not trying again for a seat in the local Legislative Council, having had good experience of its value for the last nine years. I shall bow any number of times to all those honourable members whose terms of membership have come to an end, if they follow the example of Mr. Ramachandra Rao and do not try for membership again. . .

Gossip.

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 1st June 1919.

88. Referring to the aspersions of Lord French, on Lord Kitchener, the *Sudarsini*, of the 1st June, remarks:— . . . We are afraid that the prattle of Lord French about Lord Kitchener who is said to have been dead or to have been alive, though dead, may be regarded as an effervescence of madness due to excessive biliousness.

Lord Kitchener.

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 1st June 1919.

89. A correspondent to the *Sudarsini*, of the 1st June, writes under this heading:— . . . There is a world of difference between the standpoints of the people and the Government of India. . . The news which comes to hand every day confirms this view and creates anxiety in the public mind. . . In these disturbed times the Defence of India Act is being freely applied in respect of newspapers. Recently, a security has been demanded from the *Hindu*. When even the *Hindu* which has been honoured by the Government has been subjected to such a hardship, is there any need to ask about the fate of other papers? At present, journalism is like playing on the edge of a sword. . . No editor can express his views freely. How can writings produced under fear breathe freedom? . . . May God shortly grant our rulers the discretion to introduce broad reforms in India and to raise it to the status of a country enjoying self-government within the Empire, the wisdom to repeal the Rowlatt Act and to accord the freedom of the press, and the foresight which will not crush the freedom of person!

Political evolution in India.

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 1st June 1919.

90. Under this heading, the *Sudarsini*, of the 1st June, complains that revenue officials, from Inspectors up to Tahsildars, invariably mess in the houses of low-paid village officers, while on tour, though they receive travelling allowance, that some of even the bigger officials generally pay, if at all, only one half of the cost of articles supplied to them, that there is no limit to the bribes received by some Magistrates and Tahsildars, that in spite of the appointment of special officers by the Government for food control, some of the officials are themselves purchasing at cheap rates the paddy disposed of by public auction, to the disappointment of the poor, that superintendents of locks such as the Vijjeswaram lock have hoarded large sums of money in connexion with the system of control, that bribe-taking has increased among Sub-Registrars, and that the Public Works Department people are notorious for receiving bribes. The paper prays that the Government may be pleased to take prompt action to check the vagaries of these officials and relieve the distress of the people.

Bribes.

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 1st June 1919.

91. Adverting to the judgment of the Privy Council in Mrs. Besant's appeal from the Madras High Court regarding the security taken from *New India* under the Press Act, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th June, observes in its leader under this heading that the Press Act is only an Act in name, that it mentions the measures which the executive may adopt at its will and to question

Mrs. Besant's appeal and the Press Act.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th June 1919.

which no court of law is competent. It says that though the Act was supported by the popular representatives as it was said that it would be applied only to revolutionary papers in order to crush anarchism, it is now applied to all papers carrying on constitutional agitation. The paper complains that the Anglo-Indian newspapers such as the *Pioneer*, *the Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Madras Mail* and *Statesman* are not touched by the Press Act, which has hit almost all the nationalist papers, though their writings excite bitter racial hatred and contain strong abuses of Government officials, and gives as instances in point the aspersions of the *Englishman* and the *Statesman* on Lord Hardinge, and of the *Madras Mail* and the *Englishman* on Mr. Montagu when he was about to visit this country. It takes objection to the view of the Judges that an order of the Magistrate, dispensing with the deposit of security, may be subsequently cancelled under the exception given under section 3 of the Act, and remarks that no body can think that those who frame laws would be so foolish. Though the Act does not give power to cancel the orders once given by the Magistrate dispensing with security, says the paper, the commentary of the Privy Council on the question cannot but be accepted by India. It further observes:— . . . It thus becomes clear that the Press Act is not a legal Act, that it affords full scope for the exercise of the arbitrary powers of the Magistrate; and that it sets aside the jurisdiction of courts of law. . . The Press Act dispenses with the authority of even the High Courts. . . Sir S. P. Sinha assured, when the Act was before the Imperial Legislative Council, that the High Courts would have power to question the measures taken under the Act. It was this promise which satisfied the popular representatives to some extent. But to-day it has been proved that such promises are futile. From this, the value of promises made with regard to other repressive measures may be understood. . . There is nothing that cannot be brought under the Press Act. It is clear that the Magistrate can apply the Press Act against any paper which, he thinks, brings into hatred the Government established by law and there is no use of complaining. . . That the security of the *Bombay Chronicle* should be increased from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 even after it has been subjected to censorship is still more disgusting and shows to what absurd lengths the application of the Press Act may go. Should there be any doubt still about the intolerable nature of the Press Act, the judgment of the Privy Council is sure to remove it. What should be done then to have this Act repealed?

Godavaripatrika, Rajahmundry, 3rd June 1919.

Ways for the improvement of our country.

92. In the course of an article under this heading, a correspondent to the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 3rd June, urges the need for educating the masses in villages on political questions in the vernaculars of the country, observes that, if they had received such training, the Free Compulsory Primary Education Bill introduced by the late Mr. Gokhale would not have been rejected, and proposes that the National Congress should pass resolutions asking for the nomination of labour representatives to the local bodies and Provincial Legislative Councils, as is done in England. . . He also dwells on the necessity of managing schools on national lines, and of making the study of vernaculars compulsory therein, as has been done in the Calcutta University at the instance of Sir Austosh Mukherjea. In this connexion he remarks that students are confined in the present-day schools like wild beasts in cages, shut out from all the beauty of nature, that consequently the desire for future freedom is dying out in them and that they are losing their mental and physical vigour. He admires men like Sir Ravindranath who are endeavouring to undo these evils by opening institutions like the Santi Niketan.

Godavaripatrika, Rajahmundry, 3rd June 1919.

The Punjab trials.

93. The *Godavaripatrika*, of the 3rd June, publishes in Telugu the cable addressed by the Indian Association of Calcutta to Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha, protesting against the orders passed by the Martial Court in the Punjab forbidding Messrs. Norton, Roy and Chatterjea from entering Lahore to defend Mr. Kalinath Roy.

Godavaripatrika, Rajahmundry, 3rd June 1919.

The conviction of the editor of the *Tribune*.

94. Referring to the conviction of Kalinath Roy, the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 3rd June, commends this to the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab as a fit case for his pardon and prays that His Honour may mitigate the

punishment to some extent at least in view of the fact that the accused was forbidden to have the benefit of the counsel of his choice and hopes that the Lieutenant-Governor will thus bring peace to the Punjab which has been already ablaze.

Mrs. Besant's views.

95. Referring to the Reuter's cable communicating the views expressed by Mrs. Besant in England, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 16th June, writes:— . . . She has expressed that the object of her party is to follow constitutional methods of agitation. It would have been well, if she had also said that excepting some anarchists, no political party in India follows any other methods. . . She is reported to have said that India is unfit for complete self-government, until she is able to defend herself against foreign invasions. . . If ability to cope with foreign invasions were to be the chief test for the attainment of self-government, are the colonies in a position even now to defend themselves without extraneous help? In case of hostility, can Australia withstand a Japanese invasion single-handed? Is Belgium unfit for self-government, because she could not withstand the German invasion? Has not even England, with her valour unrivalled in the whole world, obtained the help of India and the colonies to oppose the German aggression, and won victory? India does not want to sever herself from the British Empire. She wants to progress as an important part of the Empire. England and the Colonies must, therefore, necessarily help India, when she is unjustly attacked by foreign countries. India will render help to the other parts when they are threatened by danger. . . The members of the League of Nations are bound to help one another in times of trouble. There will thus be no room for fear of foreign invasion in future. . . To say that India will not be fit to receive self-government for forty years to come is against the Bombay Congress resolutions which have fixed fifteen years as the limit for the grant of self-government. Mrs. Besant who has been an ardent supporter of the Bombay resolutions is inconsistent in speaking now in this manner.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 16th June 1919.

The sea traffic in the Madras Presidency.

96. Reviewing the report on the sea traffic in the Madras Presidency for 1918–19, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th June, observes in the course of its leader:— . . . It is not so good for the country that exports should show such an increase even in the war-time. Though the difficulties caused by war have reduced imports, the people of India have not acquired the skill to manufacture articles for their own requirements. Whatever may be the reasons for this, such a state of affairs is regrettable. It will not be easy to support Indian industries hereafter, as foreign articles are likely to be freely imported into this country and also to be sold cheap. If India gets commercial freedom, there will be some hope for her industries. . . It behoves our countrymen to understand that the increase in the import of cigarettes indicates not only a waste of money, but also waste of health. . . The raw products exported by us are again sent back to us in the form of manufactured articles, and the foreign merchants make profit thereby. . . A perusal of the traffic in the Madras Presidency makes it clear that the Andhra parts are lagging behind. . . The sea traffic of the Andhra country cannot improve unless a harbour is constructed at Vizagapatam. . .

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th June 1919.

Co-operative Credit Societies in India.

97. Reviewing the report on the Co-operative Credit Societies in India for 1917–18, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th June, observes:—. . . Compared with the other provinces, the Madras Presidency is very backward with regard to the co-operative movement. . . In the big provinces of Madras, Bombay and Bengal there are only 6, 9, 8 co-operative societies respectively for every lakh of the population. It is not understood why in provinces where the co-operative movement has shown progress in other respects, the number of societies should be so few. In this respect these big provinces may take lesson from the smaller ones. . . It is clear that in the country as a whole the co-operative movement is progressing.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th June 1919.

The Newspaper Defence Fund.

98. Referring to the Newspaper Defence Fund recently started in Madras, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th June, says:—. . . Neither the people nor the Government will gain.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th June 1919.

anything from newspapers possessed by constant fear. The pen hesitates to move in writing the truth on account of the fear of evil consequences. . . The best means of developing political life is to protect the freedom of the Press. . . We hope that the Andhras will discharge their duty by contributing their mite to the Newspaper Defence Fund.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th June 1919.

The Montford Reforms.

99. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th June, publishes in Telugu the opinions of the *New Statesman*, the *Nation* and of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh on the report of the Southborough Committees. The last-mentioned individual is said to have remarked that no Englishman who loves democracy can approve of the proposals of the Southborough Committees.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th June 1919.

The Bombay people and the Madras people.

100. A correspondent to the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th June, observes that in Bombay the Parsis, the Guzeratis and the Mahrattas use their national costume and their vernaculars in preference to English dress and English language and exhorts the Madras people to follow them and be true patriots.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th June 1919.

The Andhra deputation.

101. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th June, writes:—. . . Patriots know the need of sending National Leaders of the type of Mr. B. Pattabhisitaramayya and Mr. Chenchayya to advocate the national as well as the Andhra demands. . . Those that have conversed with Sir Thomas Holderness, Sir Charles Roberts, and Sir William Duke who have prepared the Reform Bill know that they are favourably disposed to the question of the distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis. To facilitate self-government in the provinces, the need for forming them on a linguistic basis should be explained before the Committee. . .

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 14th June 1919.

The division of the British kingdom.

102. The *Kistnapatrika*, of the 14th June, says under this heading:—The British look like one nation living in one country, but there are divisions among them also. It is well known that the people of Ireland in the British Isles not only wish to have Home Rule but also want to sever their connexion with the British Empire. England having the greatest number of representatives in the Parliament, their opinion prevails in matters relating to Wales. There is discontent in Scotland too. . . Every nation in the world tries to maintain its separate individuality. Poland suffered for four hundred years unbearable troubles under the arbitrary rule of Russia . . But the world will always remember the power of sacrifice, the firm-mindedness and the singleness of purpose which the people of that country manifested in order to maintain their own *dharma*. The Jews suffered undescribable cruelties at the hands of the Christians on the one hand and the Muhammadans on the other. They had to live in the midst of nations stronger than they. But did they forego their individuality? No. Wherever a Jew may be and in whatever occupation, he never forgets that he is a Jew. To-day the Jews want that Palestine should be freed from the control of the Turks and constituted into a self-governing country. The dethronement of the Czar has resulted in the dismemberment of Russia. For how long will unnatural patchwork last? Natural differences will never be effaced. By the power of the sword and by arrogant violence, they can be restrained. But they will lie underground and one day come out with new force. The rule of one nation over another may appear unnatural but it must be surmised that both the nations may thereby be benefited. Otherwise there cannot be such a connexion between the two in the dispensation of Providence. But that chapter in the history of man is to finish. Domination of one State over another has come to an end and the friendly relations of different States have sprung up. That one nation cannot be under the power of another is being resounded by the voice of the world. The Negroes were treated as slaves by the Americans. But they became independent in a way. Still they cannot exercise any political authority and they have some social disabilities also. But the Negroes are not inactive. A new national spirit is developing in them. Though they have permanently settled themselves in America, they have not abandoned their love for their native country, Africa, to which they now wish to return even at some sacrifice. When in every nation in the world, the love of freedom is growing, how can its signs remain unmanifested only in the British Empire which is the home of freedom.

103. Under this heading the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 14th June, says:—The wretched condition of the labourers who bring prosperity to capitalists is indescribable. The labouring classes leave their healthy surroundings in villages. They forego their health and humanity in order to work in the Mills in the Cities which are the home of all sorts of filth. There is a limit to any wretchedness. If that is exceeded, it will ruin others and itself. . . Bolshevism is doing its work of destruction in America, and the American Government are seeking to arrest its progress.

Anarchy in America.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 14th June 1919.

104. The *Kistnapatrika*, of the 14th June, publishes in Telugu the conversation between Duryodhana of the epic *Mahabharata*, and his parents from the pen of Doctor Ravindranath Tagore, which appears in English in the *Hindu* of the 17th June under the heading 'A mother's prayer.'

A mother's prayer.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 14th June 1919.

105. In a lengthy leading article commenting on the recommendations of the Southborough Committee, the *Swadesabhimani*, of the 13th June, observes:—Although the number of "transferred" subjects is 18, their importance from the popular standpoint is very little. The dyarchical system itself is faulty according to well-known statesmen. It might be argued that like the *two* wheels to a vehicle, or the *two* wings to a bird, or the *two* poles, the dual system is equally appropriate in the administration. To this we must answer that a person may have two legs, but not two mouths or two heads. The result might be like that in the fable of the bird with two mouths one of which got a fruit of nectar which it ate without sharing it with the other mouth, whereupon the latter got a fruit of poison and ate it all alone and what followed may be easily guessed. Although it might not be correct to say that the dyarchical system might share the same fate, we cannot say that it will prove quite successful. According to those who interpret the announcement of August 20th, "responsible Government" is to be given to India in instalments by the gradual transference of the departments according as the changes at each stage prove successful. But is it not natural to expect that as in the provincial administration, there should be similar transfer of a few departments in the Imperial administration as well? Is it not equally important that the people should gain administrative experience in imperial matters also? But no! The people are not to have a hand in the Government of India unless they have first proved their fitness in provincial matters! . . In short even the dyarchical system and the grant of responsible Government in instalments which are so ably defended in regard to provincial administration have not been extended to imperial matters. The truth is that no one can aptly interpret the announcement of the 20th August except the authorities themselves. Granting for a moment that dyarchy is indispensable in the initial stages of transference, can it be maintained that the subjects chosen for "transfer" are such as would effect the progressive realisation of responsible Government? Any one who looks at the list of transferred subjects can see that these subjects are not of that description. All items involving expenditure of money have been thrust on the ministers, but they have not at the same time been given control of the budget or even assigned a definite share of the annual revenue. How then are the ministers to guard the interest of the departments entrusted to then? Which minister would fail to resign in case the Governor should disallow the expenditure which he may need for any measures of reform which he thinks necessary? And in cases of such resignation, how curious is the remedy suggested by the Government of India! The Governor if he finds that he cannot suitably fill the place for six months, may entrust the subjects to bureaucratic control! Excellent indeed! Is this not exactly what progressive realisation of self-government means? It is scarcely possible that the constant conflict of interests which is inevitable under the dyarchical system can lead to popular progress. How highsounding becomes the term "responsible Government" when it is applied to a system like this! Of course, no one can prevent the authors of the scheme from crying up their own production.

The Reform proposals.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 13th June 1919.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 16th June 1919.

106. The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 16th June, writes:—The *Madras Mail* writes that an agitation has now been started for raising the salary of the High Court Judges to Rs. 75,000 per annum for the reason that owing to the rise in the prices of articles and the increase in the wages of men their present salary is quite inadequate. If the pay of the High Court Judges should be raised the pay of all other Europeans also should likewise be raised.

The pay of higher officials.

Further several Europeans having lost their limbs in the recent war have come to a very deplorable condition. Means of livelihood should be found for these people wherever possible in the British Empire. As they have collected themselves in large numbers in London, strikes and other disturbances occur everywhere. To remedy these troubles Government will have to carry on the administration very cautiously. The High Court Judges and other high officials make a saving of a large sum of money from their pay after meeting their maintenance. Till the troubles of this war are over and till the British Empire is brought under control, the income of those who find it inadequate for their maintenance should, without distinction, be increased by such an amount as would be sufficient for their maintenance. Where the income is large it should be reduced and the amount thus saved should be utilised for helping those who have less income with means of livelihood. On the other hand if under the influence of the noisy agitators high-paid officials be given still higher pay and those whose pay is just enough for their food and clothing be made still more miserable, the troubles that have made their appearance in England will spread to India and lead to revolutionary unrest.

MALABAR ISLAM, Cochin, 6th June 1919.

107. The *Malabar Islam*, of the 6th June, in its leading article on the 'Ramzan fast and *Satyagraha*,' suggests that the proposed *Satyagraha* movement for securing the maintenance and the glory of the Kalifate need not take any other external form than a prayer to Almighty God combined with the usual Ramzan fast. The prayer to run as follows:—"Almighty God! graciously preserve the Institution which reflects Thy Glory on Earth, that which adorns the Institution and the authority that maintains this Institution, so that these might not be contaminated by passing into other hands. Thou knowest better than we do, that if these should be estranged it will produce such a wound in the heart of the Muslim World as can never be cured. We know that Thou art jealous of Thy Glory and is strong to accomplish Thy purposes. By the Glory of this Ramzan at least therefore be Thou pleased to accept our prayers and to move the British Government who are the guardians of the largest number of Muslim subjects, to act in this matter with decision and zeal."

The Ramzan fast and *Satyagraha*.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 11th June 1919.

108. The *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 11th June, in the course of its long leading article on the "Indian Press," refers to the increased outcry now raised against the Press Act, because within the last one or two months it has brought many Indian papers to grief. The Press can enjoy no freedom at all until the Government relax their grip by the Press Act on the Press in India. And at this time, especially, when India is striving hard and in a perfectly legitimate manner to secure many privileges and powers of administration, that the Indian press should be denied the ordinary freedom enjoyed in other countries is a state of affairs which India should first of all strive to remove. . . The Governors that come out to India are famous lords, just, impartial, broadhearted noblemen generally imbued with sympathy for India. It is not altogether a baseless allegation that the change of attitude that is sometimes noticed in some of these Governors is principally due to some advisers, some Indian Civil Service Officers, who are filled with disgust at the contemplation of the freedom and respect enjoyed by Indians and their press. . . As Mr. Tilak put it the other day, was Mr. Horniman's crime that he championed the cause of the freedom of 300 million Indians?

The Indian Press.

The Editors of newspapers should certainly be punished for sedition but may it not be, as Sir C. Sankaran Nayar pointed out in his dissenting minute, that sometimes sedition is created by the want of tact and good policy on the part of the Government. If a Governor, the head of a Province should have the power

to destroy, without resorting to the ordinary courts of law, the freedom of person and property of a man who takes upon himself to criticise the Governor, then as long as such laws are in force, how can any Indian newspaper dare to speak a word distasteful to that administrator? . . . Can it be as Mr. Arundale suggests that the Anglo-Indian papers enjoy a special immunity in this matter because they enjoy royal privileges. It is a matter for regret that Anglo-Indian papers have caused great discontent for Indians and are responsible for the cleavage between Indians and Anglo-Indians. . .

The future of India.

109. Adverting to the generally sympathetic remarks made by Mr. Montagu in respect of the future of India, the *Lokaprakasam*, of the 9th June, observes:—"Several Englishmen have now understood that India is a great support to the British Imperial throne. It was only through the mischievous influence of some evil advisers both in India and England that hitherto India was not able to claim or reach an exalted position. If, however, the Parliament should respect the opinions and plans of Mr. Montagu, certainly, India will, in course of time, reach eminence.

Lokaprakasam, Trichur, 9th June 1919.

Sir C. Sankaran Nayar.

110. The *Samadarsi*, of the 31st May, in its review of current events refers to the resignation of Sir C. Sankaran Nayar and makes the following observations:—The policy of repression adopted in the Punjab was altogether distasteful to him. A courageous man like Sankaran Nayar could not, of course, long put up with the sight of his countrymen having to suffer from the treatment accorded to them in the name of the Government of India—in which his own name was also included—while that treatment was quite opposed to his own ideas of justice and self-respect. He cares more for his self-respect than for the Rs. 80,000 a year. He has, therefore, resigned his office. After the commencement of the present war, when the Government of India began foolishly to suspect the loyalty of truly loyal Indians and began to carry out a policy of unprecedentedly harsh repression, patriots have been looking out for the resignation of that noble son of Bharata, Sir Sankaran Nayar, whose heart would soon be overflowing with pity for the people. So now no one is surprised at the event. The fact that some representatives of the people in the Imperial Legislative Council withdrew from it and soon after the only Indian member of the Executive Council resigned his membership, has caused the suspicion that something is wrong in the constitution of the Government of India or in its procedure or in both. And it will certainly not escape the serious attention of politicians in England.

Some people guess that Diwan Bahadur Rajagopala Achari will succeed Sankaran Nayar. It may turn out true. As the pet of the bureaucracy and one who truly reproduces, like a gramaphone, the wishes of the bureaucracy he may be expected to rise not only to this, but to higher places, says the *Hindu* in its interesting style.

Samadarsi, Trivandrum, 31st May 1919.

The Brahman ascendancy.

111. The *Samadarsi*, of the 31st May, refers to the note of Sir Alexander Cardew in which he refers to the possibility of Brahmans overpowering all others in any scheme of self-government for India. The article traces the superiority of the Brahmans in point of general literacy and their intellectual and other achievements, and remarks, "why should we be envious of the Brahmans? Why should not we rejoice in the position of eminence they have reached? Let those who perversely contend that if self-government is given to India the Brahmans will secure complete control of the administration and the non-Brahmans will go to the wall, consider for a moment what benefits the non-Brahmans have received from one and a half centuries of British Rule . . . What have British officials done to spread education among the non-Brahmans and depressed classes? What efforts have been made during the 150 years to better the lot of the down-trodden classes? Although admission has been freely allowed to the children of the Theendal castes in the schools in the Native States, not even so much has been accomplished in British India. While a Rama Ayyar and a Sesha Ayyar in British Malabar discarded their own caste interests in striving to uplift Parayas and Pulayas, a Thorne put up a notice board in a public road prohibiting the use of that road by Ezhuvas.

Even if self-government means Brahman Government, it is self-government that India wants. It is that, that will spell progress for India. Those people who, envious of the progress of a branch of their own family, seek to destroy that branch with the assistance of another family, certainly do dig their own graves. The selfish contentions of these foolish people and the encouragement given by some foreigners to stimulate internal strife with a view to weaken India by dividing Indians into innumerable sections—these things no longer daze Indians.

MITAVADI, Calicut, June 1919.

The *Mitavadi*, for June, takes an exactly opposite view of this subject.

SAMADARSI, Trivandrum, 31st May & 7th June 1919.

112. The *Samadarsi*, of the 31st May, says:—"The only newspaper, among the more important papers in the Madras Presidency, that had hitherto escaped laceration by the sharp claws of the lion of the Press Act was the *Hindu*. Now a security is taken from that paper also." In its issue of the 7th June, the *Samadarsi* says:—It is an evil time for newspapers in India. The cannon of the Press Act has been repeatedly showering forth fire-shells and the numbers of the wounded and killed have risen unprecedentedly during the last few months. There is not a single editor in Madras now who is not wounded. As the handing over of Indian papers to the tender-mercies of bureaucratic harshness is harmful to the best interests of the country, Doctor Subramania Ayyar has expressed the opinion that intense efforts for redemption from this situation should now be made. The *Hindu*, the *Hindu Nesan*, the *Swadesamitran*, the *Desabhaktan* have all been made to deposit securities, all quite recently. If this kind of thing is continued, how can Indian papers live at all? A country without newspapers is a dark wilderness. As newspapers are the mouths of the public any calamity that befalls them is a calamity for the general public. The prosperity of a country declines to the same extent and degree as the manliness and freedom of its press decline. The thunderbolt from the throne that falls on a newspaper really cuts through the heart of the general public. Therefore people at large should at all times be alert to do the needful to preserve the independent power and free circulation of newspapers. A land where this is absent is most certainly a land on which has not fallen even a shadow of prosperity or self-respect . . . The contributions now being made for the support of the *Hindu*, and the public meetings protesting against the perverse policy adopted by the bureaucracy towards newspapers demonstrate how warmly the people side with the papers and are good signs of the awakening of the political consciousness of the people.

The *Hindu* security and the Press Act.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 13th June 1919.

113. Referring to Mr. Evans's view expressed in his report on 'Informal Village Panchayats' in Malabar, that the soil of Malabar is not quite suited to the growth of Village Panchayats, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 13th June, observes, "How the soil of Malabar alone is so unsuited for Village Panchayats while they thrive in Travancore and in Cochin is a fit subject for careful investigation and study. . . If the purpose of these Panchayats was to experiment and find out how effective village units of Local Boards were likely to be, they should have been placed under the Local Boards instead of under the Revenue Department. . . The article concludes with the suggestion that the scheme received only a half-hearted trial in Malabar.

Informal village panchayats in Malabar.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 13th June 1919.

114. Adverting to the Government review of the Jamabandi Report for Fasli 1327, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 13th June, notes that the Government have recorded with gratification that Distraint Warrants were issued to 1,016,758 out of 4,222,543 pattadars in the Presidency and that out of Rs. 784 lakhs total assessment only Rs. 77,736 had to be recovered by sale of property. Whether the people share this gratification of the government, only those who know the real state of affairs know.

Jamabandi report.

MUSHIR-I-DAKHAN, Hyderabad, 10th June 1919.

115. The *Mushir-i Dakhan*, of the 10th June, publishes in Persian a letter on this subject written by Nizamud Dowlah, son of Prince Abdullah Khan, which is to the following effect:—As for sometime the way to Mesopotamia has been closed on account of the war and political necessity, I have deemed it

The English Government and Mesopotamia.

advisable to let Indian Muslims know what the actual state of the land of the two rivers is like.

I will start with my arrival in this city and then proceed to my subject. My humble self Nizamud Dowlah, son of Prince Abdullah Khan and a resident of Mesopotamia, arrived at Hyderabad on Saturday the 1st Ramazan.

In a city which is the capital of a Muslim State and which contains a large number of Muhammadans it seems fitting to say something of the condition of Mesopotamia which is the holy land of Islam. The Government of the mighty British Empire has extended its benign authority over the people dwelling in the land between the two rivers. Thanks to the presence of that authority the people enjoy the fullest comfort and tranquility, in the shape of an abundance of supplies, safety of the roads and commercial prosperity. In the short time that the country has been in the possession of Great Britain, the progress made has been in the state of a thousand to one while things are still further improving every day. Thanks to the exertions of the officials, cultivation is being attended to everywhere.

The Railway runs to most parts of the country and very soon other places will be linked up. The people are beyond measure happy and contented. They now know that there are such words in the world as freedom and justice, and they certainly have no wish to be under any other Government than that of the English, but rather are they eagerly desirous of remaining under this power which means blessings and comfort for them.

The English nation has indeed freely given proof of its manhood and wealth for the welfare of the world, and this without in any way interfering with religion. It is well known that during the long period the British have been in India, there has been no attempt to interfere in religious matters. Their one aim has been to spread freedom, justice, honesty, and truth throughout the land. There are, however, some objectionable persons and sedition-mongers and enemies (of the Government) who are moving behind the scenes spreading pernicious ideas and false rumours, and who prompted by personal motives have succeeded in reducing the Amir of Afghanistan to violate treaties and attack this just Government. The outcome of this perfidy can only mean the destruction of his people and eternal shame for himself.

Alas! that at such a time, the Amir should have lost sight of the affection his father and grandfather entertained for Great Britain and for no cause whatever, should have acted so unworthily! What I have said is sufficient for men of sense and wisdom.

116. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 9th June, highly appreciates the distinction of knighthood conferred on the popular Justice Abdur Rahim Sahib and Zulfaqur Ali Khan on the occasion of the King-Emperor's birth-day.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 9th June 1919.

The Hon'ble Justice Abdur Rahim.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 8th June, publishes the following in bold type on the front page :—The granting a knighthood to the Hon'ble Justice Abdur Rahim is a memorable event in the history of the community and a very interesting incident in the annals of British Rule. First of all the Government of India should be proud of this mark of Imperial favour, and next the whole of India should rejoice that a long standing error has been rectified, a bounden duty performed, and a long deferred desire granted. The distinction does not really add to the personal dignity of Sir Abdur Rahim who is the standard bearer of real freedom, a loyal friend to truth, and a devoted servant to right but rather conforms to a custom of the Empire and the practice of the country.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 8th June 1919.

Sir Abdur Rahim.

In congratulating the community we sympathise with those false, envious and sub-servient members of it, and would like to drop those lines in their ears: "He, who would face troubles, must have the mind to do so. He who would bear the brunt of blows must have the heart to do so."

117. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 10th June, in a leader gives without any comment the causes leading up to the imprisonment of Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 10th June 1919.

Mr. Muhammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 12th June 1919.

Commander-in-Chief in India.

118. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 12th June, referring to the various conjectures published in the *Evening News* as to who will succeed Sir Charles Munro, the present Commander-in-Chief in India, and to the information contained in other English papers that Sir Douglas Haig will shortly be appointed in his place observes:—Undoubtedly Sir Douglas Haig who so easily checked the terrible German onslaughts which made the famous German Generals admit his daring is a most suitable officer for the place.

Now it is universally admitted that in the matter of audacity German Commanders are nothing compared to English Generals. If Sir Douglas Haig be appointed as Commander-in-Chief in India, it will be a fortunate thing for this country, but the fact is the public in England will prefer such a General holding some office at Home. Should this claim, however, be waived he is certain to be appointed Commander-in-Chief here. Otherwise it is possible that Sir Ian Hamilton, who has taken a prominent part in the war in Europe and in Africa, may be selected for the post.

III.—LEGISLATION.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 7th June 1919.

The Press Act.

119. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 7th June, gives in Telugu an account of the proceedings of the public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall to protest against the application of the Press Act and the resolutions passed thereat.

YOGAKSHEMAM, Trichur, 6th May 1919.

Nambudiris and the Rowlatt Act.

120. Referring to the remark made in the *Justice* that the Nambudiri Yogakshema Sabha had nothing to do with the Rowlatt Act and therefore blundered in having passed a resolution about it, the *Yogakshemam*, of the 6th May, observes that there was nothing wrong at all in the Yogakshema Sabha pointing out that the new law that gave power to punish a person without trial was unjustifiable.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 11th June 1919.

Mr. Norton on the Rowlatt Act.

121. A note in the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 11th June, refers to the opinion of Mr. Norton as published in the *New India*, that the passing of the Rowlatt Bill was unnecessary, inexpedient, mischievous in that it subverts confidence in the British administration, etc., and observes, "if an eminent English lawyer like Mr. Norton thinks so, how correct must be the Indian view on the subject."

IV.—NATIVE STATES.

NASRANI DEEPIKA, Mannanam, 10th June 1919.

Floods in Travancore.

122. The *Nazrani Deepika*, of the 10th June, as well as other Travancore papers report the extraordinary flood that occurred in Travancore during the previous week and suggests the need for immediate relief measures being adopted by the Darbar in view of the great distress caused by the flood.

MALAYALI, Quilon, 11th June 1919.

Theendal in the Cochin State.

123. The leading article in the *Malayali*, of the 11th June, refutes the arguments brought forward by the *Samadarsi* of 31st May in support of the latter's opinion, that the action of the Cochin Diwan in allowing the free use of public roads to Pulayas was ill-advised and improper (vide page 899 of Report No. 23) and establishes that the Diwan's action was just and lawful.

V.—PROSPECTS OF THE CROPS AND THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

VARTAKAMITRAN, Tanjore, 29th May 1919.

Improvement of Indian agriculture.

124. In a leader under this heading, the *Vartakamitran*, of the 29th May, makes the following observations among others:—The present condition of India really gives room for anxiety. England, America and other countries are finding out new methods to derive the maximum benefit from the resources at their disposal and adopting them. But in India agriculture is in the same state in which it was a hundred or two hundred years back. The agriculturists of our country have no idea of increasing the yield by manuring the lands. The Indian agriculturist has not sufficient education and his expenses have been increasing on account of the daily rise in the prices of foodstuffs and several other causes. It

is very necessary that means should be devised for reducing this expenditure and increasing the income. It is, of course, seen from statistics that the agricultural income has nearly doubled within the last decade, but this increase is not due to an increase in the produce. Considering the trade of India, she exports her raw products to foreign countries, which is tantamount to her sending away the fertility of her soil to foreign countries. Now let us see how we recoup this drain. Our manuring is very meagre and this is due to the poverty of the agriculturists, for which there are several causes, the chief of them being that sufficient money for improving the land is not available to him at a low rate of interest. He is in such a plight that, before the new crop is harvested, he has to pledge the anticipated produce and borrow money at a high rate of interest. Further, the very small subdivisions of land make it impossible for improving it with the aid of machines or by some other power. Considering all these things, the first thing to be done is to devise means for supplying the agriculturists with funds. The help rendered by the banks in India is not sufficient, as these are very few in number for such a vast country. Hence it is necessary to start a sufficient number of banks. It is also necessary that the Railways should be made to carry manure and other articles required for lands at low rates. Attempts should be made to prevent agriculturists from entering into forward contracts with merchants to supply the produce at low prices on account of the want of funds for paying the kist or for other purposes.

Economic distress in South Kanara.

125. The *Swadesabhimani*, of the 13th June and the *Kantheerava*, of the 17th June, complains of the existence of famine conditions in the South Kanara district, as a result of the high price of rice which, it is stated, is one and a half times the rate which prevailed even in the worst days last year when there was looting. The *Kantheerava* points out that the Mysore Government as a result of food control in their province stopped the export of nearly one and a half lakhs of *muras* of paddy which used to be received every year in South Kanara and ragi and other food grains too have failed to be received from Mysore: while at the same time, despite the prohibition of export of rice from South Kanara, it is rumoured that South Kanara rice is available in North Kanara, Malabar and Goa. The *Swadesabhimani* likewise refers to a rumour that large quantities of rice are being taken outside the district across the Chandragiri. Both the papers urge that the distress among the poorer classes in the district is so great that the situation calls for speedy relief measures.

SWADESHABHIMANI, Mangalore, 13th June 1919 & KANTHEERAVA, Mangalore, 17th June 1919.

ERRATA.

Report No. 23.

Page 860, paragraph 13, line 9, *omit* 'those of,' *before* 'expressed'.
„ 860 „ 15 „ 6, *omit* 'the' *before* 'Reuter'.
„ 881 „ 12 „ 31, *substitute* 'Rajagopala' *for* 'Rajagapala'.
„ 881, line 40, *substitute* 'to' *for* 'with'.

[Issued, the 25th June 1919.]

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 26 of 1919.**

REPORT

ON

ENGLISH PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,

AND ON

VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

for the Week ending 28th June 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Department, a brief report of any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

1. In an article under the heading 'American Bolshevism', *New India*, of the 26th June, writes:—"From the beginning, the Bolshevik movement has been as fully misrepresented as its enemies could manage to misrepresent it. . . So the world is ripe for Bolshevism. The term is supposed to indicate a political, intellectual movement of persons who think that wealth ought to be more evenly distributed than even the Socialists hold. . . But essentially it is a question of food and clothing, and a cry for rest by the labourer. . . For, reckless and visionary as the movement is for the most part, it is not the breeder of lusts and orgies that the super-bureaucrat (who is the other extreme) would have us believe. Nor are even the Allied Governments deluded in the matter. They are fighting Russian Bolshevism; because they have debts to collect from the nation, and Bolshevism is the negation of fiscal policies as known before the war. . . The repudiation of debts is against spiritual and, therefore, against social laws, and movements so opposed must fail. But that Bolshevism should have a place in American affairs is enough to show those who think deeply that Bolshevism, as described by its bitter opponents, is by no means the bloodthirsty, cruel lust which those who think they have most cause to hate it make it out to be. Such an attempt is foolish in the extreme, for the world knows no fury like a generation which has been deceived."

Anarchy in America and Europe.

New India, Madras, 26th June 1919.

II.—Home Administration.

(*k*) *General.*

2. The *Wednesday Review*, for the week ending 18th June, states:—"We are reluctant to say anything in depreciation of the efforts of Mr. Montagu to reform the administration of India in the light of his knowledge of, and his short acquaintance with, Indian conditions. But on a matter which so closely affects the well-being of over 300 millions of people, it will be worse than unpatriotic not to expose the absurdities and misstatements in which Mr. Montagu indulged in moving the Second Reading of the Reform Bill. . . He pleaded for a Second Reading on the ground that there was much general agreement in India on the provisions of the Bill. That the assumption is entirely gratuitous may be seen from the circumstance that the Bill has just been published and that there can be no general agreement on its provisions, at any rate in India where nobody knew anything about the Bill till yesterday. Mr. Montagu claims that it took him two years of consideration to place a Bill before Parliament and therefore he has shown no undue haste in the matter. That contention will not bear a moment's examination. . . The only exhortation to the House in which we can conscientiously join with Mr. Montagu is that the problem affected 315 millions of people, and so they must consider it with all the gravity and seriousness which it demanded of them. If they did, we have little doubt that the Reform Bill would merge out of Parliament in a greatly improved form so as to be in keeping with the realities of the Indian situation and not such as would plunge India into political chaos and undo the work of constructive British statesmanship for the past hundred years and more."

The Indian Reforms Bill.

Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly, 18th June 1919.

The *Karnataka*, of the 21st June, writes:—"Public opinion in British India is profoundly dissatisfied with the shabby shape which the much-vaunted Reform Scheme has at length assumed; and its only hope now is that the several deputations in England may be able to induce Mr. Montagu to effect some improvements. Mr. Montagu is all right so far as his speeches are concerned; and even in respect of his Bill, it might be that his intention is all that could be

Karnataka, Bangalore City, 21st June 1919.

desired and that the narrowing down of reforms in the Bill is only a piece of parliamentary strategy. But it is difficult for Indians to feel happy on such assurances, seeing, as they do, how things are going with Ireland for whose sake a Home Rule Act was placed on the statute book years ago."

NATIONALIST, Madras, 22nd June 1919.

The *Nationalist*, of the 22nd June, remarks :—"We are really bewildered by the manner in which we are treated in regard to what must have been a matter for our own determination. The Reform Bill introduced into the Parliament as long ago as the third week of May has just been published but subject to many provisions and clipped of all schedules. . . Whether the schedules, talked of in the Bill but not yet before us in this country, do provide any muscle or blood, it is not easy to say definitely. From the context however it looks as though these schedules may be merely iron cages into which this skeleton of an Act is put, so that it may safely lie therein without creating apparitions. . . What is before us is sufficient evidence that the Bill is no greater boon than any other boons hitherto received by India. . . We shall not hesitate to call all that is contemplated in the Bill before us Reform. It undoubtedly is. But one connotation we certainly cannot give it. It is no improvement over what has been. Whether it is a copy of what is or an uglier incarnation of it, we shall not at this stage explain. . . We have only to cry 'Save us from Reform.'"

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.—Foreign Politics.

3. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th June, writes:—The strikers in a certain place near Paris are reported to have compelled passengers in the tram cars to get down and burnt two of the cars. This is the work of the labourers in western countries which are said to be advanced in civilization!

Stray notes.

Desabhaktan, Madras, 17th June 1919.

The *India* reports that at this time when attempts are being made to create union among the people in the several parts of the British Empire, certain South African soldiers chased an innocent Indian in the Hyde Park and that the latter was, by chance, saved by the Police. The British citizens do not insult or detest the Indians in England for the reason that they are not whites. But, as the whites in Africa have a very low idea of the Indians, they have ventured to behave brutishly, without considering even the time and place. There are no lions in England while they are found in Africa. Hence several of the whites in Africa perhaps hunt the Indians and oppress them imbibing the nature of lions!

The following find place in *Narada's* notes in the *Indian Emigrant* of the 19th June:—It is reported that the jail authorities have given the work of grinding corn to Mr. Kalinath Roy. This work is a hard one, which I too had once the fortune of doing, having been punished for the same offence. I do not know what the case is in the Punjab jails. But in the Madras jails two prisoners standing opposite to each other should, at any cost, grind one bag of ragi in a day. This is not work for people of sharp brains and delicate physique. It is usually given to strong-bodied classes such as *Kallars* and *Maravars*. But what other work can be given to political offenders? Did not the Tamil world shudder at the jail authorities having without the least mercy or sympathy made a leader of the land drag an oil-press? Apart from this, what is the offence that Mr. Kalinath Roy committed? How many papers write more forcibly than he did? If what he wrote is sedition, editors of the Indian papers should certainly unite together and practise *Satyagraha*. There is no other go. . . There are manly persons even among those who, on account of the Rowlatt Law, resigned their seats in the Imperial Legislative Council. Rai Bahadur P. T. Shukul is one such. When the public requested him to resume the seat, he replied that he could not condescend to do so as long as the Rowlatt Law was in existence. He has shown that he is not an inconstant person living, as he does, in a country where such are on the increase. . . What a name has *Satyagraha* made though its nature is pacific? The district officer of Surat interpreted *Satyagrahi* as one who is mentally and morally defective that is to say, a mad man, one who has no morals. In the case of Mr. Durgadoss, the Judge at Karachi stated that *Satyagraha* meant sedition. The Martial Law Commission of the Punjab pronounced Mr. Gandhi, the leader of the *Satyagraha* movement, a conspirator. So the word *Satyagrahi* has come to mean a mad man, an immoral man, a seditionist and a conspirator. But when Mr. Montagu, on whom devolves the responsibility of governing India, referred to Mr. Gandhi, he extolled him as a great Indian of the finest character and highest motives and as one who is not in the least self-interested and who deserves the gratitude of his country by his services. I bless Mr. Montagu for his having revealed the truth without following the inconsiderate words of these foolish judges. . . It was stated that the people joined in crowds and shouted "Victory to Martial Law." I do not know whether they also danced to the accompaniment of music. But it is not known why the Government have now cancelled the same Martial Law which was acclaimed by the people so much.

Stray notes.

Indian Emigrant, Madras, 19th June 1919.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 19th June 1919.

The Indians in South Africa.

4. Referring to the restrictions placed upon the right of the Indians to trade in South Africa, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 19th June, observes:—Should our brethren in South Africa suffer hardships for ever? If our hardships are on the increase even in the countries under the British Empire, how can we expect happiness in other countries? It is not known whether Mr. Montagu had in his mind, when he stated in his recent speech in the House of Commons that the Indians in South Africa were treated worse than in other countries, the fact that a law has been introduced in the South African Parliament, which is disparaging to the Indians and indicative of rancour and jealousy towards them. Envying the increase of trade and the success of the Indians in South Africa, these whites have attempted to see that the former have no place at all in the colony. In effect, the whites in South Africa say that the Indians should enter the colony only for making a living by working as coolies and that they will not be permitted either to trade or to acquire landed property. Even the many whites, who were hitherto pretending to have sympathy for the Indians, have now forsaken them. Did not some responsible authorities in England state that India has acquired a status equal to the English Colonies by securing a seat in the League of Nations? If this is the nature of equality, will not India too learn how the whites of South Africa should be treated? But as we have no *Swaraj* to maintain our honour, the duty of protecting us devolves on His Majesty the King Emperor and the British Parliament. When the whites of South Africa started a mad agitation like this once before, Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy, championed the cause of the Indians. We request Lord Chelemsford to be up similarly now and perform his duty.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 19th June 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 19th June, refers to the same subject and expressing its regret at the condition of the Indians in South Africa not having yet improved, observes:—These hardhearted and rude whites in South Africa are always afflicting the Indians there. The excellent principle that all people in the British Empire should have equality is not followed in the colony and the Indians there are being repressed without freedom or justice. It is a mistake that the British authorities are not trying to teach the whites there the noble brotherly feeling of the British Empire. It will not do for the British Government to keep quiet at this juncture.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 19th June 1919.

South African Independence.

5. Adverting to the request of the representatives of the party in South Africa who wish to make South Africa independent of the British Government, not having been granted by the Prime Minister on the ground that as both British and Dutch territories are interspersed in South Africa, nothing could be done without the consent of both, and the assurance given by him that South Africa will have a prominent place in the League of Nations, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 19th June, remarks:—Is it not strange on the part of South Africa, which already possesses all privileges and is free to illtreat the Indians and other coloured races as it likes, to demand a greater independence? What opinion will the Government of India who deem to be seditious the efforts and lectures of our leaders demanding Home Rule under the British Empire, have about the efforts of the party in South Africa who are for cutting off the British connexion altogether?

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 20th June 1919.

The future of the Fiji Islands.

6. Referring to the prayer of the Indians in the Fiji Islands that the Islands should be tacked on to India in the contemplated reconstitution of the British Empire, the *Dravidan*, of the 20th June, writes:—Seeing that both the Europeans and the Indians are only settlers in these Islands and that the natives of the soil are also living there, it is the opinion of these natives that should first be considered in determining the future of the Fiji Islands and then only should come the opinion of the Indians who are in the majority there. It may be true that the whites there are more influential than the Indians. Nevertheless, it is the opinion of the majority that should be taken in all political matters in these days when responsible government is conducted in accordance with such opinion. One special feature of the representation made by the Indians in the Fiji Islands is that in case it is decided to tack them on to either Australia or New Zealand, the Indians would prefer to

be linked with New Zealand, in which case they press for communal representation for them in the new government. This claim is made by the Indians in Fiji only in view of the necessary causes arising from the present condition. It is only by such a representation that any particular class can protect itself and its interests. We feel sure that the Secretary of State for the Colonies will not ignore this request of the Indians in the Fiji Islands, because some weak arguments have been advanced against communal representation in the Montford report.

7. Referring to the reports circulated by the Amir in Afghanistan that India is seething with rebellion and that Indians are ready to help him against the British Government, the *Desabhimani*, of the 14th May, observes in the course of its leader:—. .. . Such absurdities can never happen. It is certain beyond all doubt that both the Indians and the Muhammadans are for having the British Government in their country. It is idle to fancy that Indians will ever turn out disloyal. There is not the least doubt that all the people are ready to co-operate with the Government as desired by His Excellency the Viceroy in preventing the circulation of such unfounded rumours. . . All Indians should condemn the assertion of the Amir that India is in a state of revolution and be prepared to co-operate with the Government to the best of their ability.

The Afghan war.

Desabhimani, Guntur, 14th May 1919.

In concluding an article in English under the heading 'Afghanistan', the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 21st June writes:—"If what the Ameer had stated is true, he had no desire to break the alliance with the British Government. The war was a war of self-defence and not one of offence. If this is the spirit of the Afghan people, it is highly commendable. All is well that ends well!"

The Afghan war.

Sampad Abhyudaya, Mysore, 21st June 1919.

8. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 14th June, refers to the peace terms and remarks:—An examination of the views of the Germans in regard to the peace terms makes us infer that there may be a revival of the war. Mr. Asquith has stated that it is unfair to impose such terms on the Germans who have not been defeated. Mr. Asquith's opinion will certainly appear strange to the world. We think he has been sleeping during the time of the war. The terms imposed by the Peace Conference on the Germans have not only been dictated by righteousness but they are also characterised by kindness. If permanent peace is to be established in the world, the present peace terms are the best remedy to put down the pride of the German monsters. Even now the Germans do not seem to regret their horrible deeds. They will surely reap the results of their evil intentions.

Peace.

Andhraprakasika, Madras, 14th June 1919.

9. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 21st June, writes:—The fate of Egypt is making a somersalt, but it cannot yet be said that the acrobatic feat is complete. Egyptian independence is an historical fact and even during Turkish suzerainty this status could not be destroyed. During the war the land of the Pharoahs has so changed its complexion that not even the trace of the real Khedive can be found. It is, however, somewhat satisfactory that in the time of peace, the voice of its demands is raised. The Association called the Egyptian Association in England is endeavouring to obtain Home Rule for Egypt, though the demand, from a purely Islamic point of view, is objectionable; because this land of Egypt was an integral part of the Islamic Empire and from the time of the Khalifa Farūk-i-Azam (Omar) this country was the seat of the Khalifate. But the revolutions of time wherever they have changed principles and traditions they have at the same time altered the shape of desires and hopes. In these circumstances if Egypt gets something, it will be lucky. The Association above referred to has published in the *Manchester Guardian* statement of Egyptian demands portion of which is given below:—'There are two and only two ways of solving the Egyptian problem. The first is that the British Government should direct its attention towards the material and moral well-being of the people and duly observe the promises, made to them. Egypt should be handed over to Egyptians. British monarchists cannot dispose of the matter by saying that Egypt is not yet fit for self-government. Certain other countries, which in the matter of civiliza-

Egypt's autonomy.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 21st June 1919.

tion, history, and material resources, are far below and moreover have not had the advantage of thirty years' training under England, have already become or will soon become independent. It certainly cannot be said that the Egyptian claim is less than that of the Hedjaz Armenia, Palestine or Syria Cuba or the Philippines.

Egypt is ready to give the required guarantee for safeguarding European rights. Besides it can give whatever status is required to support British claims in the Suez Canal which is the real centre of England's relations.

The second way is for the British Government to shut its eyes to facts with reference to the state of Egypt and invent for the consumption of Europe all sorts of pretexts to show that Egypt is not yet ready for independence. The British Government cannot argue that its presence in Egypt is beneficial to the Egyptians; because every class of people dislikes it.

Give an opportunity to the nation to express its opinion on the British suzerainty established over them by force of arms and the violation of all sacred promises and then our position will be fully proved.

The *Qaumi Report* says:—These arguments are really cogent and we are sure that Lord Curzon, who has recently inculcated a fresh lesson of his logic in the House of Commons, will apologise and rectify his mistake. In this revolutionary age when obscure and insignificant nations are coming to life and are raising the standard of Home Rule, Egypt's helplessness and silence are not only painful but admonitive. We believe that British statesmen will not permit any more procrastination.

II.—Home Administration.

(*d*) *Education.*

Desabhaktan, Madras, 17th June 1919.

The cost of education.

10. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th June, expresses its regret at a resolution brought forward in the Senate of the Calcutta University to the effect that the examination fees should be raised, having been passed without opposition and adds:—If the University wants money, can it not get it in other ways than by oppressing the students? While the cost of education is being reduced every day in western countries, the methods adopted by the Universities in India are topsy-turvy.

Andhrapatrika, Madras, 24th June 1919.

The Calcutta University Commission.

11. Referring to the inquiry held by the Calcutta University Commission presided over by Doctor Sadler, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th June, writes:—. . . Why should there be so much delay in publishing the report of this Commission. . . It is understood that the Commission has made very liberal recommendations such as having a majority of non-official members in the syndicate with a non-official president, and entrusting to them control over all branches of education. It may be hoped from these proposals that the Commission has recommended the transfer of the Educational department to the control of the people. The Government are requested to publish soon a report which will be so encouraging to Indians.

Margadarsi, Calicut, 13th June 1919

Stipends of elementary grade teachers under training.

12. A correspondent writing in the *Margadarsi*, of the 13th June, invites the attention of the Educational authorities to the fact that the stipend of Rs. 8–8–0, allowed to students under training in the elementary grade lower, is quite inadequate to meet present needs.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 18th June 1919.

Male and female education.

13. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 18th June, in a leader on this subject, writes:—During His Excellency Lord Willingdon's regimé many excellent schemes in a state of suspended animation may be revived. First and foremost of all, the hopes of female and male education are at present moving the hearts of the community. We may in this connexion represent the matter to His Excellency and request him to kindly turn his attention to the Hobart school and the Madrasa-i-Azam. It has long been the desire of the community that these two institutions should be placed under the supervision of a national board, but the former regimés gave the subject no consideration, and it was during Lord Pentland's administration, that with the utmost difficulty a Muhammadan lady was appointed as Headmistress of the

Hobart school. The community gladly accepted this favour, but it now realizes that such an arrangement is little better than a beautiful toy; for, simultaneously with the appointment of a Muhammadan Headmistress, a non-Muslim superintendent was placed over her and all the powers, which the Headmistress previously exercised and which Headmistresses of other schools still possess, were withdrawn from her and she was made responsible for tuition only. The regrettable and amazing feature of this arrangement is that the non-Muslim superintendent is not even a European in whom we might at least expect to find high ideals and lofty aspirations.

The community is anxious to learn as to whose influence either that the Muhammadan Headmistress, or the non-Muslim superintendent will be brought to bear upon the girls, whose example they will follow and whose orders they should obey.

Our girls chiefly require religious and moral training, domestic economy, art and industry which are conspicuous by their absence in that institution. Several instances can be cited of the superficial character of education imparted to them.

We consider that unless the Muhammadan Headmistress is vested with full powers, and has an opportunity of bringing her personal influence to bear on teaching and training, no progress can be made in female education. It is a serious mistake to judge Muhammadan Zenana schools from the standpoint of Hindu or Christian institutions and it is this mistake that has all along stood in the way of our girls' success. Has any girl, educated at the Hobart school, attained distinction in literature or as a writer? Has any Madrasi girl hitherto been able to compete with Northern Indian girls? We pause for a reply from the educational authorities.

Neither is the condition of the Madrasa satisfactory. If any one should desire to point out the difference between the old and the new Madrasa-i-Azam, it will simply be that the new institution stands on a grand thoroughfare like Mount Road. The desire of the community for a long time had been this. If it cannot be made a national institution, it should at least be placed under a Muhammadan Headmaster. At present there are many capable Muhammadan officers in the Educational Department who possess high qualifications and have discharged their pedagogic duties satisfactorily.

The vacancy still exists. From the beginning we have submitted the national demand on the subject. At present there is a rumour that a non-Muhammadan and a non-European is going to be appointed. If this is true, the community will not be in the least satisfied with it. It will be neither popular nor profitable.

We are sure that such a thing will not take place during His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office. The community does not wish that the appointment should permanently be reserved for Muhammadans, but we do desire that a Muhammadan may be given a chance to show whether he can succeed in doing the work performed by a European for the last seventeen years.

(e) *Local and Municipal.*

Local self-government.

14. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 14th June, refers to the report of the Committee appointed to suggest the means of improving local self-government and says:—It is difficult to understand why, when the amendment of the Local Boards Act is under the consideration of the Government, opportunity should not be afforded to do away with the unnecessary provisions contained in the Act. . . It cannot be said that persons elected as presidents of taluk boards and as chairmen of municipalities are all incompetent to discharge the duties attached to their offices. That may be true to some extent in the case of old men, but even among them there are persons who manage their affairs very ably. The Government should, however, consider this also.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 14th June 1919.

The scavengers' strike in the Mangalore municipality.

15. Referring to the strike of sweepers and scavengers in the municipality of Mangalore, the *Swadesabhimani*, of the 20th June, writes:—The scavengers and sweepers have gone on strike and the cause of it is not far to seek. The

SWADESHABHIMA 'IN Mangalore, 20th June 1919.

price of a *moora* of rice has steadily risen from Rs. 7 to Rs. 10 or 10½. Who can battle with such a price and how? If the wages had also been raised in proportion to the steady rise in the market rates then it would not have been a difficult matter. Somehow it would have been possible to make both ends meet. But the employers will not loosen their purse strings while the prices have been steadily rising. In these circumstances what should the scavengers and sweepers do who earn only Rs. 8 or 10 a month? On this ground they have represented to the authorities that either their pay should be raised to Rs. 14 or they should be given a *moora* of rice and Rs. 5 in cash. Whether the financial condition of our municipality is such as to grant this request is a different matter; but under the present circumstances it appears proper that they should be given a *moora* of rice and at least Rs. 3 in cash. Is it reasonable to ask them to quietly accept Rs. 9, a rate which was fixed when rice was sold at Rs. 5 or 6 a *moora* and come for work when a *moora* of rice is sold at Rs. 10?

We understand that these strikers have been threatened that if they did not resume work scavengers would be brought from Madras to take their place. If this be true we are indeed sorry for this haughtiness! It is prudent to settle with the strikers amicably by making a sympathetic enquiry as to why they have struck work, what the present conditions are and whether their demands are reasonable.

(j) *Salt and Abkāri.*

Desabhaktan, Madras, 23rd June 1919.

The drink evil.

16. Remarking that numerous are the evils resulting from the drinking habit prevailing in the world which cannot be removed unless the habit is done away with, and that the westerns, who were immersed in this habit, have begun to give it up, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd June, says:—It is regrettable that the Government of England which is said to be highly civilized have not got rid of the drinking habit there. Even in our country where drinking is considered to be one of the five heinous sins, it has increased beyond bounds within the last few years as a result of the western civilization. The efforts made by our representatives in the Legislative Council to reduce the consumption of liquor have not been of any avail. It is not that the authorities are not inclined to do so, but they are not able to do it as they are not inclined to lose the large income they make out of it every year. The result is the number of drunkards in the country increases and poor families suffer. With a view to reduce the consumption of liquor the Government have increased the duty on it, reduced the number of liquor shops as also the time during which it can be sold. But these steps have not reduced either the consumption of liquor or the number of drunkards, while the income of the Government under this head has been increasing day by day. So, it is useless for the authorities to say that they are trying to reduce the consumption of liquor. The wise will always try to do away with an evil and not mitigate it. No just Government which attaches primary importance to the interests of the people should care much for its revenue from drink which is the root cause of innumerable miseries in the world. A government which is not prepared to lose this revenue will not be deemed to have done its duty. In this connexion, a communication to the Indians from a Governor of one of the States in America that it put an end to the consumption of liquor thirty years back and is now enjoying all the benefits that result from such abolition, and that the Indians also should soon get rid of this evil habit, is worthy of attention on the part of our authorities and popular leaders. Reforms are now to be introduced in India. How grand will it be if the first fruit of these reforms is the abolition of drink?

(k) *General.*

Desabhaktan, Madras, 16th June 1919.

Mrs. Besant on India.

17. Referring to an interview of Mrs. Besant with Reuter in England in the course of which she is reported to have stated among other things that the anarchists in India are receiving large pecuniary support from Germany and that India cannot expect complete self-government until she becomes capable of defending herself, which will take about forty years, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th June, observes:—These statements

of Mrs. Besant make us doubt whether Mrs. Besant of India has turned out Mrs. Besant of England. There is no room to believe that one who has made such statements will work with Mr. Tilak. Perhaps she has, on her landing in England, forgotten her having stated in her condemnation of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms that it should be wholly rejected. She says that her party wish for self-government under the British rule and that they adopt constitutional means to get it. These words of hers indicate that there are other parties who want self-government independent of the British rule and who carry on an unconstitutional agitation therefor. If so, Mrs. Besant herself should state who these parties are and what has been done by them hitherto. Our enemies used to say that an anarchical party exists in India and probably Mrs. Besant believes their words. Our heart breaks to think of her having stated that the anarchists in India have the support of German money to a large extent. Why did she not make mention of this when she was in India? When such a statement was made by the Anglo-Indian papers such as the *Mail*, she was condemning it in *New India*. It is, therefore, surprising that she has ventured to support the statements of the *Mail* now. Such a statement coming from one who was revered as a leader by the Indians will cause a vain suspicion among the bureaucrats. For aught we know there do not appear to be any anarchists in India. If such exist, we too will help the Government to put them down. At this time when the Government have; imagining the existence of anarchism in India, passed the Rowlatt Law, the statement of Mrs. Besant will tend only to feed the flame. We do not see why Mrs. Besant, who urged that India should secure self-government within ten years is now prepared to extend the time limit to forty years. Mother Bharata! We pity your condition. Neither the bureaucrats nor many among the Anglo-Indians have understood the truth about you. A few might have done it. Even a lady, who was working in your interests, has not realised your real condition. What can we do?

Agriculture in England and India.

18. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th June, writes:—It appears that the Government of England will, if the Parliament accords the necessary sanction, spend about three crores of rupees in the next five years on agricultural research and education. Comparing this amount which the Government of England containing a population of about four crores, intend to spend upon agriculture with the amount which the Government of India containing a population of about 23 crores are spending every year on the same item, it will be clear how small is the expenditure incurred by our Government in this matter.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th June 1919.

It is to be noted that, while there are about twelve Agricultural Colleges in England and Wales, and some more are to be started soon, though these two put together are smaller in extent than the Madras Presidency, there is only one Agricultural College in this Presidency and even that does not work well.

Mr. Montagu and the reforms.

19. Adverting to the speech of Mr. Montagu on the second reading of the Indian Reforms Bill in the Paliament, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th June, remarks:—Though his reference to the mischievous views of the Sydenham party and the tendency of the bureaucrats will give satisfaction to all, his statement that he intends giving certain powers of control to the Provincial Legislative Councils but none to the Imperial Legislative Council will come as a great disappointment on both the moderates and the nationalists. If the Legislative Councils have no voice in the Provincial and Imperial Governments, of what avail to the Indians will be the reforms that are to be granted? If reforms are not introduced in both the Governments, there is no room to believe that we will acquire a Government truly responsible to the people.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th June 1919.

Pandit Shukul.

20. Appreciating the conduct of Pandit Shukul in having declined to stand as a candidate for membership in the Imperial Legislative Council again, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th June, observes that, though Pandit Malaviya yielded to the wishes of the people and consented to be re-elected to the Imperial Legislative Council, it is not proper for popular representatives who have resigned their seats, to attach a value to them again, until the causes for their resignation have disappeared, and

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th June 1919.

that it is not compatible either with the self-respect of the Indians or with the public good of the country.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 16th June 1919.

The condition in the Punjab.

21. Referring to the Viceroy having declined to grant the request of the Hon'ble Mr. Motilal Neru to postpone the execution of the sentence of death passed against his clients, Mr. Ratnachand and Mr. Bukka, pending an appeal to be made to the Privy Council, and to the remark of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* that the Viceroy has assumed a very great responsibility in this matter, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th June, hopes that the Government of India and the Viceroy will deeply consider about the fact that, if per chance the Privy Council could alter the decision of the Martial Law Commission, sufficient time should be allowed for it.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 21st June 1919.

Disturbances in the Punjab.

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of the 21st June, writes:—Mr. Montagu announced that a committee would be appointed to enquire into the real causes of the disturbances in the Punjab. No committee has as yet been appointed. Who is to appoint the members of this committee? Is it Mr. Montagu, or His Excellency the Viceroy, or, is the Government of India to appoint those whom the Punjab Government has recommended? The Indian papers are maintaining silence in the expectation that due enquiries will be made into the matter.

The composition of the committee is raising numerous surmises. Will the Anglo-Indians who are partial towards the British Government be appointed? If so, the result of their enquiry can be recorded beforehand. It is quite essential that such a committee should be composed of impartial Englishmen along with eminent Indians such as Sir Sankaran Nayar, Sir. P. Sivaswami Ayyar, Messrs. Hassan Imam, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mahatma Gandhi.

Whoever the members may be, the enquiry should be conducted as expeditiously as possible and the real causes published. If the Government servants blundered and caused the riots, they should be punished severely in proportion to the charge against them. If the people are to blame, they too should be meted out the punishment they deserve. Further, all punishments should be tempered with mercy. It is the clemency that was shown in 1858 that brought the situation so rapidly under control and enhanced the glory of the British justice. Now, too, Mr. Kalinath Roy and other patriots should be released and martial law withdrawn. Unless this is done, we may confidently affirm, peace can never be restored in the Punjab.

The same paper in its news column observes:—Barrister Hassan Imam has proceeded to Lahore to defend Harkishan Lal and others. The administration of the Punjab has created discontent among a large section of the people. An impression is gaining ground everywhere that the British authorities do not act up to the British traditions. This will by no means add to the glory of the empire.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 17th June 1919.

Breeding cattle.

22. Referring to the speech of His Excellency Lord Willingdon at the Tiruppur cattle show laying stress upon the lucrative nature of the profession of cattle-breeding and the efforts made by his government to increase the number of cattle the *Desabhaktan*, of the 17th June, observes:—In this connexion we have to apprise the Governor of the fact that the steps taken by the Veterinary department to prevent the death of cattle from diseases such as rinderpest are not satisfactory, and that it is necessary to reorganise this department on modern lines. Then again the export of fat cattle to foreign countries should be put a stop to. Brokers purchase good cattle from the agriculturists for high prices and send them away to foreign countries. Lord Willingdon should consider that, if their work is not stopped, efforts to improve cattle will prove futile. Further, the cows are also deteriorating in our country. On account of the decrease in their number the difficulty in obtaining milk, ghee, etc., is daily increasing and we have to rely upon the tinned milk from other countries, which is the cause of the horrible death-rate among children in this country for the last few years. Lord Willingdon should attend to this grievance also. Lastly, though there are sufficient grazing grounds for cattle, they suffer on account of the restrictions of the Forest department. No pure water is available for them to drink. They drink impure water and contract

several diseases. The lot of the agriculturists in rural tracts, who own cattle, is a hard one. The Government should come forward to remove these defects. We expect that in Lord Willingdon's administration, the condition of the agriculturists, agriculture and cattle will improve.

23. Referring to the desire expressed by His Excellency Lord Willingdon that the people should not incur unnecessary expenditure to give him a grand reception during his tour, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th June, writes:—It is the object of Lord Willingdon that, in view of the famine conditions prevailing on account of the rise in the prices of foodstuffs and other causes, no unnecessary expenditure should be incurred on his account, and this is praiseworthy indeed. The popular leaders and the officials in the mufassal should work having this in their mind. However, rich men who wish to spend money in according a grand welcome to the representative of the Emperor may spend that sum in feeding the poor on the occasion. It appears again that Their Excellencies make their own arrangements for their stay in the places visited by them. This is also a very laudable act. We trust that the district and taluk authorities and others, who, while touring through villages, are a burden upon the village officers and people, will follow the example of their master, Lord Willingdon.

The Governor's tour.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th June 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th June, writes:—It is now evident that Lord Willingdon unlike Lord Pentland, has come down to govern our province sincerely. As he resorted to repressive measures within a few days of his arrival, we doubted his tendency. But now we are glad that, that doubt is being gradually dispelled. It appears that His Excellency stayed in his railway saloon when he went to Bellary and that he was freely accessible to all, and he seems to have also issued instructions to the authorities in the places he visits not to arrange for any public decorations, etc, in view of such visits. If he should follow this practice for ever in his administration, it is certain that he will become deserving of the gratitude of the people of this province. We would in this connexion offer a suggestion to His Excellency. He should, whenever he makes a tour, visit *incognito* the villages in the vicinity of the place of visit, observe the condition of the people there and do the needful. Then he will realise how far the statements made by the burcaucrats till now, that the villagers are happy and have no grievances whatever, that they do not like responsible government, and that the sanitation of the villages is satisfactory are true. We need not say that, if at this time the authorities should conduct the administration with sympathy for the people, the affinity and co-operation between the rulers and the ruled will increase. We request Lord Willingdon to understand that unrest and discontent take root in the country only on account of the actions of some of the subordinate officials such as the Collector, the Deputy Collector and the Tahsildar and to apply his broad British views. Lord Pentland conducted the administration acting on the advice of petty officials and immersed this Presidency in a sea of discontent. We trust that Lord Willingdon, unlike Lord Pentland, will govern this Presidency with sympathy and make the people thereof contented.

Lord Willingdon.

DESABHAKTAN. Madras, 20th June 1919.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 23rd June, also refers to the instructions issued by Lord Willingdon that there should be no public demonstrations during his tours and observes:—It will be very beneficial if the other officials also follow this course in their tours. At present the people in the villages are put to much hardship and loss in the matter of making supplies to the officials during their tour. We hope these difficulties will disappear hereafter.

Lord Willingdon.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 23rd June 1919.

The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 14th June, refers to the fact that His Excellency the Governor of Madras gives audience to anybody who wishes to see him and remarks:—We are at a loss to know of what good these audiences are when we are not informed of at least the gist of the conversation between His Excellency and his visitors. Again His Excellency will not be able to know anything in Madras if he goes about the city in a motor-car. If he should inspect the city with the

His Excellency the Governor.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 14th June 1919.

Commissioners, the latter will be able to show him the filthy slums of the city. The Municipal Commissioners know best the defects of the several divisions. We hope that His Excellency will do as indicated above if in future he wishes to go about the city.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 17th June 1919.

Lord Willingdon's sympathy.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 17th June, referring to His Excellency's reply to the Municipal address at Tirupur stating that the municipal tax-payers of the province need not spend any sum in making arrangements for receiving him when he goes on tour, etc., writes:—It is certainly fitting that a Governor, who is the representative of His Majesty the King, should not burden poor people. We hope that the official authorities and flattering princes will profit by this manly lesson.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 21st June 1919.

His Excellency the Governor of Madras.

The *Kistnapatrika*, of the 21st June, says:—It is due to some great merit in Lord Willingdon that he has been shown the unusual honour of being made the Governor of Madras after he had been Governor of another province for the full term of five years. But we were rather perplexed to find that as soon as he took charge of the Government a campaign has been started against newspapers in this Presidency. From the speech that he delivered at the Madras Corporation, however, it is to be surmised that he is not personally responsible for it. . . It is very praiseworthy on his part that he returns from the hills before the close of summer. He has notified beforehand that the people need not spend any money to honour him in his tour. It appears that nobody's recommendation is necessary to get an audience with him. We hope that His Excellency will visit not only towns but villages also.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th June 1919.

Indian industries.

24. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th June, writes:—The Government are not taking adequate steps to get rid of the poverty of India. The recommendations of the Industries Commission have not yet been given effect to. In his recent speech in the Parliament, Mr. Montagu stated that the poverty of the Indians should be removed by developing the industries. We do not know when, after all, the Government will concert measures conducive to such development in India. Apart from this, the Anglo-Indian capitalists are starting many companies for exporting the agricultural and mineral products of India to foreign countries. We doubt whether our leaders have realised that, in a few years, the industrial condition of India will be caught in the hands of the Anglo-Indians.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 23rd June 1919.

The industrial advancement of India.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 23rd June, writes:—The Secretary of State says that the poverty of India can be removed only by industrial advancement. But nothing seems to be done by either the people or the Government in India to secure this advancement. Foreign capitalists are establishing big companies in India and making enormous profits by exporting the raw products of India. It is only the Government that can prevent this export. Will they give up their indifference in this matter and establish such industrial facilities at least hereafter as will make it possible for the raw products of this country being utilized here alone.

DEENABANDHU, Masulipatam, 15th June 1919.

The condition of our industries.

In its leader under this heading, the *Deenabandhu*, of the 15th June, writes:—At a time when all the western countries were nameless, ignorant of industries and in every way unworthy of respect, our India was the fountain of wealth, intelligence and artistic skill and was the crest jewel of all countries. Knowing that India was rolling in wealth and that she was famous for her exports, the Western Commercial Companies came to this country. But now that condition is gone. All arts and industries have died, and commerce has decreased. The country has become subject to poverty, dejection and famine. . . There are two main reasons for this state of affairs; namely (1) the people do not utilise even the money still remaining in the country for the encouragement of such objects as will promote national prosperity, (2) the Government instead of affording facilities for the progress of indigenous industries, keeps in view the progress of English commerce and utilises the natural resources of our country for the benefit of foreign

countries. . . Writing on the wretched condition of the country, a poet has observed: "O Mother, in a country renowned for its wealth, only ten out of one hundred people have food to eat thrice a day. . . India has lost her arts, her industries and her wealth. Her people are impoverished and are constantly preyed upon by famine." . . . May the Government, therefore, give up their past indifference, and by establishing and encouraging industrial concerns, enable India ere long not only to produce articles required for her own use, but also to supply them to foreign countries, so that whatever wars and troubles happen in future the necessary articles may be obtained in this country only and there may be no unrest in the country!

The liberty of the Press.

25. Remarking that news is being received every day of the demand of security or the forfeiture of the same in the case of some Indian paper or other, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th June, observes:—This state of affairs should be changed without delay. The Indian papers had liberty in the time of Queen Victoria, so that the authorities were easily understanding the grievances and needs of the people. Therefore it was that there was then an increasing affinity and co-operation between the rulers and the ruled. As the authorities now gag and cause trouble to the Indian papers, they have not the means of ascertaining the true condition of the people. We need not say that it is only the Indian and not the Anglo-Indian, papers that will give expression of the grievances and needs of the people. For laying a strong foundation for the British Government and for requesting the authorities to discharge their duties properly towards the people, it is essential that the Indian Press should be given liberty. It is not known when the authorities will realise this?

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th June 1919.

Lord Willingdon and the Reforms.

26. Referring to the scheme of Reforms proposed by Lord Willingdon of which Mr. Montagu made mention in his speech in the House of Commons, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 16th June, quotes the provisions of this scheme and observes:—According to this scheme, there will not exist in the Government, the diarchy of the Executive Council and the ministers. The influence of the bureaucratic Civilians cannot prevail. There being only one Government, they will be responsible for the administration of all departments and there will be no scope for them to spend large sums of money over certain departments and starve others. As the budget will have to be accepted by the Legislative Council, and the Executive government will, therefore, have to seek its favour, that Government will have to conduct the administration in a way acceptable to the Legislative Council. When the budget is controlled by the Legislative Council it will have all kinds of power. But to say that the power of altering the decision of this Council should be given to the Governor, is like taking back with the left hand what was given by the right hand. According to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, the Governor has the power only to see that the Legislative Council does not cut down the sums required for the departments under the control of the Executive Council. But according to Lord Willingdon's scheme, the Governor will have the power of finally fixing the expenditure of all departments. Hence, the power which the Legislative Council acquires from the provision that it should approve the budget will only be nominal. And again, the power given to the Governor of altering the decision of the Legislative Council regarding any item whatsoever, may take away all the powers from the said council. If this defect, pointed out by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla is removed, Lord Willingdon's scheme is one to be preferred. A letter of the Government of Bombay written after the departure of Lord Willingdon contains a suggestion as to how this defect can be removed. They say that certain subjects, namely, the maintenance of peace and order, administration of law and justice, political questions, big seaports and the Imperial services, may be classed as reserved subjects. It is enough if, as far as these subjects are concerned, the Governor has the power of fixing the budget in contravention of the decision of the Legislative Council. And if the power of determining the budget in regard to other subjects is vested in the Legislative Council alone the popular representatives will secure some power. By exercising that power they can make the Executive Government responsible to them. According to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme the responsibility devolves on the minister.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 16th June 1919.

But if the scheme of the Bombay Government is modified as suggested by Sir Rahimtulla, the responsibility will devolve on the people. The object of the declaration of the 20th August 1917 is to grant responsibility to the people and it is the introduction of reforms as demanded by the Congress, that will be compatible with the capacity and the rights of the people. If this is not possible, the system of administration should be reformed in accordance with the Bombay scheme as modified by Sir Ibrahim, which will give true power to the people.

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 19th June 1919.

Why this partiality?

27. The *Indian Emigrant*, of the 19th June, writes:—If the poor post peons of Calcutta struck work in these times of severe famine, what could be the motive for it but their pinch of hunger? The only offence committed by them was their request that their pay may be increased a little. As the authorities did not lend ear to their grievances, they struck work, having no other course left. Still, he who acted as the treasurer for the relief fund collected for the strikers was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 20 days and some others who took prominent part in the strike were also punished similarly. Leaving this alone, all the officers of a big railway company demanded an increase in their monthly salaries from Rs. 350 to Rs. 500 and threatened that, if their request was not granted, they would go on strike, stop all traffic on the railway and prevent the transport of troops and materials required for putting down the disturbances in the Punjab and for the Afghan front. A prominent man among them went to Simla. All the great men there consulted together and it was finally arranged to give them a salary of Rs. 500. They had an increase of Rs. 150 for having offered a seditious threat that they would prevent the transport of forces for the Afghan front. Poor post peons, who went on strike on account of hunger having no other way of saving themselves, have had rigorous imprisonment!

INDIAN EMIGRANT, Madras, 19th June 1919.

Mr. B. G. Horniman.

28. Observing that Mr. B. G. Horniman will shortly become the editor of a paper called the *Republic*, the *Indian Emigrant*, of the 19th June, observes that a learned man is respected wherever he goes and adds:—The authorities of this country could not understand the depth of his wisdom and the breadth of his views. It is a common saying that the Englishmen are lovers of liberty. But it is not known why the Englishmen that go to India behave quite contrary to it. Probably these leave their brains in England even as they general remove their hats and leave them on the pegs.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st June 1919.

Grazing grounds.

29. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st June, observes:—We learn that in America 13 acres of land are on the average set apart as grazing ground per head of cattle. But in our country, it is less than two acres in Bengal and less than that too in other provinces. The grass grown on an acre of land in this country serves as fodder for 22 heads of cattle. In these circumstances how can cattle improve in our country?

DESABHAKTAN & SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 23rd June 1919.

Mr. Kalinath Roy.

30. The *Desabhaktan* and the *Swadesamitran*, of the 23rd June, reproduce in Tamil the proceedings of the public meeting recently held in the Gokhale Hall, Madras, in connexion with the conviction of Mr. Kalinath Roy, the editor of the *Tribune* by the Martial Law Commission.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 23rd June 1919.

Mr. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons.

31. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 23rd June, writes:—No doubt Mr. Montagu has shown in this speech that he has great sympathy for India and that he holds liberal views. Still, his support of the Rowlatt Law belies his sympathy as well as his breadth of views. It is really regrettable that Mr. Neill Maclean's amendment that this law should be suspended, fell through and it is also surprising that Mr. Montagu was not convinced of the intelligent arguments adduced by Mr. Maclean. In appealing to the members of the House of Commons to accept his reform proposals, he stated that the matter concerned not a herd of cattle but thoughtful men who wished to secure an opportunity for fulfilling their aspirations. But his decision about the Rowlatt Law belies these words again.

32. Referring to the decision arrived at by the Government of India not to send any Indian at State expense for giving evidence before the Currency Committee and to do no more than ascertain whether the Committee is prepared to hear evidence in the case of those Indians who are nominated by the private bodies here for the purpose, the *Hindu Nesan*, of the 23rd June, says:—The currency question is not an ordinary one. As it is the currency that mainly affects the resources of the country, it is but desirable that all people should be afforded sufficient facilities in this matter. While there are many Indians with mercantile experience, who can place their considered opinions before the Currency Committee, it is not known why their views are not taken in this important matter. This can only mean that the Government have some settled views on the question of currency which the Committee will accept. As the main question before the Committee concerns silver and other important issues also are to be considered by it, we hope the Government of India will be pleased to order that the evidence of the Indians also should be taken by the Committee.

The Currency Committee.

HINDU NESAN, Madras, 23rd June 1919.

Referring to the composition and scope of the Indian Currency Commission, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st June, writes:— . . . . There is only one Indian, Mr. Dalal on the Commission and all the rest are Europeans. The Commission will hold its inquiry in England. These two facts are enough for injustice being done to India. Further, the India Government have not agreed to send Indians as witnesses. The Government have no objection to any Indian witnesses going to England at their own expense. Even then, the Commission is not bound to examine them. In these circumstances, the proposals of the Commission cannot rouse the enthusiasm of the people in India. . . There are many people who think that the recent rise of the value of a rupee in English money and the fall of the value of a sovereign from Rs. 15 to Rs. 12 will adversely affect the Indian Industries and Commerce. . . We pray, therefore, that the Government of India will consider the matter with foresight and will accept Indian witnesses.

The Currency Commission.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 21st June 1919.

33. The *Swadesamitran*, of the 12th June, reproduces an article contributed by St. Nihal Singh to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in which he criticises the provisions of the Rowlatt Law and condemning the action of the Government against the unanimous opinion of the Indians, makes the following observations among others:—It is hard to conceive the feeling of the Indians thus despised. At a time when the Empire was threatened with danger, these Indians came to the rescue without expecting any reward. If they had liked, they could have demanded and settled the reward even then. But they did not bargain. Even before the echo of the words of the British appreciating the help of the Indians had died out, the Indians have had to feel that they have no voice in the Government. It is at a juncture when the whole world is raising a cry for the right of self-determination that the Government of India have chosen to disregard the opinions of the Indian representatives. But the Government of India is not a Government of the people, nor is it responsible to them. Will it do for such a Government to discard the opinion of the people? The laws of the Government are being enforced by means of bombs thrown from æroplanes, machine guns and the Martial Law.

Unrest in India.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 12th June 1919.

34. The *Desabhaktan*, of the 16th June, publishes the proceedings of a public meeting held at Trichinopoly on the 12th idem under the auspices of the local *Satyagraha* sabha in which one K. G. Sivaswami Ayyar is reported to have exhorted the people to take to *Satyagraha* and condemned the Rowlatt Law in strong terms.

A lecture at Trichinopoly.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 16th June 1919.

35. In an article under this heading, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 20th June, makes the following observations among others:—It is not easy to describe the mental condition of the Indians when they note the judgments of the Martial Law Commissions in the Punjab. The authorities who inquire have to decide in accordance with their conscience whether the offenders are guilty or not. In the case of the Punjab judgments, however, there is no indication whatever of those who tried the cases having gone into them fully and the procedure adopted was not the ordinary one.

British justice.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 20th June 1919.

But, considering the curious constitution of the commissions and the extraordinary procedure adopted by them, no one will be surprised at the judgments passed by them. Many people say that the justice administered in the Punjab is false British justice. So we apprise the Government of India that, unless the decisions of the Martial Law Commissions are cancelled, those punished by them but have not yet lost their life are released and an inquiry is held again in a lawful manner acceptable to all civilized countries, a portion of the history of the British rule in India will remain fully black. Unless there is the idea that Bolshevik methods should be resorted to in this country, the jurisdiction of the Martial Law Commissions and the method of their trial should not be left without their propriety or otherwise being decided. To give an example or two of the nature of the justice administered by the commissions, it will be clear from the judgments passed by them in the case of Mr. Kalinath Roy and that of *Pratap* how far the law has been twisted so as to suit the circumstances. Even Mr. Gandhi, who did not hitherto pay any attention to the disturbances in the Punjab, has written a letter to the effect that the conviction of Kalinath Roy deserves to be condemned. We request the Government of India to consider at least Mr. Gandhi's letter even if they do not pay heed to other things. The judgment in the Amritsar National Bank murder case eclipses even the Kalinath case. There are no signs in that judgment of any evidence having been taken and considered. In the case of two offenders sentenced to death, a request made to the Viceroy that the execution of the sentence should be postponed pending an appeal to the Privy Council, has not been granted by him and we do not see on what grounds he had done so. Even in ordinary cases, when a severe sentence is passed, it is usual for the execution of the sentence to be suspended if an appeal is to be made within a specified period. It is not fair on the part of the Viceroy to have refrained from showing mercy by exercising his power of discretion in a case in which the very propriety of the procedure is doubted. Are the bureaucrats under the impression that the British rule in India will have a strong foundation merely by thus sentencing unfortunate people to death? We trust that such inconsiderate methods will be given up at least hereafter. Such methods will only increase the existing anguish and panic. We would once again urge upon the authorities that they can maintain peace in India only by fostering British justice.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th June 1919.

Death sentence.

36. Referring to the capital sentences pronounced by the Martial Law Commission in the Gujranwala conspiracy case, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 18th June, observes under this heading:—The heart throbs when one reads the sentences of the Martial Law Court. Death sentences are more horrible than all the rest. Judgment was delivered yesterday in the Gujranwala conspiracy case in which many of the accused are pleaders and barristers. Amarnath, a pleader and Mohan Lal were awarded capital punishment. . . Mr. Montagu has promised an inquiry into the affairs of the Punjab. It is just to postpone the execution of these death sentences at least till the holding of the said inquiry and the publication of its results. . . If the new Lieutenant-Governor and the Viceroy consider the matter together and order the postponement of these sentences or the release of the accused out of mercy, they will earn the gratitude of the people. It is universally acknowledged that for justice to be useful it should be tempered with mercy.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 19th June 1919.

An admission.

37. Referring to an article on India contributed to the *Sunday Express* by Sir O'Moore Creagh, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 19th June, writes under this heading:— . . . He has written an article condemning the Indians to the full gratification of his spite. . . We have no mind to criticise his abuses. But in this article, he has admitted that the Rowlatt Act is unnecessary. This is a remarkable fact. . . Why should not the author of the article try for the repeal of the Rowlatt Law which is unnecessary?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 20th June 1919.

A Mechanical Engineering College for Cocanada.

38. Referring to the Government communiqué stating that it is not possible to establish a Mechanical Engineering College at Cocanada as promised in 1915, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 20th June, writes:— . . . It seems

that the Inspector of Industrial school has inspected the Local Fund workshop at Cocanada, and reported that the machinery is all very old, that the ground also is on a low level and that for these reasons it is not in a fit condition to be used as a workshop and as a college. . . But we cannot think that this workshop is so bad as not even to admit of any improvement. . . The Director of Industries raises another great objection. The recommendations of the Industrial Commission urge that skilled workmen cannot be turned out in Industrial schools and that the proper fields for their training are large workshops. The Director thinks it is impossible to establish a Mechanical Engineering College at Cocanada on this ground. . . Though the Government have given up this project in accordance with the advice of Mr. Inns, the promise already made by them is still pricking them, and they have requested Mr. Inns, to state whether it will be possible to open schools like the Madras Trades school at any places in the Northern Circars where there are public workshops, railway foundries and rice and jute factories. We do not think that Mr. Inns will give a favourable reply even to this reference. Very rarely do the Government pay heed to the needs of the Andhra country. Even of those matters in which they take interest, very few will be treated so as to see a successful close. The Kistna Reservoir Project has been kept back; the question of the Vizagapatam harbour is doubtful; and the matter of a Mechanical Engineering College at Cocanada has ended as stated above. It is on account of the lethargy of the Andhras, that their country is obliged to suffer in this way. The Andhras will do well to wake up even now, criticise the objections of Mr. Inns and request the Government to carry out their promise. It is improper to say that the Industrial education in the Andhra country should be postponed until a good workshop is established. . .

The First Andhra Co-operative Conference.

39. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 21st June, makes an appeal to the representatives of the Co-operative Credit Societies in the Andhra country and to the sympathisers of the movement to attend in large numbers the first Andhra Co-operative Conference which will be held at Bezwada on the 28th and 29th June. In doing so, it remarks that the Land Revenue Administration Reports show that the authorities are making a narrow use of the Agriculturists' Loans Act and that it is the object of the co-operative movement to facilitate the progress of agriculture, commerce and industries in the country. It also observes that such vital questions as the establishment of a Provincial Co-operative Bank in the Andhra country with branches in the several taluks and villages, and the need for the investment of toll-gate revenue and temple funds in these banks should be considered there. It thinks that if all transactions are conducted through Telugu, it will ensure the rapid attainment of the Andhra province.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 31st June 1919.

The Legislative Council elections.

40. While recommending the candidature of Mr. Konda Venkatapayya for membership in the Local Legislative Council, a correspondent to the *Hitakarini*, of the 13th April, observes:— . . . When all the people in the country are unanimously agitating for responsible government in the hope that it will set right the defects of the present system of administration, which are the main cause of the poverty of the people and of their suffering from diseases, we shall be committing suicide if we elect men who act against the interests of the country, and we will be strengthening the hands of the party in England which says that the desire for responsible government is confined only to the few English educated men and that the masses have nothing to do with it. . . It is, therefore, our duty to elect such persons as will safeguard the freedom of the people from all attacks and sympathise with us. . .

HITAKARINI, Ellore, 13th April 1919.

The poverty of India: A remarkable speech of an English merchant.

41. Under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 7th June, gives a Telugu rendering of the speech delivered by Sir Daniel Hamilton at the Bengal Co-operative Conference, which was published in the *Madras Bulletin* of Co-operation for February and March 1919.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 7th June 1919.

The way to victory.

42. Under this heading, the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 14th June, publishes in Telugu the speech of Sir Daniel Hamilton on the Co-operative movement in India, urging the need

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 14th June 1919.

for the transfer and the utilisation of the Indian Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves from England to India, and remarking that the glaring contrast between the profits made by the jute millowner and the Jute cultivating ryot respectively in India reveals a grave injustice which must be set right by the Government that unless India is made a free country, the British Empire cannot attain to the highest eminence in the world, that India will be able to conquer the whole world, if she is united through this movement, and that a terrible state of anarchy will prevail otherwise.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 12th June 1919.

Situation in India.

43. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 12th June, publishes in English and Telugu a telegram giving the resolutions passed by the National Home Rule League, condemning the Government of India's despatch on the reforms, deploring the attitude of the Government towards the reforms . . . and viewing with deep anxiety the measures taken in the Punjab.

The paper also publishes the resolution passed by the Indian Association, Calcutta, emphatically protesting against the sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunal in several cases.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 17th June 1919.

Indian Reforms Bill and Press opinion.

44. Under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 17th June, publishes in Telugu the opinions of the *Englishman*, and the *Daily News* on the Indian Reforms Bill, making disparaging remarks on Mr. Montagu. The telegraphic summaries were published in English in *New India* of the 16th June.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 14th June 1919.

The Deccan Sabah and the Government of India despatch on the Montagu report.

45. The *Andhrapatrika*, of the 14th June, publishes in English a telegraphic summary of the resolution passed by the Deccan Sabha at Poona, criticising the proposals contained in the Government of India despatch, urging the preservation of at least the Montford scheme intact and warning that situation, serious as it is, will give cause for the greatest anxiety.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th June 1919.

The Congress deputation and the Andhras.

46. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th June, observes that the people of this country cannot accept the Reforms Bill as it is, since no proposals made by the National Congress, or the Moslem League or the Moderates' Conference have been incorporated in it, since some of the reactionary recommendations of the Government of India find place in it and since it has not kept the Montagu scheme at least intact. It exhorts the members of the Congress deputation to fearlessly represent the opinion of the people, explain the defects of the Bill to the British public, the members of the Parliament and the Joint Committee and see that our wishes are granted. It urges them to work hard for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, to explain how detrimental the Press Act is to the freedom of the Press and to secure some salutary provisions in the Bill for the protection of the birth-rights of the people.

It appeals to the Andhra members of the deputation particularly to press for the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis and advises them to place before the Joint Committee an alternative scheme of self-government based on the principle of linguistic provinces, in case it should say that the present Bill is not workable on such a principle. The need for redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis must have been revealed to England by the war.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 24th June 1919.

The *Nationalist* newspaper.

47. Referring to the forfeiture of the security deposited by the *Nationalist*, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 24th June, remarks:— . . . Such punishments are becoming too common in journalistic life. There is no possibility for public opinion to find a proper expression, unless the Press Act is repealed. . . We hope that all the Andhras will contribute their mite to enable Mr. Harisarvottama Rao to continue his paper long.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd June 1919.

Racial hatred.

48. Referring to the special cables received by the *Madras Times*, which show that racial bias is increasing in England against the Chinese and the Negroes, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd June, writes under this heading:— . . . It will be ingratitude to display hatred towards the Chinese and the Negroes who have done incalculable

service to the Allies both on the sea and on the land during the war. It seems that the Government is making arrangements to send them away from the country, lest disturbances should increase. It has been the practice with the western people to say that the eastern races are uncivilised and that they have no tolerance. It remains to be seen what reason they will assign for the occurrence of such disturbances in England which is the home of advanced civilisation.

49. In its leader under this heading, the *Andhrapatrika*, of the 23rd June, refers to Mr. Montagu's defence of the Rowlatt Act in his budget speech and makes the following observations among others:— . . . India cannot think that the Reforms Bill recently introduced in the Parliament with the object of according her a proper place in the British Empire will be useful. A thorough perusal of Mr. Montagu's budget speech will reveal a wide contrast between theory and practice. Be it as it may. . . There is no doubt that Mr. Montagu, trained as he is in liberal traditions, has found it very hard to defend the Rowlatt Act which is detrimental to the birthrights of the people. . . There is nothing strange, therefore, in the reply given by him being lifeless. . . It may be supposed that his official position cannot permit him to say otherwise. . . What necessity has now arisen to pass a measure which is so unpopular according to the admission of Mr. Montagu himself? Such a measure can be justified only by some extraordinary circumstances, which do not appear from Mr. Montagu's speech to have existed in India. It is undesirable to pass it in the absence of such circumstances No statesman will try to pass by force in ordinary circumstances a measure which has not got the least popular support. . . The Defence of India Act has been applied for purposes other than mere war exigencies, unlike the Empire Defence Act in England. Mr. Montagu says that as it will be repealed shortly, the Rowlatt Act will take its place. Will it be just to introduce an Act in the place of one created as a temporary measure for war purposes, though the war has come to a close and peace has been established? Similarly, the Empire Defence Act will be repealed in England shortly, and yet no attempts are made there to introduce another repressive measure in its place after the conclusion of peace. Why should a different course of action be adopted in India alone? . . . As has been pointed out by Mr. MacLean, it will be absurd to say that this Act is necessary to keep under control 400 persons out of 300 millions. If it is urged that revolutionaries may create trouble in future, why should not the Act be passed then? It will be easy to get the support of the people in that case. If the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of law is set aside for the sake of a few persons, the innocent will suffer along with the guilty. For this reason only, the people have strongly opposed the measure. If violence has shown any decrease as a result of repressive measures, it is but just to cancel those measures till violence breaks out again. . . Another ground advanced by Mr. Montagu is that courts of law are not suited to find out the conspirator. If so, it is not possible to think that he can be traced out by means of the Rowlatt Act either, as has been remarked by Mr. MacLean. . . If self-government is granted to India, her resources and wealth are improved and her industrial progress is ensured, there is no doubt that the unrest in the country will disappear. Mr. Montagu has promised to do these. As a result of the introduction of repressive measures before waiting to see the results of these conciliatory methods, an unfavourable atmosphere has been created which causes obstructions to the success of reforms. The question also arises: are not the loss already in force sufficient in case of any emergency? The recent history of the Punjab answers this question in the affirmative. . . The inquiry held by the Rowlatt Commission was in reference to the pre-war conditions, and during the war, the extraordinary loyalty of Indians expressed itself in action. Since then a new era has dawned and it was announced that the attitude of the British statesmen also has undergone change. It seems neither necessary nor proper to apply without the consent of the people to new conditions the proposals of the Rowlatt Commission, which relate to past history. The people were not consulted in appointing the Commission and evidence was taken in private and was not crossexamined.

An insipid reply.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 23rd June 1919.

The conclusions based on such evidence cannot win the confidence of the people. . . The Press Act which was intended to be used against such papers as the *Yugantar*, is freely applied to loyal papers which carry on only constitutional agitation. For this reason, the people have lost all hope that the Executive will use its discretion so as not to transgress the original objects. Mr. Montagu says that the future Legislative Councils will safeguard the rights of the people. But as the Imperial Government is free from responsibility, the power of the Legislative Council will remain as it is, nay, it will even be cut short in consequence of the authority of the State Council. The Executive Councils are not responsible to the Local Legislative Councils. Even in the transferred departments, the ministers are not responsible to the Legislative Council, and the department of justice has not been transferred to the people. In these circumstances, it is not possible to think that the future Legislative Councils will be useful to any considerable extent in safeguarding the rights of the people. As has been remarked by Mr. MacLean, there seems to be a marked contrast between the speech which Mr. Montagu delivered before he became the Secretary of State and his present speech. The power of official prestige will change people, however liberal they may be. Mr. MacLean's resolution was lost in the House of Commons. The people of India, however, cannot approve of the Rowlatt Act. They regard the safeguarding of their birthrights as even more important than the reforms. India expects that the deputations will do their best to secure in the Bill the embodiment of definite provisions for the protection of these rights.

HITAKARINI, Kllore, 15th June 1919.

Mr. B. G. Tilak and the Indian demand.

50. The *Hitakarini*, of the 15th June, publishes in Telugu the latter part of Mr. Tilak's speech on the Indian demand delivered in the Caxton Hall.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 14th May 1919.

Ravindranath's letter on the present critical situation.

51. The *Desabhimani*, of the 14th May, publishes in Telugu the letter of Sir Ravindranath Tagore, dated 26th April 1919, condemning executive highhandedness and comparing bureaucrats to those barbarous people of old who, when ill, attributed their illness to witches and used to burn witches instead of trying to cure their disease.

DESABHIMANI, Guntur, 14th May 1919.

The Guntūr District Hindu Social Reform Conference.

52. The *Desabhimani*, of the 14th May, publishes in Telugu the speech of the President of the Guntūr District Social Conference held at Dachepalli on the 11th May, in which the following remarks occur among others:—. . . Traces of old ideas do not yet seem to have left the Allies. All those liberal sentiments which were current before the war have not yet been translated into action. The Allies are not yet able to give up selfishness. It is not possible to say how far the new League will minimise the importance of physical force and put a stop to wars in future. . . Though India has lost her political freedom, she has not completely lost her spiritual wealth. . .

DURBAR, Guntur, 1st June 1919.

The Conference of Medical Experts.

53. Referring to the Conference of Medical Experts held at Simla on the 23rd May, the *Durbar*, of the 1st June, hopes that the Government will utilise the sum of five lakhs of rupees, which represents the Public Health Fund at their disposal, for medical researches and try to exterminate the poisonous diseases which have been eating into the vitals of the people.

SUDARSINI, Viswasarayapuram, 15th April 1919.

Satyagraha.

54. In the course of its leader under this heading, the *Sudarsini*, of the 15th April, which was received on the 18th June, writes:— . . . All the unanimous representations of the non-official members in the Imperial Legislative Councils against the passing of the Rowlatt Law have been only cries in the wilderness, so far as the Viceroy and the official members are concerned. The people for which these Acts are being passed have rejected them, and their representatives have expressed disapproval of them. But the Bill has been passed into an Act. Then, why boast that the Legislative Councils represent the people and that Bills become Acts only with their consent.

The Legislative Councils do not respect public opinion. In truth, they are not real deliberative councils, and what takes place there is not discussion. It is

farce! . . . It cannot be an exaggeration to say that since the birth of these Legislative Councils, the non-official members have not been successful in carrying out a single resolution. These Legislative Councils involve waste of money and are useless. The Honourable Members enjoy a trip to the capital towns once in three months in the first-class in trains, witness the farce going on in the Council hall for about a week. There is no other good in the least which they do either to the public or to the Government. In such a sham theatrical hall, an axe has been laid to the root of the fundamental rights of the people. The bureaucracy has only passed these Acts in the Legislative Council to mislead the free British public into the false idea that they have got the consent of the representatives of the people. But in reality these Acts are the creations of the bureaucracy, and the people have nothing to do with them. The truth is bound to reach the free British public in due course. We cannot understand how long the vagaries of the bureaucracy will be allowed to continue unchecked. . . When an Act relating to education and the compulsory Vaccination Act were enforced in England, passive resistance was adopted there and the people preferred fines and other punishments to giving their consent to the Acts. Still, the British Government did not then regard these acts of the people as anarchical. . . Was not Lord Jesus a passive resister? . . . In our country, Prahlada obeyed the call of his conscience . . . and triumphed in the end. From the lives of such men as Lord Jesus and Prahlada, we understand that *Satyagraha* is moral and rational. That it is not anarchical has been shown above. Therefore, when the fundamental rights of men are rooted out completely through the Rowlatt Acts, there is no other course open to us to secure the repeal of these Acts than by following *Satyagraha*. For the last five years, there has been much loss of life. We have to gain by soul-power without any destruction of men a victory greater than that of the Western people and prove to them the superiority of our spiritual power to their condemnable wordly weapons.

Satyagrahis should not be emotional. They should not harm others. They should conduct themselves peacefully, as hasty action is opposed to the *Satyagraha* vow. . . *Satyagraha* is, therefore. worthy of being followed. May God crown this movement with success! Amen!

55. The *Sudarsini*, of the 15th April, publishes the message of Mr. Gandhi communicated to his countrymen on the eve of his arrest on his way to Delhi early in April.

The message of Mahatma Gandhi.

Sudarsini, Viswasarayapuram, 15th April 1919.

56. The *Kistnapatrika*, of the 21st June, says:—The English imposed heavy duties on Indian industries in order to protect their own. It is needless to describe how the Indian industries have declined. The British Government have given up free trade and introduced what is called imperial preference, which is our enemy. It is the same as the former trade policy of the British under which England regarded the Colonies as her own property, making them to sell their products exclusively to British merchants. . . The British labourers will not accept this policy of imperial preference, for under it a tax will be imposed upon foodstuffs. But the English Cabinet is promising that it will not do such a thing. If this policy is introduced into India, the Indian commerce and industries will suffer. There are already signs of the policy being put into practice.

The economic crisis.

Kistnapatrika, Masulipatam, 21st June 1919.

57. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 14th June, expresses its dissatisfaction with the recommendations of the Franchise Committee and requests that as soon as the reforms come into operation, such arrangements may be made with regard to the franchise as will satisfy all communities.

The Franchise Committee.

Andhraprakasika, Madras, 14th June 1919.

58. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 14th June, refers to the Afghan war and recommends that the *Amir* should be taught a good lesson so that he may not in future repeat his misdeeds and unreasonable invasions.

The Amir.

Andhraprakasika, Madras, 14th June 1919.

59. The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 14th June, says with reference to the heavy prices of cloth that it is necessary that arrangements should be made for the manufacture of cheap

A cloth famine.

Andhraprakasika, Madras, 14th June 1919.

standard cloth for the use of the public in general, as the cloth famine will last for a year more. It prays that the Government also will once again consider this matter.

DEENABANDHU, Masulipatam, 15th June 1919.

A great loss to the Hindu Society.

60. Referring to a book called 'the Goal of India', written by Rev. Holland, in which he had made the statement that 10,500 Hindus are being converted into Christianity every month, the *Deenabandhu*, of the 15th June, remarks:— . . . We are seeing with our eyes the Salvation Army converting into Christianity the Yanadis, the Koyas, and such other hill tribes in large groups in the name of criminal settlements. In this way the life of the Hindu society is being undermined. . . It must be understood that all those who become Christians are so many terrible enemies to the Hindu society.

DEENABHANDU, Masulipatam, 15th June 1919.

Communal representation.

61. Referring to the representation of the depressed classes recommended by the Franchise Committee, the *Deenabhandu*, of the 15th June, observes:— . . . It must be said that in the Southborough report, attempts were made to console the depressed classes without ignoring them altogether. There is no doubt to say, therefore, that full justice has not been done to them. The number of the depressed classes is one million in the Madras Presidency, while the Indian Christian community which is only one-fourth of the depressed classes, has been allowed three representatives. It is of no advantage to the depressed classes that they should be granted only two representatives, even those two not being elected but nominated by the Government. The recommendation made in their behalf by the Government of India is very reasonable, and somewhat beneficial also. But we cannot agree with it, nor with the recommendation of the Southborough Committee. Our reason is this. There are 24 districts in the Madras Presidency. Unless one representative at least is allowed for a group of three districts, it is our firm conviction that those who are in a backward and a very deplorable condition in every respect, will have little chance of improving. There should therefore be at least eight members, to represent these classes and they should all be elected as other elected members. The present rules relating to the qualifications of voters may be slackened in the case of the depressed classes and the number of voters in that community should be increased. Every literate man and every person paying a tax of Rs. 10 should be recognized as fit to vote. . . Should the Government think that the depressed classes do not contain men who are fit to represent them, there should be no objection to the patriotic workers belonging to a different caste but working for their uplift being elected. We hope that the Government will bestow better consideration on the question of the depressed classes than on the special representation of other communities and will do them good.

DEENABHANDU, Masulipatam, 15th June 1919.

The Government honorary titles.

62. Referring to the recent Birthday Honours, the *Deenabhandu*, of the 15th June, observes that there is a great mania for titles in this country and that the system of restricting these titles to those who have done distinguished service in the war which has been adopted in Canada, may be useful, if introduced here in directing into better channels the energy of the people which is now being wasted.

KISTNAPATRIKA, Masulipatam, 7th June 1919.

The history of Masulipatam.

63. Giving the history of Masulipatam under this heading, a correspondent to the *Kistnapatrika*, of the 7th June, writes:— . . . What should be said of those who have not only allowed the old fort of Masulipatam which has decided the fate of the British Empire in India to fall into ruins, while every ordinary place is being carefully protected on the ground that it is connected with some archæological subject, but are also trying to deprive the town of all importance by shifting all the District Offices from it? In consideration of the facts mentioned above, it is but just that the British Government should protect a little the town of Masulipatam which they should never forget.

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, Mysore, 24th June 1919.

The Madras officers' association.

64. Referring to the concessions desired by the members of the Indian officers' association for providing hostel accommodation for their children, the *Sampad Abhyudaya*, of

the 24th June, writes :—If some persons meet in a place and undertake to do some work out of selfish motives, is it reasonable to expect the Government to help all such liberally?

Land Revenue Report.

65. The *Manorama*, of the 13th June, concludes its review of the Land Revenue Report of the Madras Government for fasli 1327 with the observation that the failure of Malabar to take any considerable advantage of the Land Improvement loans and Agricultural loans given by the Government is due to (*a*) ignorance and (*b*) the want of sympathy on the part of the officers and the rigidity of their rules and remarks that if arrangements are made to spread the knowledge of the facilities offered by Government and if the lower Revenue Officers try really to help the ryots in a lawful manner rather than blindly stick to the letter of the rules on the subject, Malabar is likely to awake and proceed to a real improvement of innumerable agricultural plots.

MANORAMA, Calicut, 13th June 1919.

The rights of women.

66. An article contributed to the *Kerala Sanchari*, of the 18th June, deals with the rights of Indian women for equal political privileges with Indian men especially in respect of franchise and eligibility for appointments as members of Legislative Councils, etc., and concludes with the remark that Indian men and women should work together for securing equal privileges for the latter in all possible matters and that the Government should help and encourage them. It is not possible to suppose that women will keep dumb in future as they did hitherto.

KERALA SANCHARI, Calicut, 18th June 1919.

Suggestions by the Muslim League.

67. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 17th June, referring to the memorial submitted by the Muslim League requesting the Government to appoint a Muhammadan in place of the late Hon'ble Mr. Aziz-ud-din, etc., observes :—We hope that His Excellency the Governor will pay immediate attention to this legitimate request and taking the fact into consideration that the number of Muhammadans holding high offices is practically nil, His Excellency will be pleased to promote one Muhammadan at least to the existing vacancy. This is the first instance that His Excellency has had since assuming office, and Muhammadans are anticipating that His Excellency will not grudge to give proof of his policy of granting equal rights. We are sure that should this opportunity, for some reason or other, be overlooked, it will cause keen disappointment to the Muhammadans and the effect of this will not be good.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 17th June 1919.

Lord Willingdon and Muhammadans.

68. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 14th June, referring to the remarks of a local correspondent that Lord Willingdon's reply to the Corporation Address—in which he says 'It is our duty to work for the well-being of all and treat justly whether high or low, rich or poor, and our aim should be that any person, however poor he may be, if he is qualified and fit, should be given an opportunity of rising to the highest position in the Empire—does not show that he recognises the special importance of Mussalmans, writes :—We think the correspondent has misunderstood His Lordship's words. There is no need for any anxiety about what His Excellency has said from which it is to be hoped that during his tenure of office Muslim claims will not be ignored.

QAUMI REPORT, Madras, 14th June 1919.

His Lordship has made ability and fitness the basis for appointments and no Muslim will say he should be given preference notwithstanding his being neither qualified nor fit. Our demand is that able and qualified men of our community should be advanced according to their merit and this point should be kept in view, viz., that Mussalmans should not get less than their share of appointments. His Lordship says that every community should be given an equal share which means that Muslims also will be given their portion proportionately to Hindus and Christians.

Lord Willingdon's policy is based upon freedom and equality and we are glad that His Lordship has assured us that our community too will be given equal rights. During the term of certain ex-Governors the principle of 'equal rights to every community' had been absolutely ignored. A glaring example of this is that the membership of the Government has constantly been given to the members of one and the same community, but no equal share has been granted to our community as is done in other Presidencies.

The Editor in continuation hopes that the claims of Muhammadans to the appointment of Collectors will also be had regard to. There have been two Mussalman Collectors in the Presidency. When late Mr. Aziz-ud-din was made a member of the Board (of Revenue), it was hoped that in his place another Muslim Collector would be appointed. Now the only Muslim District Officer in the whole Presidency is Khan Bahadur Muhammad Usman Sahib.

It is hoped that one more Muhammadan Collector will be appointed, otherwise the community will have occasion for complaint that they are not given equal rights with Hindus. Inasmuch as there are deserving officers in Government service who are suitable and qualified for the office of Collector, we think that the due rights of the Muhammadan community will not be passed over.

In this connexion the vacancy on the Board of Revenue caused by the demise of Mr. Aziz-ud-din calls for consideration. As this office is now open to Indians, we hope the Government will now appoint an Indian. We have no lack of qualified and experienced officers and one of the members can easily be appointed Member of the Board. As the permanent members of the Board are all Europeans, we think that the inclusion of an Indian is not only good but essential.

We may, perhaps at this juncture, observe that Muhammadans are far behind others in the matter of Government appointments. There is only one Muslim Collector in the Administration. There is, of course, one Mussalman Judge too, but here the Hindus exceed the number of Muslims.

In conclusion the Editor remarks that there is a dearth of Muhammadans in the higher grades of service and he hopes that His Excellency Lord Willingdon will, according to his laudable policy, endeavour to secure equal rights for Muslims.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 15th June 1919.

The Muhammadans and the Government.

The *Qaumi Report*, of the 15th June, in a leader on this subject, writes:—Our opinion has always been that His Excellency Lord Willingdon is a sympathetic gentleman who will surely treat all communities fairly. If His Excellency were to ascertain the condition of the Muhammadans of the Madras Presidency and how they have been deprived of their rights, he would promptly turn his attention towards them. But the difficulty is that some servile flatterers have hidden the real state of affairs. There are others who state facts with a certain amount of independence. It is, however, certain that His Excellency Lord Willingdon will very soon understand the real secret of the backwardness of Muhammadans. It is not possible that this backward condition will remain undiscovered by one who works for hours in the Secretariat and looks into affairs with his own eyes.

We invite the attention of His Excellency to the fact so that he may not consider the Muhammadans of Madras to be like those of Bombay; for the Muhammadans of the latter city are mostly merchants and care little for preferment, whereas the Muhammadans of Madras depend on some sort of employment for their livelihood. His Excellency is also fully aware of the fact that it is not an easy matter to succeed at Madras examinations. These are the difficulties which stand in the way of their advancement.

The number of Muhammadan official employees is so small that it will probably find no precedent in any other city. Sometimes our mouths are shut by the statement that there is a Muhammadan Judge in the High Court and a Muhammadan has been appointed as Collector or another has been made a member of the Board of Revenue. But all this is superficial, and if the matter is looked into with greater penetration it will be quite evident that many able Muhammadans are weary of waiting either at the first or the middle stages of their advancement, but no one concerns himself about them.

Firstly there is the High Court which has no connexion with the Government. We have already said that in the British administration the officer drawing high salary is a member of the Board, but we may remark that he is no longer alive. There is only a solitary Collector left in the Madras Presidency. We most respectfully represent to His Excellency that the existence of a single Muhammadan Collector, in such a large Muhammadan community, is not a matter to rejoice over nor is it reassuring.

His Excellency has stated that whoever possesses mental and intellectual capacity has the right to rise to the highest rung of the official ladder. Are we to understand that there is none among the Muhammadan community possessing mental and intellectual ability except this single Collector who can aspire to higher appointment? If His Excellency were to glance at the list of his subordinate officials he would find that there are many Muhammadan officials gifted with the necessary mental and intellectual qualifications who have not been raised to high positions.

It is partly due to our folly and partly to the indifference of the former regimé. Our folly lies in the fact that we are voiceless and without a press through which we can represent our rights. We Muhammadans are a queer people. We have established schools, colleges, industrial institutions, and hostels, but we have never felt the necessity for starting an English paper. Our voice tardily and with great difficulty reaches His Excellency, and the fate of our articles depends on the careful consideration of the Government Translator, but at the same time we are glad that we have never been remiss in our duty of demanding the ligitimate rights of our community, and if not early then late and if not in detail then in an epitomised form the Government hears our voice.

We could not understand the special reason for indifference on the part of the Government. Apparently the community, which has a voice in the Government and whose leaders approach the authorities, can easily obtain its rights, but we, voiceless and friendless, content ourselves with murmuring. Otherwise there was no earthly reason why a European should have been reappointed to the exalted office of Sheriff of Madras, or a Muhammadan should not have been appointed as the Chief Judge of the City Civil Court or the Small Cause Court or as a Deputy Commissioner of Police.

We rely entirely on His Excellency and hope that he will grant us equal rights and not leave us to lament over former mistakes.

Qaumi Report, Madras, 16th June 1919.

The Kôrān and Germany.

69. The *Qaumi Report*, of the 16th June, referring to the report that according to the first of the three important clauses in the Peace terms, demanding the return of three things of interest from Germany, published in the *Madras Times* of the 15th June, remarks:—We do not know how the Kôrān which is known among Muslims as the Mushaf-i-Usmani fell into the hands of Germany. Among the terms of the treaty this is a very just demand that this sacred relic should be returned by Germany, for, no non-Muslim can become the owner or the possessor of the Kôrān. When the Muslim world is averse to seeing the Holy Places under the control of a non-Muslim, how can it tolerate Germany possessing a cherished copy of the Holy book.

It is, however, an unjust demand that the Mushaf-i-Usmani should be handed over to the King of the Hedjaz.

Probably in establishing the claim of the former Sharif, this interesting fact has been lost sight of that when the Turks conquered Medina in the year 711 this particular Kôrān was also taken possession of by them. Even granting this for the sake of argument, we cannot understand how, with the existence of the Khalifa of the Muslims, the King of the Hedjaz can make good his right to the trust belonging to the successor of the Prophet. For the same reason that no Holy Place can be obtained for the King of the Hedjaz nor can this Mushaf-i-Usmani pass into his possession.

The idea, that the Turks took the book when they captured Medina, is not historically correct and even if it were so, how can the King of the Hedjaz who is not the Khalifa claim a relic of the Khalifa of the prophet after a thousand years?

It is exceedingly regrettable that European journalists are generally ignorant of Muslim traditions and history. The ancient histories of Greece and Rome are included in their curriculum while the living history of Islam finds no place therein. The beauty of it is that in India also they have prescribed the history of defunct nations and excluded that of the living ones.

Had these gentlemen been acquainted with the history of the Muslim lands, they would have known that among Muhammadans it is the Khalifa who is the

sole heir to the sacred relics and property of the prophet which are the outward and visible signs of the Khalifate.

It is perfectly plain that, if the Sharif of Mecca is desirous of styling himself the King of the Hedjaz, Mecca and Medina will not recognise his authority; because both these places are the fountain-head of Islam, and no man can rule over them. Even the Sultan of Turkey, who is the Khalifa, is called simply the servant of the two sacred shrines and not King. Now when the King of the Hedjaz will have no connexion with Mecca and Medina which will be left under the control of the Khalifa, we do not understand why the Mushaf-i-Usmani should be returned to him.

It is probable that the King of the Hedjaz may have misrepresented matters to the members of the Conference who, relying on him, have tried in good faith to secure the reversion of this sacred relic to him. It is an open secret that the late Sharif committed a deplorable mistake in asserting this and that he had no legal right to the possessions of the Khalifa.

JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, Madras, 21st June 1919.

A demand for legitimate rights.

70. The *Jaridah-i-Rozgar*, of the 21st June, referring to the death of the late Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Hussain Sahib, writes:—It is vain now to regret the loss caused by the demise of the late Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Sahib. Whatever has happened, has happened and that which is to happen, will happen. If the Government of India has any special desire to please Muhammadans, it can soften the sorrow by giving us a better one than we have lost (just as Lord Willingdon in giving expression to his policy has satisfied us) and it is up to Muhammadans to demand their legitimate rights in a polite and acceptable manner.

The writer requests the Muhammadans of Southern India, wherever they may be, to hold public meetings and endeavour to invite the attention of the Government to the fact that if Mr Bazlullah Sahib, the Revenue Officer, be not considered deserving of the vacancy caused by the demise of the late Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Hussain Sahib, he may at least receive such promotion as will satisfy his co-religionists. As far as we can see, we do not find any one among Muhammadan officials as hardworking as he is. The services he has rendered to the community and the country merit the approval of both. The manner in which he discharged his duties in connexion with the War Loan is well known. On behalf of the community we submit to the Government that such an act of kindness would appeal to the Muhammadans and place them under a lasting obligation to the Government.

III.—LEGISLATION.

LOKOPAKARI, adras, 16th June 1919.

The Indian Reforms Bill.

71. Referring to the Indian Reforms Bill, the *Lokopakari*, of the 16th June, observes:—Though the Indian political reforms are intended for introducing into India a Government responsible to the people, it is indeed surprising that the Secretary of State should have prepared this Bill without considering in the least the demands of the Congress-League which reflect the views of the Indians. Even the text of this Bill has not yet been published in India. There will be room for responsible government in India only if this Bill is modified in accordance with the views of the Indians. If the representatives of the different parties in India that are now in England express unanimous opinion about the Bill, it will have to be modified in accordance with that opinion. India can be said to be governed for Indians only if it is modified like this and the assurance given by the British Government in 1917 will prove useful. It is essential that the British Government should grant reforms in conformity with the attitude of the Indians and the new spirit of liberty that has appeared in the world.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 17th June 1919.

The *Dravidan*, of the 17th June, reproduces the remarks of the *Justice*, of the 16th idem taking exception to the hurry with which the Bill is being pushed through in the Parliament and to Mr. Montagu's aversion to the scheme of reforms proposed by the Indo-British Association and observing that the mere introduction of representative institutions without communal representation will never remove the discontent of the majority of the people in this country.

The Indian Reforms Bill.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 19th June 1919.

The *Desabhaktan*, of the 19th June, writes:—Though the speech of Mr. Montagu on the second reading of the Indian Reforms Bill in the House of Commons was very sweet as regards the grant of responsible government to India, no one expected the Bill itself to be satisfactory. The confidence that was created by the promise made on the 20th August 1917 began to wane immediately on the publication of the Montford Report last year and the Southborough Committee made no attempt to give a satisfactory turn to the reforms. Lastly, the views of the Government of India removed even the little confidence that remained. But circumstances are not always of the same nature. The time when the promise was made was a highly critical one. As the war was in full swing then, it was necessary to preserve contentment and peace in all parts of the British Empire. The present period when the British have none to compete with or oppose them, on account of the victory of the allies in the war, is not the same as that which induced the Government to make a promise. So, the grant of reforms to India now depends wholly upon the conscience of the British Government and the sense of duty on the part of the British statesmen to fulfil their promise. We know by the experience of the history of the world how meagre is the force of righteousness and justice in politics. We do not mean by this that politics is full of unrighteousness and injustice. In politics the most important thing is statecraft and not the fulfilment of a promise or the evincing of sympathy. The British have been making several liberal promises ever since they began to rule India, and it may take a long time for these promises to be fulfilled. It is not that those who made promises formerly were not inclined to fulfil them but, circumstances prevented such a fulfilment. Thus the fulfilment of the promise of the 20th August depends upon the political condition of India. If the Indians wish to secure responsible government, they should be carrying on a constitutional agitation therefor incessantly. Reforms which do not confer complete responsible government should be rejected summarily, whoever may grant them and whatever sweet speeches may be delivered in granting them. If the Indians accept any meagre reforms that are introduced, it may take a very long time for complete responsible government being established. It is only agitation against the Government or the King Emperor that can be illegal. A lawful representation of our grievances and an agitation for our birth-right are quite legal and within the range of politics. A community which wishes to secure political liberty and live happily should necessarily improve its mode of living and such an improvement can be effected only by advancing in industry and trade. So, the Indians should strive incessantly both for securing reforms and for improving industry and trade. It is only then that the rulers will deem us to be fit for responsible government and the promise of the 20th August will be fulfilled completely. It is realising this truth that the bureaucrats in India intend to crush altogether political agitation which is causing inconvenience to them and we take it that the passing of the Rowlatt Law and the introduction of the horrible repressive measures in the Punjab are only the outcome of this motive. Is this not also the object of gagging the papers? Till now the bureaucrats have succeeded in their aim. They have made some false representations so as to create an impression in the British public that many parts of India are immersed in unrest and that the Empire would be endangered if the Government of India have not sufficient powers of repression to suppress this unrest. It may be that the authorities themselves do not know that these representations are false. How can we ascertain their real attitude? They view that it is not proper to confer political responsibility upon popular representatives who have been the cause of the agitation. Though Mr. Montagu talked sweet about the rights of the Indians, he did not refrain from supporting the repressive methods of the Punjab Government. True it is that in some matters he has condemned the actions of the bureaucrats and the meanness of the civil service officials has been well exposed by him. His statement that, if India is granted home-rule the I C.S. officials will have only to carry out the orders of their superiors should be appreciated indeed as far as it goes. But the fact is different. When the Viceroy is bent upon protecting the prestige and ancient glory of these officials, how can Mr. Montagu's wish be carried out? We have complete confidence in the liberal

principles of the Secretary of State. Still he is not acting as he likes but follows only the counsel of the officers subordinate to him. Viceroys and Secretaries of State come and go, but the I C.S. class stays for ever. Neither the Viceroy nor the cabinet venture to question them. So Mr. Montagu can only speak of them in disparaging terms, but will do nothing to affect them prejudicially. However disparagingly he may talk of them, will the difficulties caused by the repressive measures adopted in the Punjab disappear, will those, who have ceased to be, come back to life and will the cruel punishments inflicted by the Martial Law Commission be altered? At present the mind of the Indians is afflicted by irremediable misery. So, they are not inclined to pay any regard to the Reforms Bill and go through it. Even if a few should scrutinise it, they will deem it to be only an empty paper and no reform. Therefore it is the duty of the Indian representatives now in England to apprise Mr. Montagu, who is pleased with having granted mighty reforms, of the real opinion of the Indians. Not only the Secretary of State but also the British public should be made to understand that any reforms granted, before conferring the primary privileges to which British subjects are entitled, will not be taken to be reforms by the Indians. It is only foolishness to expect the fulfilment of the promise of the 20th August before the British public understand this truth.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 18th June 1919.

The Indian Reforms Bill.

Referring to the text of the Bill now published, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 18th June, remarks:—The provisions of the Bill relating to the ministers make their position very bad; which is regrettable. Those who wish to be ministers under the Bill cannot have much self-respect. Perhaps the Governor will settle their salary in consultation with them after they take up office! As if this will not do, it is stated that the minister can hold office only as long as he is in the good graces of the Governor. The Bill leaves transferred subjects in the responsibility of the ministers. What is the nature of this responsibility? While attending to the transferred subjects, the Governor should act on the suggestion of the minister who is in charge of them. But if the Governor differs from the view of the minister, he can act as he likes without caring for the suggestion of the minister. Need we say then that the power of the ministers is only one in name? The provisions regarding the power of legislation given to the Provincial Legislative Councils may make our readers imagine that all laws will be passed by the Councils in accordance with the opinion of the popular representatives. But as we have an experience of such tactics, we will not be so easily deceived. The Governor may accept the laws passed by the Legislative Council. *But*—. It is this word that warns us at every stage. He may negative any law on the advice of some members of the Grand Committee or make any new law which is not approved by Legislative Council. Then again when any Bill is brought forward in the Legislative Council, the Governor can prevent its consideration on the ground that it affects the peace of the Presidency or any of the reserved subjects, or leave it to the consideration of the Grand Committee. As the members of this committee are only nominated by the Governor, it is clear that they will not venture to pass any law against the wishes of the Governor. It is stated in the Bill that there will be liberty of speech in the Legislative Council and that no proceedings can be taken in a court of law about anything spoken in the Council. But what is the use of this privilege? If, without securing true power, the members of the Legislative Council are given merely the privilege of speaking, can it benefit the public in any way? Some unnecessary changes are made in the constitution of the Government of India on the lines of the Montford report. But these changes will not benefit us in any way. Some people may take it from the majority of the elected members of the Indian Legislative Council that laws will be passed in accordance with the opinions of the popular representatives. But we will not be deceived like this. The State Council, the majority of the members of which are nominated by the Viceroy, may pass any law in view of the peace and safety of British India and Burma, and such laws will be deemed to be laws passed by the Legislative Council even though they might have been passed without the approval of the latter. If, as a matter of fact, those who have drafted the reforms intended to grant us responsible government step by step, we think

that they would not have contemplated the creation of the State Council. In fine, though the number of elected members of the Legislative Council has been increased, both the Viceroy and the Governor continue to have the predominating power in the matter of laws. Though a greater responsibility is said to be conferred on the provinces, as a matter of fact, no privilege whatever has been granted. Though the transferred subjects have been left in charge of ministers, it is the Governor that has the real power in their administration. Fiscal responsibility is again continued in the hands of the officials. This Bill would only enable some friends of the bureaucrats to get titles and positions but will not confer much benefit on the public.

The Indian Reforms Bill.

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 18th June 1919.

In commenting upon the Indian Reforms Bill, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 18th June, observes:—The Bill has been drafted in such a manner that it is not clear what powers it confers upon the people. From start to finish it only empowers the framing of rules for different purposes. So, the object of the Bill is practically not to grant powers to the people but to grant power for the making of certain rules. The Bill does not again say who it is that should make these rules and there is nothing in it to show that it will not be the Government of India themselves. Therefore, if the Government of India are to have the power of framing these rules, there is room to fear that they will not exercise their power so as to accomplish the object contemplated by this law. That object as stated by Mr. Montagu himself is to conduct the administration of India by the representatives of the people instead of by the agents of the Parliament. And the Government of India are the agents of the Parliament. So, if the power of framing rules for transferring the authority in their hands to those of others is left to them, it is unnatural to expect that they would help the accomplishment of the object. Mr. Montagu himself seems to have had this doubt, for in proposing the second reading of the Bill he explained this matter by saying that it was usual to leave the inner details of a Bill to be settled by rules, without embodying such details in the body of the Bill itself. This is no doubt true. But if the main principles of the Bill are explicitly stated in it, the giving effect to them may as usual be left to rules. But in this Bill the principles themselves have not been laid down. And again it is a curious course to expect those who have the power now to make rules for relinquishing them. We will give one example to show that the Bill has been so drafted as to make one doubt whether the framers intended at least to give effect heartily to the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. One object of these proposals was to confer the power of taxation on the ministers. But it is clear that according to the Bill they will not have it. The Bill empowers the making of rules for transferring from the total revenues of the province such funds as may be required for the departments under the ministers. So the minister will only be given the funds that he requires or that the Executive Council deems sufficient, but will have no power of taxation. The conferment of this power of taxation on the ministers was one of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals and that such a power should not be given is one of the later proposals of the Government of India. So the above illustration shows that the Bill provides for the framing of rules in accordance with the proposals of the Government of India also. The latter proposals are not accepted by any party in India. Therefore, unless all people join together and try to see that the proposals of the Government of India do not find a place in the Bill, that that Government are not given the power to make rules on important matters as they like and that substantial provisions are introduced in the Bill itself in place of the power to make rules, the securing of a government responsible to the people in India will be delayed for a long time. Though no room has been found in the Bill for important points which are indispensable for granting powers to the popular representatives petty matters find place there. The preamble says that it is expedient to secure gradually a government responsible to the people in India as a part of the British Empire. But in the preamble to the laws conferring the power of self-government on countries like South Africa and Canada it is stated that the grant of powers of self-government to those countries will secure the solidarity of the British Empire and the prosperity of those countries. Therefore, it is apparent that this Bill has not been framed with the same breadth of view

with which those laws were enacted. Aware of the unsatisfactory nature of this Bill, Mr. Montagu described it as a bridge between the conduct of a administration by the agents of the Parliament and that by the representatives of the people. At one end of this bridge the administration of the agents of the Parliament is visible. Mr. Montagu says that the administration by the popular representatives is in the other end. But it is not visible even through a telescope. The prayer of all Indians is only that it should be made a little visible.

DRAVIDAN, Madras, 19th, 20th & 21st June 1919.

In the course of its leaders on this subject the *Dravidan*, or the 19th, 20th and 21st June, makes the following observations among others:—It is really strange and also unnatural that the Bill should have been published in India only after it has been read a second time and approved in the House of Commons. We have really to be surprised if this is the nature or the existing responsible government. Mr. Montagu seems to be adopting only such methods in all matters and yet his friends and supporters are hailing him as the political saviour of India. . . The speech of Mr. Montagu in introducing the Bill in the Parliament resembles that of the President of the Indian National Congress. Though the Bill has not aroused any kind of feeling among the British public, the adherents of Mr. Montagu are mightily pleased with it. Considering the present condition of the British Empire, it is clear that even a very capable statesman will find it difficult to center the attention of the people on his point. . . Messrs. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Satyamurti and Wadia and others will pretend to be the representatives of the crores of people in India and place their selfish views before the British public. The object of these Home Rule politicians is to alter the reform proposals so as to make them agree with the resolutions of the Delhi Congress. But we trust that the Joint Committee will not lend ear to their glib words and take any mistaken step. Though these Home Rule propogandists may put forth any claims, we hope the public of England will not fail to note that these are only vain agitators with a gift of gab and that these have not gone there in the interests of the poor in India. . . The Bill now published is not clear. It should be published more fully and until that is done we need not pay much attention to it. . . The Bill provides for the Government of India getting any law passed with the aid of the Council of State though it may not be approved by the Legislative Council. But the majority of the members of the former council are nominated members. How can the Legislative Council have any power under such a system? The existing Legislative Councils reconstituted by the Minto-Morley reforms have the power of considering every law proposed by the Government. So, how can this Bill be an improvement upon the existing system? The Grand Committee in the Provinces takes the place of the Council of State with the Government of India. The Bill confers inordinate powers upon the Provincial Governor. It seems to take the Governor to be a superhuman being. If, therefore, the politicians of our country consider that this Bill is on the lines of the declaration of the 20th August 1917 and that it will fulfil the aspirations of the Indians, it will be surprising indeed.

DESABHAKTAN, Madras, 21st June 1919.

Reverting to this subject, the *Desabhaktan*, of the 21st June, refers to the telegram said to have been sent to Mr. Montagu by the Indian Association of Calcutta, a moderate organisation, that his speech on the second reading of the Bill was not discouraging and that he should not reduce the reforms indicated in his report and observes:—This very association intimated that they were ready to accept the Montford reforms, even if they were not altered. We did not attach much importance to their thoughtless message then. But it is a great mistake on their part to have repeated their old cry even after the events in Delhi, Lahore and other places. Such people should be deemed not to have understood the real condition of India. The Montford reforms were not thought to be satisfactory at a time when, during the progress of the war, there was a great necessity for appeasing the Indians and how much more unsatisfactory should they be deemed to be now when a great change has come over both India and the politics of the world? Whatever may be said by the Indian Association or any other unimportant association like that, there is no doubt that those who are aware of the true attitude of the Indians will have only one opinion about the reforms. The people have no enthusiasm whatever in the matter of reforms; for

the proposed ones are not capable of removing the existing defects in the administration. Recent events have proved that the safety of the life and property of the people of this country can be secured only by the favour of the executive officials. The latter can act as they like and themselves pass the repressive measures empowering them to suppress and punish the people subordinate to them. So no reform can remove a main grievance of the Indians, unless the latter are granted the right of restricting the actions of the executive officials. Though differing in other particulars, even the moderates condemn the repressive policy adopted in the Punjab and Delhi. Have the Montford reforms, for the securing of which intact these have raised a plaintive cry, the capacity of doing away with this repression? Will they prevent the recurrence of the recent events in the Punjab? Will they confer upon the Legislative Council the right of condemning the authorities for resorting to a repressive policy, as they have done in the Punjab, for suppressing ordinary disturbances? Will they empower the representatives of the Indians to tie down the hands of the authorities, who get excited and afflict the people by enforcing cruel laws? If the answer to these queries is "yes", the reforms are indeed genuine ones and it is genuine and not false reforms that the people want now. Circumstances have changed greatly. It is not a diarchy but complete responsible government that is now suitable to India, which means that the elected members should be in the majority in both the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils. The resignation of his seat by Sir Sankaran Nayar and the relinquishment of his title by Sir Rabindranath Tagore show how bad is the present condition of the Indians. Lord Minto did not resort to half as much repression as is the case now. Still his policy did not create peace and contentment. Even the Morley reforms did not remove the discontent of the Indians. It was only the visit of His Majesty to India, the annulment of the partition of Bengal and the despatch of Lord Hardinge sent on the 24th August 1911 that gave a consolation to the Indians. The condition of India is now more critical than it was ten years back. What would have created satisfaction then is insufficient now. Perhaps the Secretary of State has not noted these new changes. To him the only important thing seems to be an inquiry about the repressive measures adopted in the Punjab. He has not understood what could have been the cause of the disturbances there and what the people think of them. Those who have really understood these things will realise that reforms based on the Montford report cannot confer any true privileges upon the Indians. Unless the executive officials are brought under the control of the popular representatives in India, as has been done in the Colonies, true political liberty cannot be deemed to have been granted to the Indians. But we do not know where exists a statesman who is bold enough to introduce such a reform.

LOKOPAKARI, Madras, 23rd June 1919.

The *Lokopakari*, of the 23rd June, also considers that the Bill has not been drafted in accordance with the wishes of the Indians and adds:—The Indians expected that, as soon as the war ended victoriously and peace was established in the world, India would be granted an equal status with the British Colonies and this expectation continues still. The war has proved that it is a great mistake that India had not been granted such a status even after having been under British rule for 150 years. The Indians can be happy only, if the British Government realise at least now, without lending ear to the words of selfish people, their duty in this matter and grant responsible government to India. It is a customary policy with governments to give full satisfaction to the people on occasions like a birthday, a coronation day or a day of victory. Now that arrangements are being made to celebrate the victory in all British territories, it will be ever remembered by the Indians and it will be the highest reward for them, if they are granted responsible government.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, Madras, 18th to 21st June 1919.

The Indian Reforms Bill.

In its issues from the 18th to 21st June, the *Andhrapatrika* makes the following observations on the Indian Reform Bill:— . . . The details of the Bill are likely to cause disappointment to Indians and to increase their dejection. . . Those very changes proposed by the Government of India, which we have suspected, will do harm to the Montford scheme, have been embodied in the Bill. It is regrettable that neither the protests of the people nor the admirable criticism of Sir Sankaran Nayar should succeed in producing any effect. . . Section 3 of the Bill

empowers the Governor to remove a minister from office, while the Montford scheme has allowed ministers to remain in office till the expiry of the term of the Legislative Council. The Governor can dismiss the minister either on the ground that he has not obeyed his instructions or on the ground that unrest was growing among the people as a result of the minister's course of action in case he would carry out the policy of the Governor which may not be liked by the public. Thus the position of a minister, placed between Scylla and Charybdis, becomes ridiculous, and no self-respecting man would covet it. The same section leaves the salary of a minister to be determined by the Governor subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. That a minister should not occupy an equal place with the Members of the Executive Council in respect of their pay and status is bound to diminish their prominence. . . According to the Montford scheme, the Legislative Council has the right to legislate on matters relating to the transferred subjects. The Government of India recommends that any Bill may be referred to the Grand Committee with a certificate of the Governor that it is detrimental to public peace. The Bill embodies this recommendation of the Government of India and thus takes away the right of the Legislative Council to legislate even upon transferred subjects. Further according to the Bill, if the Governor thinks that any Bill affects the peace of his province or the interests of any specified reserved subject, he is not bound to refer it to the Grand Committee and may simply direct either that no proceedings or no further proceedings shall be taken by the Council in relation to the Bill, or if he thinks fit and if the Council so desire, that the Bill shall be referred to the Grand Committee. The right of making an appeal to the Government of India by the Legislative Council in the matter which was provided in the Montford scheme is removed in the Bill. The chief defect of the Montford scheme consists in that it makes the Governor a bureaucratic officer. The Bill goes to increase his powers still further and to reduce the power of the popular representative body and of the minister still more. . . We may be glad that the prop sal of the Government of India that the Governor can permanently do away with transferred subjects has not been embodied in the Bill. . .

Turning to the provisions of the Bill which relate to the budget, the paper remarks:—The power of the Governor to sanction any amount disregarding the opinion of the Legislative Council on the ground that it relates to a reserved subject, or that it is necessary for the safety and tranquility of the province and the incompetence of the Legislative Council to determine any expenditure which is a permanent charge on Provincial revenues, render the little control of the legislature over the budget merely nominal. . . The Montford scheme has recommended that the transferred departments can levy taxes in case of lack of funds But the Government of India thought it unnecessary, and it has been left out in the Bill. The Bill does not contain any provisions as to how the expenditure of the transferred subjects should be determined, what share the ministers will have in preparing the budget, and what course of action the ministers should take in case of deficiency of funds for the administration of the transferred subjects. There can be no contentment, unless liberal provisions are made in the Bill in regard to the financial control. . .

The paper welcomes the provision of the Bill relating to the freedom of speech in the Governor's Legislative Council and thinks that the minimum number of elected members in the Provincial Legislative Council may be more than 70 per cent the number fixed in the Bill, since the Southborough Committee itself has proposed 75 to 80 per cent for the bigger provinces and 73 to 75 per cent for the rest.

Referring to the provisions of the Bill relating to the Government of India, the paper is at a loss to understand why the announcement of the 20th August 1917 does not afford scope for the reform of the Government of India and why the authors of the Montford scheme do not think that its reform will lead the way for constitutional progress, though the people, irrespective of such distinctions as the moderates and the extremists, all unanimously desire the introduction of responsibility in the central Government now only. It apprehends that like the Grand Committee in a Province, the State Council will obstruct the freedom of

the Supreme Legislative Council even in the matter of giving advice. The paper observes that it is useless to discuss the provisions in question as they do not entrust any responsibility to the people. It exhorts Indians to work for the reform of the Central Government along with that of the Provincial Governments, as Provincial administration cannot be successfully carried on with an irresponsible Central Government and as Bills like the Rowlatt Bill have every chance of being passed and of violating the birth-rights of the people

The paper disapproves of the method of leaving all the important details to be determined by the rules which will be framed hereafter. As the framing of these rules is left to the Viceroy and the Governors of Provinces, it apprehends that there is ample scope for the reforms to be still further curtailed. In this connexion it observes :—. . . Our readers are already aware how the Government of India has curtailed the Montford scheme and made it lifeless. It is not possible to think that they will be more liberal in framing the rules. The Parliament will not try to cancel the rules made by the Government of India. . . The only thing that is granted in the Bill is diarchy. Even that falls much below that which was recommended in the Montford scheme. It only obstructs progress and creates a discord between the two Governments

Referring to the decennial test by a Parliamentary Committee of the progress made by the people in responsible government, the paper observes that it is an insult to India and fails to understand why such tests as have not been introduced in any self-governing country should now be applied to India alone.

It regrets to have to remark that the need for the grant of commercial freedom to India in view of the policy of Imperial preference adopted in England which was referred to by Mr. Montagu in his speech has remained only "a pious wish" by not having been dwelt upon in the Bill. It also observes that the absence of any provisions in the Bill with regard to the protection of the birth-rights of the people and such other important matters shows its narrow nature. It takes objection to the position of the Indian Civil Service officials in relation to the ministers and gives the following summary of the main defects of the Bill :— (1) As important matters necessary for the growth of self government are left to be determined by rules to be framed hereafter, room has been afforded to the authorities in India to disfigure the form of self-government. (2) No provision has been made subordinating the Executive to the Legislative Council even in the provinces. (3) Since the duration of the office of a minister depends upon the Governor's pleasure and since he is not responsible to the Legislative Council, the hold of the latter on the popular Government is very little. It is but natural that the minister will try to carry out more the will of the Governor than that of the people. (4) There is no promise to make the salary of the minister equal to that of an Executive Councillor. (5) Ministers can be nominated from outside the Legislative Council. Though the duration of the term of such a minister is limited to three months, the people can easily elect a competent minister to the Legislative Council. This provision may, therefore, be detrimental to the freedom of election. (6) The Governor may set aside the advice of a minister and act in a different way. (7) There is no provision fixing half the number of seats in the Executive Council for Indians. (8) The provisions with regard to the budget are not liberal. (9) The Governor may set aside the authority of the Legislative Council over the transferred departments in the name of the peace of the province and the interest of reserved subjects. He can adopt the same policy with regard to the budget also. (10) No responsibility whatever has been introduced in the Government of India. (11) The State Council will render the power of the supreme Legislative Council merely nominal. (12) No proper provisions have been made to ensure the successful carrying out of the reforms by the Civil Service. Opportunity has been afforded to them to defy the orders of the minister. (13) The Bill goes even more backward than the Montford scheme. (14) The decennial test is opposed to the self-respect of the people of the country. (15) The Bill gives no guarantee either in respect of commercial freedom or with regard to the protection of the birth-rights of the people.

In conclusion it exhorts the members of the Indian deputations to work vigourously for the eradication of all the abovementioned defects and for the realisation of the Delhi Congress resolutions. It also urges the people in India to

hold public meetings and express their disapproval of the provisions of the Bill in unambiguous terms, and particularly the Andhras to agitate for the formation of an Andhra Province as the Governor-General is empowered under section 12 of the Bill to form a new province at the request of the people.

Manorama, Calicut, 17th June 1919.

The Indian Reforms Bill.

In the course of its review of the speech delivered by Mr. Montagu in Parliament on the occasion of the second reading of the Government of India Reform Bill, the *Manorama*, of the 17th June, notices his side-hit at the Government of Madras and his attack on the Indo-British Association, considers the speech very encouraging and hopes that the Bill will be consonant with the speech.

Malayali, Quilon, 21st June 1919.

In its leading article on the India Government Reform Bill, the *Malayali*, of the 21st June, observes that a comparison of the Preambles of Acts granting self-government to Australia, Canada, British South Africa, and other British colonies with the preface of this Bill suggests that the British people have no confidence in Indians. Independence was granted to the colonies at the request of the people there. In her treatment of Indians, however, Great Britain wishes to play the grandmother. The British people think that it is somewhat derogatory to their dignity to acknowledge in the Bill that the concessions are made in accordance with our demands for self government.

The Bill has a great defect in that it leaves extremely important matters like the electorates, the division of revenues among the reserved and transferred subjects, adjustment of the relative authority of the Executive Council, Legislative Council and the Governor and such matters, to schedules to be attached and rules to be framed hereafter. . . If India is to be benefited, all important matters should be discussed in Parliament. "We suspect whether the Secretary of State has not adopted this device with a view to let the door open to meet the wishes of the Government of India." We see in this Bill some deviations from the Montford scheme. For instance the report suggested that the Minister should be selected from amongst the elected members of the Legislative Council. The Bill however allows the Governor to appoint whomsoever he likes, for the space of three months at the end of which period, if the person so appointed does not in the meantime get elected to the Council, he is to be thrown out of appointment. This policy is likely to encourage the seeking and granting of favours. Those who enjoy the favour of the Governor can become Ministers and they will certainly have no difficulty thereafter to get themselves elected to the Council. This policy therefore will secure to the Governor the same absolute authority as before. And besides, when the Governor is given free authority to appoint and remove Ministers, the subjects under the Ministers, i.e., under popular control will really pass to the control of the Governor. Will this be responsible government? It is easy to display on paper attractive phrases like 'Responsible government', 'Popular control' and so on; but as a matter of fact irresponsibility will still be prominent. . . The budget is to be passed in the Council but even in this matter unlimited power is granted to the Governor. . . Indians can only rest in patience hoping that the Select Committee will remove these defects of the Bill.

Kistnapatrika, Masulipatam, 21st June 1919.

The Reform Bill.

The *Kistnapatrika*, of the 21st June, says:—A perusal of the Reform Bill as published in India makes us doubt if that is the Bill which Mr. Montagu brought out after two years of deliberation. If that is a true copy of the Bill, it is a source of great disappointment to the people. It has taken two years for the Bill to take the present form and we do not believe that it will be altered to any great extent. There is no resemblance between the Bill and the Congress scheme of reforms. The provisions of the Bill do not satisfy the demands of the Congress in the main. Even the important reforms proposed in the report of Mr. Montagu have not been incorporated in the Bill. It is true that certain provisions have been included in the Bill. But their effect depends on the matters left to the decision of the Viceroy. The introduction of Lord Morley's reforms having been left to the discretion of the then Viceroy, those reforms were rendered narrow to a large extent. Mr. Montagu has been frequently promising in his lectures that he would have everything decided in the Parliament. But it is not known why he has left everything but a few small matters to the discretion of the Viceroy. . .

If our Governor-General is vested with powers under the Bill to decide what policy of administration the Government of India should follow, it need hardly be said how auspicious the reforms will prove to be. Was it not to decide the points of reform that Mr. Montagu toured in this country at the expense of the Indians? We are at a loss to understand the propriety of leaving to the decision of the Governor-General the matters to decide which the Southborough Committees sat for a long time at a great expense. It may be that the Governor-General has to decide these matters with the consent of the Secretary of State. But it is very unjust and improper that such important matters as relate to the application, etc., of the reforms, should be left to the discretion of the bureaucracy who are incapable of showing any generosity. We have to see how far our deputations will help in removing this defect. . . From a perusal of the provisions of the Bill, it is plain that no reform has been introduced in the Government of India vesting the people with any authority. The provisions relating to the Provincial Governments are also such that the people are not vested with any real authority. We fear that the Bill not only fails to satisfy the public, but it may also become a source of great discontent to the people.

The Reform Bill.

The *Andhraprakasika*, of the 14th June, says:—The extremists who are only a few in number are trying to establish a Government by the Brahmans in the name of self-government. So before the Indian political reforms are granted, the matter should be discussed in the light of experience. Some advocates of the Congress do not want communal representation. The English statesmen can without our help understand what kind of Government they wish to have. If, in granting the reforms, the authorities are precipitate, it will lead to harm. We will not regret even if they should take some months more to ascertain the opinions of the different classes of the community.

ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, Madras, 14th June 1919.

The Rowlatt Bills.

72. Referring to the resolution passed by the Cocanada Municipal Council stating that the laws already in force are sufficient and that the Rowlatt Bills may be withdrawn, the *Godavaripatrika*, of the 3rd June, remarks:— . . . We are of opinion that this is a commendable resolution. . .

GODAVARIPATRIKA, Rajahmundry, 3rd June 1919.

The Village Offices Act Amendment Bill.

73. The *Village Officer*, of the 25th May, says that from a perusal of the Village Offices Act Amendment Bill, it is plain that the chief object of the Bill is to lay the axe to the root of the good old rule of primogeniture. It prays that representatives of village officers may also be heard in the matter.

The same paper contains the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Kurnool District Village Officers' Conference, which criticises the provisions of the Village Offices Act Amendment Bill.

VILLAGE OFFICER, 25th May 1919.

Patel's Inter-caste Marriage Bill.

74. The *Margadarsi*, of the 13th June, points out that Mr. Patel's Inter-caste Marriage Bill is defective in (1) that it does not prohibit child marriage—Child marriage should be abolished like Sati by Government, (2) that it does not condemn polygamy, (3) that it does not provide for divorce in necessary cases, (4) that it does not allow marriage between different races and religions. The writer thinks therefore that it will be well if the Bill is not passed in its present form.

MARGADARSI, Calicut, 13th June 1919.

IV.—Native States.

Mysore and the panchayats.

75. In referring with appreciation to the useful results of the work done by the Mysose Economic Conference, the *Swadesamitran*, of the 13th June, adverts to the suggestion of Mr. Banerji, in connection with his proposal to make this conference a permanent body, that, in place of the District and Taluk Committees now working under the Conference, the services of the village panchayats should be utilized, as, according to the Mysore Panchayat Regulation, these panchayats have the power of doing things to improve agriculture and rural industries and trade and to attend to communal questions such as education, sanitation, etc., and adds:—As the Government of Madras are about to frame a law establishing village

SWADESAMITRAN, Madras, 13th June 1919.

panchayats, we trust they will note the provisions of the Mysore Regulation referred to by Mr. Banerji. He observed that, if the panchayats felt any want of funds in attending to the work entrusted to them, the Government and local boards should assist them with such funds. If the panchayats are given all these powers and also funds, the condition of the villages will surely advance very much within the next fifteen years. The suggestion of Mr. Banerji again that the work of the Economic Conference can be well entrusted to the taluk boards themselves is on the right lines. Certain municipalities in Europe are doing such work and we hope even the Local Government will follow these methods and take such steps as are conducive to economic advancement, in the time of Lord Willingdon. A small State like Mysore has proceeded very far in attending to the first steps. British India should work actively in this direction at least hereafter.

Errata.

Report No. 22.

Page 812, paragraph 4, line 13, *for* 'relating the Philippines' *read* 'relating to the Philippines'.
„ 813 „ 7 „ 1, *for* 'before this' *read* 'before the Peace'.
„ 819 „ 28 „ 17, *for* 'for the unrest' *read* 'to the unrest'.
„ 820, line 25, *for* 'intend' *read* 'intent'.
„ 823 „ 11, *for* 'times and some' *read* 'times, some'.
„ 826 „ 26, *for* 'him' *read* 'them'.
„ 829 „ 22, *for* 'as if in a trance' *read* 'like painted pictures'.

Report No. 24.

Page 935, paragraph 81, line 14, *substitute* 'on' *for* 'and' *before* 'the question'.
„ 936 „ 83 „ 11, *substitute* 'was' *for* 'were' *after* 'unhappy events'.
„ 957 „ 89 „ 4, *substitute* 'implanted' for 'imported'.
„ „ „ 89 „ 7, *omit* 'the' before 'India's'.
„ „ „ 90 „ 9, *insert* 'the' after 'perhaps'.

[Issued, the 3rd July 1919.]